

# *The Performative Manuscript: Art, Agency and Public Ritual in Ottonian Mainz*

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*The German city of Mainz under Archbishop Willigis (975–1011) witnessed a major flourishing of the arts, particularly in the field of architecture. During this period, a benedictional, now in St Gall, was also commissioned. Its only figurative content is an image of Christ in Majesty on its first folio. Taken as a case study, analysis of this permits an approach to the barely-explored concept of performativity in early medieval illuminated manuscripts. This *Maiestas Domini*, the list of blessings contained in the book and contemporary depictions of religious ceremonies invites consideration of the joint role that image and manuscript played in the dynamic liturgical rites during which the benedictional was handled.*

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**S**tudies in medieval performance, as a topic of historical research, have only been developed in recent decades.<sup>1</sup> Performance, understood as ‘enactment’, has multiple meanings in the study of the Middle Ages. The term today, however, mostly refers to either medieval forms of theatre, or to the ceremonies of the ordinary Christian liturgy and their symbolism.<sup>2</sup> In this latter area, it is notably the field of medieval architecture that has attracted substantially more academic attention from art historians. The works of specialists such as Carolyn Malone or Sheila Bonde, for instance, have consistently focused on an anthropological reading of medieval spaces as places of regular encounter and ritual

BL = British Library, London; BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; CCSL = Corpus Christianorum Series Latina; CSEL = Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum; IRHT = Institute de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes, Paris

<sup>1</sup> E. Gertsman, ‘Introduction: the spectrum of performances’, in E. Gertsman (ed.), *Visualizing medieval performance: perspectives, histories, contexts*, Aldershot–Burlington, VT 2008, 1–13.

<sup>2</sup> R. McCall, *Do this: liturgy as performance*, Notre Dame 2007, 1–40 at pp. 9–21.

significance.<sup>3</sup> In addition, processional sculpture with an evident performative nature, such as crucifixes, has so far also enjoyed a privileged position, particularly in well-documented contexts such as medieval Rome.<sup>4</sup>

In stark contrast, the role of the pictorial arts has been largely neglected. Elizabeth Saxon's extensive contribution on art and the eucharist in the early Middle Ages, for instance, dealt with architectural settings, sculpture and ivory panels, processional objects such as crucifixes, and even some mosaics.<sup>5</sup> In the same volume, Kristen van Ausdall analysed the rituals of the eucharist in relation to the arts, and discussed in depth the roles of panel paintings, well-known fresco cycles, altarpieces, sculptured baptismal fonts and reliquaries.<sup>6</sup> Apart from a very short reference to the Rabbula Gospels in Saxon's contribution, illuminated manuscripts were completely absent from this seminal study. Moreover, traditional methodological approaches to medieval art history, particularly as practised in continental Europe, have tended to deny the importance of the logical synergy between art and liturgy. In overall terms, the emphasis in Continental scholarship has traditionally been on prestigious examples of high-ranking patronage and luxury artworks, certain iconographies and their evolution, and the relationships between different schools and 'styles'. Within this academic framework, the performative use of an illuminated manuscript has perhaps been considered a *de facto* characteristic of an object's function that somehow belongs purely to the realm of liturgical research. This article aims to challenge that view.

The study of the symbiosis between liturgical performance and the pictorial arts of the early medieval Latin West faces a dearth of documentary evidence, which hinders research. Byzantinists enjoy the preservation of detailed ekphrastic accounts of rituals and sites, as well as abundant

<sup>3</sup> C. L. Malone, 'Architecture as evidence for liturgical performance', in H. Gittos and S. Hamilton (eds), *Understanding medieval liturgy: essays in interpretation*, Aldershot–Burlington, VT 2016, 207–37. See also S. Bonde and C. Maines, '“*Ne aliquis extraneus claustrum intret*”: entry and access at the Augustinian abbey of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, Soissons', in T. N. Kinder (ed.), *Perspectives for an architecture of solitude: essays on Cistercians: art and architecture in honour of Peter Fergusson*, Turnhout 2004, 173–86.

<sup>4</sup> S. de Blaauw, 'Following the crosses: the processional cross and the typology of processions in medieval Rome', in P. Post, G. Rouwhorst, L. van Tongeren and A. Scheer (eds), *Christian feast and festival: the dynamic of Western liturgy and culture*, Leuven 2001, 319–43. For Ottonian Germany see A. E. Fisher, 'Cross altar and crucifix in Ottonian Cologne: past narrative, present ritual, future resurrection', in S. Kaspersen and E. Thunø (eds), *Decorating the Lord's table: on the dynamics between image and altar in the Middle Ages*, Copenhagen 2006, 43–62. For the early Middle Ages see also R. M. Jensen, *The cross: history, art and controversy*, Cambridge, MA 2017, 97–122.

<sup>5</sup> E. Saxon, 'Carolingian, Ottonian and Romanesque art and the eucharist', in I. C. Levy, G. Macy and K. van Ausdall (eds), *A companion to the eucharist in the Middle Ages*, Leiden–Boston 2012, 251–327.

