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RETRIEVING EMBER DAYS

Roger Pieper

Question almost any Catholic on what Ember Days are and one is most likely to receive one of three responses: a puzzled look, a slight recognition of the word, or, if the person is of a certain age, a memory of 'doing' them but uncertain as to what they were, much less what he or she 'did.' To say the very least, Ember Days have fallen into disuse for most of the Church. However, at one time, Ember Days were considered an important part of the liturgical life of the Church, often being celebrated on the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday of a particular week in each of the quarters of the year. Though their origins are uncertain, they do have a rich tradition as moments of renewal throughout the year. As such, the Church, especially one that is looking for ways to engage the world in the faith, should look to its liturgical past and see the potential that Ember Days has to aid the Church in fulfilling its mission.

History of Ember Days

Ember Days have a certain mystique which begins even with their name. Unlike most of the other days of the liturgical

year, the name 'Ember Days' does not directly reveal anything related to its practice, at least in the English-speaking world. This confusion is actually due to the English abbreviation of the German *die Quatember*, which is from the Latin *quatuor tempora* meaning 'four seasons.' In older English, Ember Days were called *Quarter Tense*, which has a closer relationship to the Latin *quatuor tempora*. Nonetheless the confusing term 'Ember Days' is what survived.

Regardless of their name, all Ember Days generally had a common format prior to the reforms that followed the Second Vatican Council. First, the Ember Days were celebrated on a Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday of a given week, which collectively were called an Embertide. On each day of the Embertide, Mass was celebrated at a different church in Rome. As such, Ember Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday were celebrated at Saint Mary Major, Holy Apostle, and Saint Peter's, respectively. Each day had its own Mass prayers and readings, a tradition present even in the earliest of Roman liturgical books. In the lectionary present before the Second Vatican Council, each Ember Day had a Gospel but the number of other lessons varied. Ember Wednesday had two Old Testament lessons, Friday had just one, but Ember Saturday, which was a vigil Mass, had five Old Testament lessons as well as an epistle. 5

By the sixth century, an Embertide was celebrated during each of the four seasons of the year. Prior to this, there were most likely just three Embertides in a year. Originally the exact dates were set annually by the Roman bishop. However, in 1078 A.D., Pope Gregory VII set them in the week following the first Sunday of Lent, Pentecost Sunday, Sunday after the Exaltation of the Cross on September 14th, and the third Sunday of Advent. This positioning of the Ember Days in the year remained in effect until the

revised liturgical year and calendar was published in the 1960's.

Origins of Ember Days

Though Ember Days have a longstanding tradition in the Roman Rite, evidence of their exact origins are unknown. They are, however, definitely a development of the Church of Rome. Evidence of this is seen in their omission in non-Roman rites unless they were significantly influenced at some point in history by the Church of Rome. Ember Days are most likely one of the earliest Roman liturgical practices, with roots going back to the second century, if not earlier. If true, Ember Days would actually predate many of the current liturgical seasons. This significance is highlighted all the more by the fact that until the 7th century, the Ember Saturday Vigil served as the weekly Eucharistic celebration. As such, the Sunday after Ember Saturday did not have a Mass and was considered a vacant Sunday.

Despite the unknown origin of Ember Days, there are a few theories that suggest they developed from the liturgical practices of Judaism. One theory suggests that this connection goes all the way back to Moses and Jeremiah, though evidence of such is minimal at best. The second of the Jewish-origin theories suggests that Ember Days correspond to the prophet Zechariah where he speaks of the fast days that occurred in the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth month. Since the Romans and the early Christians used March as the beginning of the calendar year, the four Embertides being in March, June, September, and December would seem to correspond to Zechariah's fast days. This connection is possible since it appears as though the writers of the Dead Sea Scrolls had prayers that were used three or four times a year. To

This theory, proposed even in the fourth century by Pontius Maximus, is intriguing. However, a major concern arises since the existence of the Lenten Embertide held in March is generally thought to be a later development. As such, how could a continuous tradition lose one of Zechariah's fast days and only later recover it with no solid evidence to its rediscovery? Though initially attractive, it seems more likely that this is an application of Zechariah's command after the establishment of the four distinct Embertides and not the origins of them.