<sup>6</sup> K. van Ausdall, 'Art and eucharist in the late Middle Ages', *ibid.* 541–617.

theological treatises that help to interpret the interaction between religious art and pious individuals in the middle and late Byzantine Empire. This rich *corpus* of primary sources, including authors such as St Theodore of Studios or Leo of Chalcedon, often contains detailed analyses of the symbolism of a specific icon or sculpture.<sup>7</sup> This is also the case for Western Europe in the late Middle Ages, particularly in the Low Countries. Authors researching this period often quote passages, not only from liturgical treatises, but also from works of devotional literature that enjoyed wide circulation and popularity at the time, such as Thomas à Kempis's *De imitatio Christi*. This abundance of religious literature, and also of first-hand documentation in the form of catalogues or contracts, permits the interpretation of the symbolism and reception of a wide range of iconographies. This circumstance, therefore, adds further dimensions to the study of panel paintings, altarpieces or manuscripts (such as Books of Hours for private use).<sup>8</sup>

The contrast with the early medieval Latin West is sharp. Amidst the absence of testimonies, specialists are bound to rely exclusively upon complex liturgical treatises in which artistic media are not the focus of any detailed description, but mere agents of ritualistic practices. An example is the principal work of the ninth-century Carolingian churchman Amalarius of Metz (c. 775–850) – the *Liber officialis*.<sup>9</sup> In it, Amalarius describes with great detail the different ceremonies of the ninth-century Frankish Church and offers suggestions on how to proceed during various stages. Only the readings themselves, and not the books, are given any importance. References to crucifixes or chalices appear now and then.<sup>10</sup> For the early Middle Ages, therefore, it is speculation that prevails in the discussion of the dynamic and varied synergies that effectively

<sup>7</sup> For Abbot Theodore see St Theodore the Studite, *On the holy icons*, ed. and trans. C. P. Roth, Crestwood, NY 1981. For a specific use of his work see B. Pentcheva, 'Rhetorical images of the Virgin: the icon of the *Usual miracle* at the Blachernai', *Res: Journal for Anthropology and Aesthetics* xxxviii (2000), 34–55 at p. 38. For Bishop Leo of Chalcedon see A. W. Carr, 'Leo of Chalcedon and the icons', in C. Moss and K. Kiefer (eds), *Byzantine East, Latin West: art historical studies in honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, Princeton 1995, 579–84. References to performativity in Byzantine visual culture also appear in B. Pentcheva, 'The miraculous icon: medium, fantasy, and presence', in M. Cunningham and L. Brubaker (eds), *The cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium*, Aldershot–Burlington, VT 2011, 263–77.

<sup>8</sup> K. M. Rudy, 'The Trivulzio Hours, the Ghent Altarpiece, and the mass as devotional subject', in W. Blockmans, T.-H. Borchert, N. Gabriëls, J. Oosterman and A. van Oosterwijk (eds), *Staging the court of Burgundy*, Turnhout 2013, 301–23.

<sup>9</sup> Amalarius of Metz, *On the liturgy*, ed. E. Knibbs, Cambridge, MA 2014. See also E. S. Duckett, *Carolingian portraits: a study in the ninth century*, Ann Arbor, MI 1988, 92–120.

<sup>10</sup> See, for instance, the description of the Adoration of the Cross ceremony: Amalarius, *On the liturgy*, ii.14, at vol. i. 167–83.

occurred between people and books during rituals.<sup>11</sup> As common and necessary performative tools, medieval illuminated manuscripts enjoyed a central position in the regular interplay of Christian rites, visual culture of powerful symbolism, and its reception amongst faithful participants.<sup>12</sup> In order to conceive liturgical scenarios of manuscript performativity, this research will use a case study.

The Codex Sangallensis 398 (CS398), today preserved at the Stiftsbibliothek of St Gall, is an illuminated benedictional produced at the cathedral school of Mainz around the year 1000 and has now been entirely digitised.<sup>13</sup> (A benedictional is a category of liturgical book required by a bishop or an archbishop during the mass so that he can read out a wide range of public blessings oriented towards his congregation.<sup>14</sup> The textual content of this type of manuscript varied between sees.<sup>15</sup>) This benedictional was created during the long tenure of the well-connected Ottonian archbishop of Mainz Willigis (975–1011).<sup>16</sup> This manuscript has a total length of 110 folios, each of which measures approximately 16 x 21.5 cm. After a frontispiece on folio 1r (p. 3), the verso of the same folio (p. 4) displays a framed image of Christ in Majesty – a *Maiestas Domini* – accompanied by the inscription *Salus Mundi* (Salvation of the World) (see fig. 1).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> C. Chazelle, *The crucified God in the Carolingian era: theology and art of Christ's Passion*, Cambridge 2001, 75–99.

<sup>12</sup> M. Caviness, 'Reception of images by medieval viewers', in C. Rudolph (ed.), *A companion to medieval art*, London 2006, 65–85. See also N. A. Pawelchak, 'Medieval art, audiences, embodied responses and cognitive theory', unpubl. PhD diss. Florida State 2014.

<sup>13</sup> G. Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, Halle 1875, 136. The decoration was described for the first time in R. F. Lauer, 'Studien zur ottonische Mainzer Buchmalerei', unpubl. PhD diss. Bonn 1987, 183–5. The digitised manuscript can be found at <<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/thumbs/csg/0398>>.

<sup>14</sup> A. Hughes, *Medieval manuscripts for mass and office: a guide to their organization and terminology*, Toronto 1982, 120; A. A. King, *Liturgy of the Roman Church*, London 1957, 388–90; J. Jungmann, *The mass of the Roman rite*, trans. F. A. Brunner, ii, New York 1951, 294–7; E. Möller, *Corpus Benedictionum Pontificalium*, i, CCSL clxii, Turnhout 1973, 6–115.

<sup>15</sup> A. Prescott, 'The structure of English pre-Conquest benedictionals', *British Library Journal* xiii (1987), 118–58 at p. 119.

<sup>16</sup> E.-D. Hehl, 'Willigis von Mainz: päpstlicher Vikar, Metropolit und Reichspolitiker', in W. Hartman (ed.), *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000–1025*, Mainz 2000, 51–77; M. G. Kellner, 'Willigis', in F. W. Bautz (ed.), *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, xiii, Herzberg 1998, 1336–8.

<sup>17</sup> Henceforth, for Codex Sangallensis 398, standard Arabic pagination between brackets accompanies the recto-verso system. This respects the system used for the digitised version of the manuscript on *e-Codices*.



Figure 1. 'Christ in majesty', Codex Sangallensis 398, Stiftsbibliothek, St Gallen, fo. 1v, Mainz, *c.* 1000. Reproduced by permission of the Stiftsbibliothek, St Gallen. Photo: St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 398, p. 4: Benedictiones Episcopales, <<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0398>>.

The decoration of a benedictional with full-page scenes was rare in the early and high Middle Ages. The comprehensive and lavishly decorated Christological cycles of the contemporary Anglo-Saxon Benedictional of St Æthelwold, the Regensburg Benedictional of Engilmar of Parenzo, or

a Lorsch pontifical now in Paris are notable exceptions.<sup>18</sup> The Mainz benedictional displays instead only one scene, together with scattered gilded initials throughout. Unlike its contemporaries, the apparent simplicity of the Mainz manuscript's decoration perhaps implied a more regular use as liturgical book. Its luxurious and delicate Anglo-Saxon counterpart was likely conceived instead as a precious gift and future *ex-voto*, only to be handled and showcased perhaps during a handful of feasts and special ceremonies.

The initial focus of this research is on the symbolism and message that this decorated manuscript transmitted to an audience when folios 1v–2r were shown. In the field of art history, illuminated manuscripts such as this benedictional have not attracted enough interest from scholars, traditionally more interested in iconographic particularities or cohesive narrative cycles that can be related to other artworks elsewhere. The role of the bishop and the general performative use of a benedictional will also be analysed. In this regard, the manuscript's list of episcopal blessings (an edited version of which can be found in the Appendix below), contemporary liturgical sources and depictions of ceremonies in other illuminated manuscripts, will serve to illustrate the handling and showcasing of benedictionals in ninth-, tenth- and eleventh-century Europe. The history of Willigis's tenure at Mainz, as well as general aspects of the liturgy in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods, are sufficiently well known. This will facilitate to a considerable extent the final task, that of reconstructing eucharistic ceremonies in Mainz around the year 1000 and the role that this illuminated benedictional in particular played in them.

### *The agency of the Christ in Majesty*

The blessing *Maiestas Domini* appears on folio 1v (p. 4) of the manuscript. The figure is depicted within a frame composed of yellowish and black borders, over a background of a standardised Carolingian and Ottonian maroon. The representation of Christ does not occupy the whole of the page. It appears alone, over the parchment, and was large enough to be easily perceived by the viewer at some distance when the manuscript was fully open. Flanking the portrait of Christ, the observer also distinguishes the gilding of the letters: SA/LUS MU/NDI.

<sup>18</sup> BL, MS Add 49598. See C. Karkov, *The art of Anglo-Saxon England*, Woodbridge 2011, 88–9, 221–28 (figs 64, 66; plates 8, 9). R. Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold*, Princeton 1995, 6–8. The latter is J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, MS Ludwig VII I. See E. A. Gatti, 'Building the body of the Church: a bishop's blessing in the Benedictional of Engilmar of Parenzo', in A. T. Jones and J. S. Ott (eds), *The bishop reformed: studies of episcopal power and culture in the central Middle Ages*, Aldershot–Burlington, VT 2007, 92–121.

The creation of this inscription is not arbitrary. The previous page, folio 1r (p. 3), carries the title assigned to the manuscript's content ('Benedictiones episcopalis per circulu[m] anni') and the heading of the first blessing ('In vigilia natalis D[omi]ni'), that is, Christmas Eve (see fig. 2). The image of Christ in Majesty on the following folio must be visually paired with its opposite page, folio 2r (p. 5), where the blessing that the bishop pronounced on that day continues (see fig. 3). The benedictional's set of blessings begins, therefore, with the liturgical celebrations of Christ's birth. Describing the episode, Matthew 1.21 (KJV) runs: 'And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus: for he shall save his people from their sins.'<sup>19</sup> On this occasion, this *Maiestas* comes to embody the idea of human salvation which is at the core of Christian theology and will culminate in the Second Coming of Christ and the Last Judgement. Describing it, St Matthew wrote: 'When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, then he will sit on his glorious throne.'<sup>20</sup> The Mainz illuminators, heavily influenced by this Apocalyptic concept, created an image of a seated Christ in Majesty that represented the beginning of the annual set of blessings. The first set of celebrations in this corpus commemorated in fact Christ's First Coming and the beginning of the redemptive process – Christmas.

The figure of Christ appears over a pedestal. But, although he is seemingly seated, there is no actual throne.<sup>21</sup> Christ was initially drawn with a black pen outline, the tunic later being coloured with the same maroon seen in the background and frame, whereas the long chlamys is light blue, later retouched with white, resulting in a well-executed light and shade effect. As in other versions of this iconography, Christ holds a

<sup>19</sup> 'Pariet autem filium et vocabis nomen eius Iesum ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum.' See F. D. Brunner, *Matthew: A commentary*, i, Grand Rapids, MI–Cambridge 2004, 45.