The last of the three Jewish-origin theories suggests that they are a development of the three Jewish harvest festivals. The summer, fall, and winter Ember Days do fall near the harvest of grain, grapes, and olives, all of which had a festival in Judaism. The connection is also strengthened by the fact that Ember Days generally included a harvest theme of thanking God for the gifts which were given. Further, the favoritism of December being the time for ordinations corresponded nicely with the harvest of olives and their oil and would have been used in these rites. While this connection is possible, this theory, as well as the previous two that place the origin in Judaism, lacks substantiated historical evidence. As such, one has to wonder if these connections are only due to Romans reading the Old Testament and wishing to recreate corresponding celebrations. In

Critics of the Jewish origin of Ember Days often looked to the pre-Christian Roman practices. Like the Jews, the Romans also had three agrarian festivals, though they were for grain, vintage, and sowing, which roughly corresponded to the summer, fall, and winter Ember Days. Further, the Roman origin would explain the reason for fasting. Unlike the overtly joyous tone of the Jewish harvest festivals, the Roman festivals were a time of sacrifice since they were seen as a way to give back to the gods in order that they may continue to receive

the gods' favor.¹⁶ While this theory explains much about Ember Days, there is an issue over the fact that the Roman harvest festivals were up to a month after the corresponding Embertides.

Another Roman-origins theory is that the Ember Days are a remnant of the Wednesday and Friday fasts held every week by the early Christians. Evidence of the bi-weekly fast traces back to even before Ember Days. Even the *Didache* speaks of fasting on these two days. The While the Saturday addition would at first seem to be an obstacle, the truth is that Saturday is generally acknowledged as being a later development whose addition is traditionally attributed to Pope St. Callistus in the early part of the third century. Even though the bi-weekly fast was dropped in later centuries, it seems logical that Ember Days would survive since they had a greater sense of solemnity. Though this theory has the least objections, it does not explain the Ember Day themes, especially that of harvest.

The origins of Ember Days will probably never be known fully. In reality, the origins are probably a mixture of the Jewish and Roman traditions. Though such an idea is far from the clear exactitude preferred by scholars, it does seem to speak to the reality of the human experience.

Themes in Ember Days

Celebrated over a number of days over the course of the year, Ember Days took on a variety of themes. One of the earliest and most common themes was prayer and fasting.¹⁹ Though the origins are unknown, fasting does seem to be a longstanding tradition by the fifth century as witnessed in the numerous sermons by Pope St. Leo I. In these sermons on the Sundays before Ember Days were to occur, he instructed the faithful to fast on the coming Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday.

This tradition of fasting continued even into the modern age. In fact, the 1917 Code of Canon Law considered it obligatory for all Catholics to fast and abstain from meat on all Ember Days. 20 While fasting and abstinence is often associated with penance for sins, Ember Days did not necessarily espouse that notion. The notion that fasting and abstinence is one of penance does seem logical since the Church also did these practices, as noted in the 1917 Code of Canon Law, on Ash Wednesday and the Fridays and Saturdays in Lent. However, fasting and abstinence were also practiced on the Vigils of Pentecost, the Assumption, All Saints, and Christmas. As such, the more correct view is that fasting and abstinence were done as part of the preparation to properly celebrate a major liturgical day or season. However, Ember Days does not seem to be preparing for anything, unless one considers the Ember Day Vigil as that for which the Church was preparing, though this seems unlikely. Instead, this fast and abstinence seemed to be proper preparation needed to live a holy life and avoid the everyday temptations of excess. Pope St. Leo I supported this notion in one of his December sermons where he said, "By that exercise (fasting) we draw near to God, we make a strong stand against the devil, and overcome the sweet enticements of sin.21 He especially believed this was important in December since all of the "fruits of the year" were gathered.22 In other words, the Ember Days' fast was to counter the strong temptation that the fruits of the year were purely the result of the work of humanity and not God's providence. Thus, the fast was a way to show thanks to God.

In line with fasting, the practice of doing works of mercy, especially corporal ones, was another important theme in Ember Days. Pope St. Leo I also supported this practice by recognizing that "fasting is not

the only means to secure health for our souls," and then encouraged the faithful to partake in a number of corporal works of mercy. ²³ Thus, fasting and almsgiving together made up the most recognized theme of Ember Days, especially amongst the laity.