<sup>20</sup> Matthew xxv.31 reads 'Cum autem venerit Filius hominis in maiestate sua et omnes angeli cum eo tunc sedebit super sedem maiestatis suae.' Another reference to the *Salus Mundi* appears in the Passion prayer 'Ecce lignum crucis', but that evidently refers to the cross and Easter Friday. See D. White, *The lost knowledge of Christ: contemporary spiritualities, Christian cosmology and the arts*, Collegeville, MN 2015, 62. White also remarks that the cross in mosaic that decorates the main apse of the church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, near Ravenna, also displays such a message.

<sup>21</sup> F. van der Meer, 'Maiestas Domini', in E. Kirschbaum (ed.), *Lexikon der christliche Ikonographie*, Rome–Fribourg–Basel 1971, 135–42. The most comprehensive study of this iconography to date is A.-O. Poilpré, *Maiestas Domini: une image de l'Église en Occident, Ve–IXe siècles*, Paris 2005. For the origins of the iconography see T. F. Mathews, *The clash of gods: a reinterpretation of early Christian art*, Princeton, NJ 1999, 92–114. A revised opinion is found in J. A. Freeman, 'The Good Shepherd and the enthroned ruler: a reconsideration of imperial iconography in the early Church', in L. M. Jefferson and R. M. Jensen (eds), *The art of empire: Christian art in its imperial context*, Minneapolis, MN 2016, 159–96.

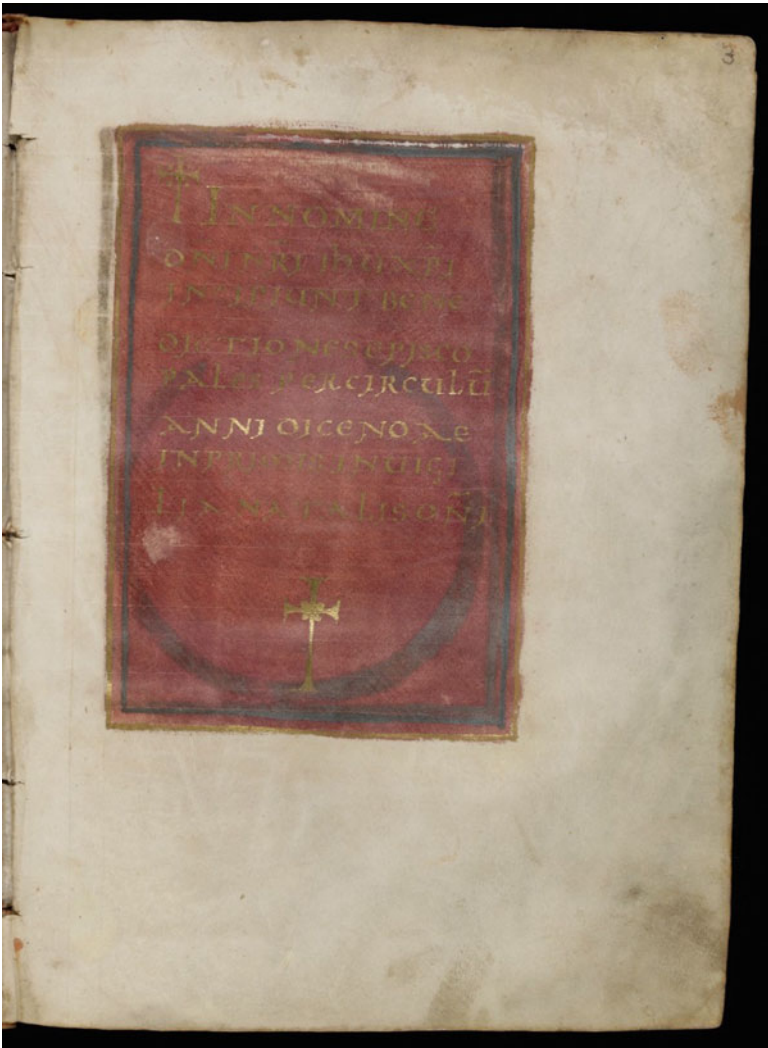


Figure 2. Title and first heading of the ‘Benedictiones episcopalis’, Codex Sangallensis 398, fo. 1r. Photo: St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 398, p. 3: Benedictiones Episcopales (<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0398>).

closed book, probably alluding to the seven-sealed *liber* mentioned in the Book of Revelation.<sup>22</sup> With his right arm Christ makes a sign of blessing to the viewer with three fingers representing the doctrine of the Trinity.

<sup>22</sup> Revelation v.1. In the Vulgate the passage runs: ‘Et vidi in dextera sedentis super thronum librum scriptum intus et foris signatum sigillis septem.’



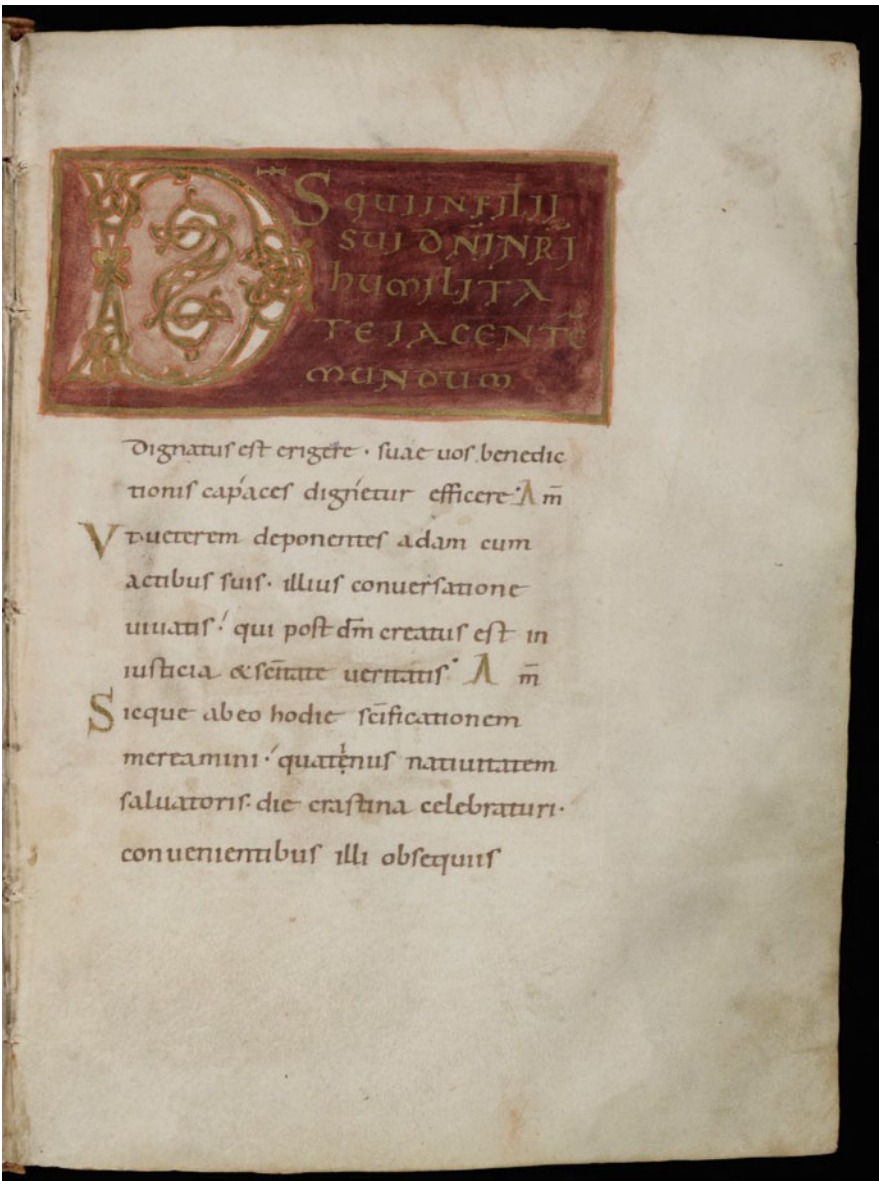


Figure 3. Codex Sangallensis 398, fo. 2r. Photo: St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 398, p. 5: Benedictiones Episcopales (<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0398>).

The face is somewhat rough, mainly because of the eyes. A gilded, cruciform aureole frames Christ's head.

Iconographic models of the enthroned Christ are found in numerous examples of other types of decorated manuscripts, particularly in illuminated copies of the Gospels in both the Carolingian and Ottonian periods. In the ninth century a similar representation of Christ, in a mandorla and surrounded by the Tetramorph, the Evangelists and four Prophets appears as the frontispiece to the New Testament section of the First Bible of Emperor Charles the Bald (the Vivien Bible), made at Tours.<sup>23</sup> In the German tenth century, a similar scene of great complexity was conceived as the frontispiece of the Sainte Chapelle Gospels. This manuscript was likely commissioned by the well-known patron of the arts, Egbert, archbishop of Trier (977–93), at either Reichenau or Echternach.<sup>24</sup> It is worth remarking that this *Maiestas* image appears on folio 1v of the Sainte Chapelle Gospels – the same position that it occupies in Codex Sangallensis 398. However, as Rudolf Lauer remarks, the most direct parallel to the Christ in Majesty of CS398 was also created at Mainz around the same time.<sup>25</sup> Now in Munich, the Prayerbook of Otto III (996–1002) was either commissioned by him, or was a gift from Archbishop Willigis to the young prince.<sup>26</sup> Folios 20v–21r display a double scene. The young Otto, on the left, appears prostrated and facing a very similar *Maiestas* to that of the CS398 on the right-hand page (see fig. 4). This time however, Christ's throne is being carried in the air by two angels, thus mirroring with greater accuracy the vision described in Matthew xxv.31.

Only three uses of this iconography are known in illuminated benedictionals. The aforementioned Benedictional of St Æthelwold depicts in fact not one, but two images of Christ performing a blessing gesture.<sup>27</sup> The first appears on folio 70r – a depiction of an enthroned Christ inside a double, gilded mandorla and above the title of a blessing related to the Trinity dogma. The second image of a blessing Christ is a two-thirds length depiction within another golden mandorla on folio 91r. This image appears framed by a sumptuous vegetal frieze, characteristic of the Winchester scriptorium at the

<sup>23</sup> BnF, MS lat. 1, fo. 329v; P. E. Dutton and H. L. Kessler, *The poetry and paintings of the First Bible of Charles the Bald*, Ann Arbor, MI 1997, 64–6.

<sup>24</sup> BnF, MS lat. 8851, fo. 1v.

<sup>25</sup> Lauer, 'Studien zur ottonische Mainzer Buchmalerei', 184.