Another theme present within Ember Days was that of harvest. As mentioned above, Ember Days were a way to show gratitude to God for the fruits that were collected. With fasting, this harvest theme is probably one of the most ancient ones. As time progressed and the Ember Days evolved, the theme of harvest diminished. Nonetheless, hints at the harvest themes still were present in the various Ember Days Mass prayers. These themes, however, became not the primary focus but rather the secondary focus, which then supported other major themes. The last major theme of Ember Days was ordination of men to holy orders. Historically the last to be included in Ember Days, it is undoubtedly an important theme for the majority of its history though its emergence is mostly out of convenience. Pope Galasius is attributed with choosing Ember Saturday as the day to ordain deacons and priests in the fifth century.²⁴ His rationale was that he wanted a period of time for the men to be ordained as well as the rest of the Church to spiritually prepare for the ordinations.²⁵ Since Ember Days already had all of the Church of Rome fasting, adding the theme of ordination would not be burdensome. Furthermore, the theme of harvest worked well with the imagery of priests being workers who are gathering the harvest of the Lord. Like the fasting obligation, this preference for Ember Saturdays to be days of ordination also made it into modern times as witnessed in the 1917 Code of Canon Law. 26

Ember Days and the Reforms after the Second Vatican Council

Like the rest of the liturgy, Ember Days experienced a significant change after the Second Vatican Council. Though their popularity greatly diminished in the years after the Council, none of the Council's documents are directly against the use of Ember Days in the liturgical calendar. The Council's *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* does recognize the need to complete "the formation of the faithful by means of pious practices for soul and body, by instruction, prayer, and works of penance and of mercy." Thus, it seems that the Council approved of Ember Days, at least in the abstract. However, this quote falls in a section that says what the Church does, not what the Council decrees.

Though the Council never decrees practices, they make a number of points about the revision of the liturgical year. One such paragraph states that the "Proper of Seasons shall be given the preference due to it over the feasts of the saints, in order that the entire cycle of the mysteries of salvation may be celebrated in the measure due to them."28 With this in mind, the question arises whether Ember Days are considered part of the Proper of Seasons or the feasts of the saints. In some regards, they are both and yet neither. If anything, they are actually more related to the seasons of the earth than to any particular saint or moment in Christ's life. Regardless, since the Proper of Seasons should take preference and Ember Days are definitively not one of the Proper of Seasons which they had in mind, does this mean that the role of Ember Days should be reduced?

Earlier, the Council stated that the liturgical year should "be revised so that the traditional customs and discipline of the sacred seasons shall be preserved or restored to suit the conditions of modern times." ²⁹ However, are Ember Days one of these sacred seasons? Historically, they do predate many of the current liturgical seasons, but is this enough to save them in the reformed calendar?

To address these questions, the Church published the General Norms for the Liturgical Year and the Calendar in 1969, which included a directive for the celebration of Ember Days. In three paragraphs, the Congregation for Divine Worship defined the purpose of Ember Days, reassigned the responsibility of implementing them, and from where the prayers for these Masses are to be taken. The Congregation believed that Ember Days had a two-fold purpose where the Church "is to offer prayers to the Lord for the needs of all people...and to give him public thanks."30 Recognizing the historical connection to harvests, it especially commended the practice of offering prayers "for the productivity of the earth and for human labor" during Ember Days.31 As for the authority responsible for implementing Ember Days, the Congregation assigned it to conferences of bishops. This move is fascinating because Ember Days, being a Roman institution, were always declared by the Roman bishop. However, the hope was that by moving the responsibility to local authority, Ember Days would become more relevant in the life of the faithful since their themes would be pertinent to their local region. This view is supported by their final point that the prayers should come from the multiple votive Masses that were included in the revised Missal. By doing so, the prayers would remain universal, but the particular intentions would be directed to local situations.

Upon receiving these directives, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) in the United States affirmed them as well as adding to and further defining the directives. Another such addition is that the responsibility of implementing the Ember Days is to be determined by the local Ordinary.³² By doing so, Ember Days became all the more focused on local intentions. However the NCCB narrowed the possible intentions of Ember Days by saying that the prayers should be for the fruits of the earth, human rights and equality, world justice and peace, as well as a time for penitential observances outside of Lent.³³ Interestingly, the list of intentions shows that they wished for local intentions as their suggested intentions were common for the United States' Church in the 1970's.

Use of Ember Days Today in the United States

With all of the directives given by the Vatican and the United States' bishops, one would think that the use of Ember Days would be highly embraced by local bishops as a way for them to properly exercise their office. However, the task of implementing them was never taken up, at least not in the majority of dioceses. While the exact reason for the directives not being fully implemented may never be known, there are some viable possibilities. One explanation is that the Church was simultaneously experiencing a great renewal in many areas, especially in the liturgy. As such, the directives for Ember Days could have been easily seen as one more thing on the list to do. Another is that the reforms were to be done on a highly localized level. While there are many benefits to having highly relatable and meaningful intentions, it does create a greater challenge for each diocese to create intentions and the supporting materials and actions, such as determining the dates, announcements, advertisements, and the like, for each Ember Day. However, at least two dioceses have taken up this task in recent years whose efforts

will be explored. These dioceses are the Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon and the Diocese of Bismarck, North Dakota.

The Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon seems to have successfully used Ember Days to enrich the life of the local Church. In 2002, now Archbishop Emeritus John Vlanzy reestablished in his diocese the practice of Ember Days. While retaining the name, Vlanzy declared that the Embertides should be just one day in length with the Embertides being celebrated in fall, Advent, and Lent with the particular date being announced in annual letters sent out by the chancery. One possible reason for these Embertides of just one day is that it was a more pastoral approach, especially in reestablishing this tradition that was in disuse for about 40 years. These days, though still days of prayer and fasting, were not obligatory. However, the most amazing part of the reestablishment of the Ember Days is that they were originally designed as days to pray for the children of sexual abuse.³⁴ While this intention was not directly stated in either Vatican or United States Council of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) documents, it definitely was in their spirit. In more recent years, the Ember Days have taken on the role of various intentions including prayers for effective faith formation of children and adults³⁵ as well as prayer for the strengthening of marriage and family life.³⁶

In the Diocese of Bismarck, Ember Days were utilized as part of the Year of Faith (October 11, 2012 to November 24, 2013) declared by Pope Benedict XVI. By tying them to the Year of Faith, they were seen as ways to help the faithful fully embrace this opportunity to deepen their faith. Like the Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon, Ember Days in the Diocese of Bismarck were encouraged, but not obligatory. However, the Diocese of Bismarck did put together quality

materials to advertise Ember Days, including a video that was part of the bishop's weekly video messages. These materials used a rather inspirational tone as they focused on how these days are intended for one to personally grow in faith. Even on their website, they used a challenging, but welcoming phrase "Penanceis good—and good for you." 37 Unlike the Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon, the Diocese of Bismarck celebrated Ember Days at each of the four traditional times of the year (Advent, Lent, post-Pentecost, September) and were comprised of all three days for each of the Embertides. Besides greater personal sanctification, which was heavily stressed, the intention was for religious liberty and vocations to the priesthood and consecrated life. 38 Though it appears that the diocese is only reestablishing Ember Days for this year, their efforts are still to be applauded since they provide an example for other dioceses.

Future Uses of Ember Days

As seen in both the Archdiocese of Portland and in the Diocese of Bismarck, Ember Days can be a great asset to the development of the faith for both the individual and the Church. However, both dioceses had to address a number of questions, as will any diocese looking to implement Ember Days into their calendar. One such issue is the date on which they are to be celebrated. Should the traditional dates be held as the Diocese of Bismarck did or other dates chosen around the same time as the Archdiocese of Portland did? Choosing dates that are not on Sundays, which traditionally are not Ember Days, actually respects the decrees of the Second Vatican Council. By using the other days of the week, the feasts of the Lord and the significant celebrations in the

Propers of Seasons on Sunday are for the most part, respected.