<sup>26</sup> Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, MS Clm 30111, fo. 21r; S. Hamilton, 'Most illustrious king of kings: evidence for Ottonian kingship in the Otto III Prayerbook', *Journal of Medieval History* xxvii (2001), 257–88 at pp. 272–3 (fig. 4); L. E. Saurmajelsch, 'Das Gebetbuch Ottos III: dem Herrscher zur Ermahnung und Verheißung bis in die Ewigkeit', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* xxxviii (2004), 55–88.

<sup>27</sup> J. J. G. Alexander, 'The Benedictional of St Æthelwold and Anglo-Saxon illumination of the Reform period', in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth-century studies: essays in commemoration of the millennium of the Council of Winchester*, London 1975, 169–83, 241–5.



Figure 4. 'Christ in Majesty', Prayerbook of Otto III, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Clm 30111, fo. 21r, Mainz, c. 1000. Reproduced by permission of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; photo: BS Munich.

time. Yet, these are relatively small portraits of Christ that, unlike the Mainz manuscript, do not represent the main visual element of the page, and remain complementary decorations to a textual marker.

A third and final example of this category of book displaying a *Maiestas Domini* was created at Lorsch in the second half of the eleventh century. Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, MS 2657 is a manuscript that contains

the *benedictiones pontificales*, that is, a set of blessings for rites exclusively performed by a bishop outside the regular eucharistic services.<sup>28</sup> Folio 1v of this manuscript displays a framed, full-page enthroned Christ in Majesty accompanied by the symbols of the four Evangelists and, on the opposite page, the depiction of two saints (see fig. 5). Although the inscriptions are missing, these are likely the portraits of St Peter and St Paul, to whom the Lorsch abbey church had been consecrated in the eighth century.<sup>29</sup> The positioning of these two portraits on the opposite page to the *Maiestas* may indicate that the Lorsch artists intended to highlight the intercessory roles of both St Peter and St Paul at the Last Judgement, the episode to which the *Maiestas* iconography on the opposite page alluded.

Since the decoration of a benedictional was rare in tenth- and eleventh-century Europe, the Lorsch and Mainz *scriptoria* freely created different, albeit valid models of text-image symbolism that exerted a powerful effect on their manuscripts' audiences. Whereas the Lorsch artists opted for a double scene with Christ and St Peter and St Paul, the message of eventual redemption stressed in the visuality of the Mainz benedictional stemmed from the interplay between the inscription *Salus Mundi*, attached to the representation of an Apocalyptic *Maiestas*, and the textual beginning of the Christmas celebrations that marked the First Coming of Christ. In the depictions of Christ in Majesty in both benedictionals the figure performed the same gesture, a blessing oriented towards their potential audiences. This is precisely the same gesture that Archbishop Willigis performed during the eucharistic services for which the Mainz benedictional was first and primarily conceived.

### *The bishop's manuscript: representation and authority*

'Custodiebat, custos erat, vigilabat, quantum poterat, super eos quibus praeerat; – et episcopi hoc faciunt. Nam ideo anterior locus positus est episcopis, ut ipsi superintendant et tamquam custodiant populum'.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> H. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, i, Stuttgart 1986, 205; Bernard Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften*, ii, Lorsch 1989, 114–15. For the difference between the two types see A. Prescott, 'The text of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold', in B. Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold: his career and influence*, Woodbridge 1997, 119–48 at pp. 120–1. See also M. Klückener, 'Das Pontifikale als liturgisches Buch: Geschichte, Aufbau und Inhalt: Bedeutung für die Gegenwart', in W. Haunerland and R. Kaczynski (eds), *Manifestatio ecclesiae: Studien zu Pontifikale und bischöflicher Liturgie*, Regensburg 2004, 79–127.

<sup>29</sup> H.-P. Wehlt, *Reichsabtei und König: Dargestellt am Beispiel der Abtei Lorsch mit Ausblicken auf Hersfeld, Stablo und Fulda*, Göttingen 1970, 23.

<sup>30</sup> 'He (Christ) kept watch, he was the watchman, he remained vigilant, insofar as he was able, over those in charge – and bishops also do this. For that reason, a higher



Figure 5. 'Christ in Majesty, St Paul and St Peter', Lorsch benedictional, fos 1v–2r, Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, Paris, Lorsch, c. 1075. Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, Service de manuscrits; photo: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Handschriftenabteilung/ Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, Paris, Service de manuscrits.

Beyond the awe-inspiring agency of the manuscript's *Maiestas*, the Mainz benedictional and its decoration also established a symbolic and personal association with the figure of its owner and patron, Archbishop Willigis, in a wide variety of contexts. The image of the blessing Christ in Majesty found, in this manner, a direct correlation in terms of gestures that, being part of predefined rites, a bishop or an archbishop regularly performed in public.<sup>31</sup> This *imitatio*, or intentional and meaningful replication by the pious churchman, had Christ as the ideal model. It does, moreover, add a further layer of symbolism to the action, since these blessings were performed in public, oriented towards a vast congregation of presumably fearful and pious churchgoers who also expected to behold the same gesture during the Last Judgement. By depicting this iconography on the manuscript, the Mainz archbishop, therefore, expressed a clear will to associate his image with that of the enthroned Christ.<sup>32</sup>

position is granted to bishops, to oversee and, as it were, guard people': Amalar, *On the liturgy*, iii.1, at vol. i. 66–9.

<sup>31</sup> McCall, *Do this*, 91–3, 130–1.