Another obstacle of using Ember Days is the lectionary cycle. Whereas the pre-Vatican II lectionary had readings for the Ember Days, the current lectionary does not. Dioceses could keep the same readings out of respect to the current lectionary. In some regards, it would seem beneficial to develop lectionary readings that could supplement the current lectionary for these Embertides, especially for the Ember Saturday Mass which had an impressive number of lessons before the reforms.³⁹ Such a development today would be of great benefit for both the formation of the faithful as well as a way to continue developing relationships with non-Catholic Christians and Jews through our common Scriptures.

Finally, the challenge of reestablishing the tradition of celebrating Ember Days needs to be addressed. Dioceses should not merely send a letter to pastors indicating the dates of the Embertides. Instead actions, such as those done by the Diocese of Bismarck, of educating all the faithful should be explored. Bulletin announcements, letters, videos, and websites should all be created to help people understand the tradition and the benefits of Ember Days. Further, print and digital material should be available to help people enter more solemnly into these celebrations. One can easily think of the treasury of prayers and devotional practices found in the tradition of the Church, which have all too often been forgotten in the minds of the faithful. Most importantly, all of the above materials need to be pastoral. Language such as "obligation" or "non-mandatory" should not be used. Instead, language of earnestly seeking a renewed relationship should be used.

As for particular intentions, Ember Days have many possibilities. Recognizing their tradition as days of thanksgiving for the gifts of the earth, rural life, and ecological intentions are definitely fitting. While many dioceses have diocesan rural life offices and rural life Masses, they are often focused on just those who live in rural areas. By having an Embertide dedicated to rural and ecological issues, all of the faithful are able to examine their natural dependence on God's creation, the blessings they have received from it, as well as their attitudes for caring for it. Further, these Embertides could provide opportunities to form the faithful in the Church's theology on ecology and the Catholic Social Teaching on Care for God's Creation. Both the summer and fall Embertide would be especially appropriate times to do so since they are in the midst of the growing and harvesting seasons in the United States. Since the summer Embertide is right after Pentecost, the parallelism between the gifts of the earth being gifts from God/ Holy Spirit would also have special correlation to such intentions.

Another theme that suits itself to Ember Days is vocations. As is clearly evident, the number of priests and religious is reducing in the United States. While this issue has many causes, developing a renewed sense of prayer for people to respond to God's call, be it to the priesthood, religious life, or elsewhere, would not be one of them. Even if the Church was not in need of more ordained and professed, the intention for vocations is always needed since all are called to continually respond to God's call throughout one's life. Embertide has this tradition of being the time for the Church to call upon God to provide for the Church.

Finally, Ember Days also provide a number of benefits pastorally. By having Embertides over a stretch of days like Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, communities could provide spiritually enriching opportunities each day. Not only does this go against the minimalistic attitude that religion is

practiced only on Sunday, it also provides multiple opportunities for individuals to join their community in an intention, which is most advantageous for the faithful who have busy lives. Additionally, the multiple days provide an opportunity for parishes clustered together to create stations as was used in Rome. For example, Ember Wednesday could be celebrated at the first parish, Ember Friday at the second, and Ember Saturday at the third. Finally, Embertides that fall in Advent or Lent could be used as the time for parishes to heighten the season by having reconciliation and prayer services during these times. All of the above are only a few of the ways in which Ember Days can renew the Church as she lives out her faith.

Conclusion

Of the many liturgical celebrations in the Church year, Ember Days could arguably be one of the most unknown and misunderstood in the modern Church. Though its definitive origins are unknown, it clearly has a longstanding tradition within the Church. Indeed the reforms of the Second Vatican Council sought to emphasize the annual celebration of the mysteries of Christ, but this does not mean the elimination of other liturgical celebrations within the liturgical year. Correctly applied, Propers of Seasons that are focused on the mysteries of Christ should and do fundamentally shape the liturgical year and the feasts of saints provide examples of those living out the faith to the faithful. Ember Days, however, provide a way for the Church to experience times of growth in holiness, thankfulness, penance, and petition on a significantly personal level yet within a communal dimension. In other words, Ember Days provide the Church an opportunity to experience little 'days of reflection' or miniature

retreats within the context of everyday life, an attitude embraced by those dioceses that have reestablished their use of them. Thus, Ember Days are not in contradiction to the liturgical life of the Church, but rather support it to be even more fully the worshiping community that it is called to be.