<sup>32</sup> E. Palazzo, 'The image of the bishop in the High Middle Ages', in Jones and Ott, *The bishop reformed*, 86–91.

In early medieval times the bishop was widely considered to be a representative of God on earth.<sup>33</sup> After the fall of the Roman Empire, primates became in many cases the only remaining urban *auctoritas* in the West – a political reference in the administration of cities across Europe, amidst the collapsing social structures of the former Roman authority and the absence of local or regional political leadership.<sup>34</sup> In the central centuries of the medieval millennium, after the consolidation of a powerful royal dynasty such as the Ottonians, the bishop fiercely defended his ancient status of civil authority and political reference. There was continuous interference and disregard by regional nobilities and, sometimes, by zealously independent monastic houses as well.<sup>35</sup> At that time, the strong role of the bishop in the Oecumene's life found a vigorous defender in the Anglo-Saxon Wulfstan, archbishop of York between 1002 and 1023.<sup>36</sup> In his diverse written oeuvre, particularly his homilies and letters, Wulfstan repeatedly stated that bishops should play a more active role in the life of laymen.<sup>37</sup> They were part, as local or regional representatives, of what Tertullian once defined as the *vicarii Christi*.<sup>38</sup> This concept implied the use on earth, in his absence, of Christ's power, channelled through the Holy Spirit, and granting his vicar unparalleled and uncontested authority.<sup>39</sup> Throughout the Middle Ages, however, divergent interpretations of

<sup>33</sup> M. Parisse, 'The bishop: prince and prelate', in S. Gilsdorf (ed.), *The bishop: power and piety at the first millennium*, Münster 2004, 1–22.

<sup>34</sup> J. Maxwell, 'Education, humility and choosing ideal bishops in late antiquity', in J. Leemans, P. van Nuffelen, S. W. J. Keough and C. Nicolay (eds), *Episcopal elections in late antiquity*, Berlin–Boston 2011, 449–62 at pp. 449–52.

<sup>35</sup> J. Eldevik, 'Driving the chariot of the Lord: Siegfried I of Mainz (1060–84) and episcopal identity in an age of transition', in Jones and Ott, *The bishop reformed*, 161–88 at pp. 168–74; E.-D. Hehl, 'Bedrängte und belohnte Bischöfe: Recht und Politik als Parameter bischöflichen Handelns bei Willigis von Mainz und anderen', in L. Körntgen and D. Wassenhoven (eds), *Patterns of episcopal power: bishops in tenth- and eleventh-century Western Europe*, Berlin–Boston 2011, 63–86 at pp. 81–6. The lasting quarrel between St Gall and the archbishopric of Constanx is well known: K. Steiger, 'Die jurisdiktionsrechtliche Stellung des Klosters St. Gallen im Bistumsverbande von Konstanz: geschichtlich dargestellt auf Grund des kanonischen Prozesses der Jahre 1596–1607', *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte/Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique Suisse* xvi (1922), 33–52 (at pp. 35–40 for the Carolingian and Ottonian periods).

<sup>36</sup> P. Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: eleventh-century state-builder', in M. Townend (ed.), *Wulfstan, archbishop of York (Proceedings of the 2nd Alcuin Conference)*, Turnhout 2004, 9–27.

<sup>37</sup> M. P. Richards, 'I–II Cnut: Wulfstan's *Summa*?', in S. Jurasinski, L. Oliver and A. Rabin (eds), *English law before Magna Carta*, Leiden 2010, 137–56 at pp. 141–3. See also J. T. Lionarons, *The homiletic writings of Archbishop Wulfstan*, Woodbridge 2010, 114–15.

<sup>38</sup> Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, in *Tertulliani opera*, ed. E. Kroymann, CSEL lxx, pt 2b, Vienna–Leipzig 1942, 28.

<sup>39</sup> R. Trilling, 'Sovereignty and social order: Archbishop Wulfstan and the *Institutes of polity*', in Jones and Ott, *The bishop reformed*, 58–85 at pp. 68–71. For the ninth century

this idea and the balance of power between the ecclesiastical and lay worlds led on several occasions to acrimonious conflict. At the core of the investiture controversy for instance, lay the expanding ambitions of Henry IV as Holy Roman Emperor and the strong opposition orchestrated by the influential papacy of Gregory VII and its allies.<sup>40</sup>

Nevertheless, in the daily life of many medieval cities, the bishop was still the leader of the local population. Liturgy, therefore, was not only a regular set of religious services, but also a public and continuing display of the bishop's authority. Besides the eucharistic rites that occurred inside the walls of the cathedral, perception of the bishop's power and leadership at the local level increased during extraordinary events, such as a synod or a king's coronation, as well as during public events, such as the *adventus* of a particularly venerated relic, or the annual Palm Sunday procession. Willing to assert themselves and to advance their careers, the bishops took these occasions very seriously. In many cases manuscripts and their contents were key devices in these liturgical displays of power and authority.