Notes:

¹Thomas Julian Talley, "The origin of the Ember Days: an inconclusive postscript," in *Rituels: au Mélange offerts du Père Gy, Q.P.*, eds. Paul De Clerck and Eric Palazzo, 465-472 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990), 465.

²W.J. O'Shea, *The Worship of the Churc*h (Westminster, Maryland: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1960), 233-234.

³Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, "Whose fast is it? the Ember Day of September and Yom Kippur," in *Ways that Never Parted*, 259-282 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 263.

⁴On Ember Wednesday after Pentecost, the Old Testament readings were replaced by the Acts of the Apostles. This peculiarity may have been due to the fact that this Embertide fell during the Octave of Pentecost.

⁵G.G. Willis, *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (London: SPCK, 1964), 84.

⁶While the exact date of the origins of Ember Days is unknown, most of the theories explained later presume a rather early dating. For one such discourse, see Willis, *Essays*.

⁷Josef Jungmann, *Public Worship* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1958), 227.

⁸Willis, Essays, 52.

⁹Zech. 8:19.

¹⁰Jungman, *Public*, 228.

¹¹Adolf Adam, *The Liturgical Year: Its History and Its Meaning After the Reform of the Liturgy* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1981), 186.

¹²Willis, Essays, 60-61.

¹³Jungman, Public, 228.

¹⁴Stökl Ben Ezra, "Whose Fast is It?," 260, 264.

¹⁵Adam, *The Liturgical Year*, 188.

¹⁶Willis, Essays, 53.

¹⁷Esther Mary Nickel, "Rogation Days, Ember Days, and the New Evangelization," *Antiphon* 16, no.1 (2012): 24.

¹⁸Willis, Essays, 51.

¹⁹Adam, The Liturgical Year, 188.

²⁰Stanislaus Woywod and Callistus Smith, *A Practical Commentary* on the Code of Canon Law, vol. 2 (New York: J.F. Wagner, 1957), 54.

²¹Adolf Adam, *The Liturgical Year*, 186.

²²Ibid., 104.

²³Ibid.

²⁴G.G. Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy to the Death of Pope Gregory the Great* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1994), 141.

²⁵Adam, The Liturgical Year, 187-88.

²⁶Canon 1006. While 1917 Code of Canon Law restricts ordination to solemn Masses on Ember Saturday, but also equally allows for ordinations to take place on the Saturday before Passion Sunday and Holy Saturday. Prior to this, there was also a tradition of ordaining on the Sunday *in Mediana*, which occurs in Lent, though this practice is from the early Church before Pope Gelasius' declaration.

²⁷International Commission on English in the Liturgy, *Documents On the Liturgy*, 1963-1979: Conciliar, Papal, and Curial Texts (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1982), 22, para. 105.

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 22, para. 108.
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32Catholic Church, *Thirty-Five Years of the BCL Newsletter*, 1st ed. (Washington, DC: United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2004), 312.

³⁵Office of the Chancellery of the Archdiocese of Portland in Oregon, *Lent and Paschal Triduum*, announced online March 5, 2012, accessed December 13, 2013, http://www.archdpdx.org/Lenten%20Regulations%202012.pdf.

³⁶Author unknown, "Advent Ember Day Set," *Catholic Sentinel*, published November 13, 2013, accessed December 13, 2013, http://www.catholicsentinel.org/main.asp?SectionID=2&SubSectionID=3 5&ArticleID=22983.

³⁷Diocese of Bismarck, *Ember Days*, no date given, accessed December 13, 2013, http://www.bismarckdiocese.com/index.cfm?load=page&page=215.

³⁹Ember Wednesday and Saturday Old Testament readings were, for all practical purposes, the only Old Testament readings in the pre-Vatican II lectionary. The only major exception was the Easter Vigil Old Testament readings.

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Adam, Adolf. The Liturgical Year: Its History and Its Meaning After the Reform of the Liturgy. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1981.

²⁹Ibid., 22, para. 107.

³⁰Ibid., 1161, para. 45.

³¹Ibid., 1161, para. 45.

³³Ibid, 312.

³⁴Nickel, "Rogation Days," 31.

³⁸Ibid.

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