Soon after 1024 the newly appointed prelate of the north-western German city of Minden, Sigebert (1022–36), commissioned a total of seven liturgical manuscripts from the Abbey of St Gall, including a monumental and richly illuminated sacramentary.<sup>41</sup> The reason behind this comprehensive and anomalous request to a *scriptorium* was the celebration of a *Reichstag*, or Imperial Diet. This gathering was to be held at Minden in 1030 and to be chaired by the new Salian king and close acquaintance of Sigebert, Conrad II. Through art patronage, Sigebert intended not only to perform the necessary rites before, during and after the proceedings of the Diet, but also to impress the audience of influential churchmen, high-ranking officials and the Salian king himself. This symbiosis of civil and ecclesiastical power was also particularly visible during the coronation of a new monarch. The Anglo-Saxon bishop of London, Wulfstan (d. 1023), also wrote about these episodes.<sup>42</sup> In these special ceremonies, the English cleric wrote, the bishop acted as a mediator, transmitting Christ's authority (and therefore his legitimacy) to the now officially acknowledged ruler. This was particularly true in the case of Archbishop Willigis at Mainz, as his biography and the contents of CS398 attest.

see I. H. Garipzanov, *The symbolic language of royal authority in the Carolingian world* (751–877), Leiden–Boston 2008, 43–7.

<sup>40</sup> U.-R. Blumenthal, *The investiture controversy: Church and monarchy from the ninth to the twelfth century*, Philadelphia 1995, 113–26.

<sup>41</sup> H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottoman book illumination: an historical study*, pt II, London 1999, 91–7.

<sup>42</sup> Wulfstan, *II Cnut* (BL, MS Cotton Nero A.i), 69. See P. Stafford, 'The laws of Cnut and the history of Anglo-Saxon royal promises', *Anglo-Saxon England* x (1981), 173–90 at pp. 178–82.

Both the regular eucharistic services, such as Sunday mass, and extraordinary or annual events, such as the coronation of a new king, the consecration of a church, the *dies natalis* of a popular local saint or the Easter celebrations, witnessed a high level of participation by the population. In early medieval Europe, public liturgies of different kinds came gradually to define the character of entire towns across the medieval West, as they still do nowadays, conferring a distinctive community identity. At the centre of public rites and meaningful processions, consolidating both the collective and the individual sense of belonging of the masses, the leading role was that of the local bishop.<sup>43</sup>

In this regard, benedictionals like CS398, as portable manuscripts, are known to have been shown and paraded during both regular and extraordinary liturgical moments across Western Christendom. Yet little attention has been paid to the performative function of illuminated manuscripts, especially compared to processional objects like crucifixes that were often solemnly handled, showcased and even kissed.<sup>44</sup>

### *The benedictional and its use: liturgy as public performance*

The bishop recited the blessings contained in a benedictional at a precise moment during the ordinary eucharistic services held daily and during the masses of specific feasts – after the *Pater Noster* and immediately before communion.<sup>45</sup> These blessings are evocative short passages of approximately fifty words each, the texts of some of those for the most important feasts being symbolically longer (the eve of Christmas or Pentecost, for instance).<sup>46</sup> Besides the standardised feasts of the liturgical calendar, other occasions, such as the consecration of a new church, were also included. Decisions as to which masses were said varied substantially from see to see, resulting in the wide range of benedictional texts that has come down to the present day.<sup>47</sup> Geographical differences abound,

<sup>43</sup> C. Flanigan, 'The moving subject: medieval liturgical processions in semiotics and cultural perspective', in K. M. Ashley and W. N. M. Hüsken (eds), *Moving subjects: processional performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Amsterdam 2001, 35–52. For the role of the bishop in particular see M. Gaillard, 'La Présence épiscopale dans la ville du haut moyen âge: sanctuaires et processions', *Histoire urbaine* x/2 (2004), 123–40.

<sup>44</sup> Fisher, 'Cross altar and crucifix', 50–3; E. C. Parker and C. T. Little, *The Cloisters Cross: its art and meaning*, New York 1994, 149–66.

<sup>45</sup> Prescott, 'The text of the Benedictional', 120–1; L. Ross, *Medieval art: a topical dictionary*, Westport, CT 1996, 34; D. A. Rivard, *Blessing the world: ritual and lay piety in medieval religion*, Washington, DC 2009, 7–10.

<sup>46</sup> Hughes, *Medieval manuscripts for mass*, 10–12, 138–9; G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval piety from relics to the eucharist: a process of mutual interaction*, Leiden 1995, 300–2.

<sup>47</sup> Prescott, 'The structure of English pre-Conquest benedictionals', 119.



even in relatively reduced regional contexts, puzzling modern specialists. In early medieval Europe, two main versions of benedictionals existed – the ‘Gallican’ and the ‘Gregorian’.<sup>48</sup> The former was highly influential and indigenous to pre-Carolingian north-western Europe and Iberia. The latter derived from the list of pre-communion blessings compiled by St Benedict of Aniane, later being sponsored by Aachen in order to standardise the liturgical practices of the expanding Frankish realm.<sup>49</sup> After the ninth century, *scriptoria* freely combined elements from both traditions, adding their own particularities as well.<sup>50</sup>

Codex Sangallensis 398 contains a triple set of blessings. These are three separate and consecutive lists of blessings of different lengths, created in order to offer to the officiant alternative versions to read at some of the major feasts.<sup>51</sup> These options were either drawn from Gallican or Gregorian materials, or devised *in situ*. As a result, a *scriptorium* would create its own unique version of the benedictional. In the form of this three-fold composition, the Mainz scribes ascribed special relevance, for instance, to the eve of Pentecost’s Eve, Pentecost and the further remembrance services held once a week for the twenty-three weeks following.<sup>52</sup> During the Easter ceremonies, similar blessings could be heard.<sup>53</sup> At local level, specific saints that enjoyed a particular veneration in the diocese were also remembered and their protection and blessing requested *super populum*. In the Benedictional of St Æthelwold, for instance, the feasts of two popular Anglo-Saxon saints, St Swithun and St Ætheldreda, were included.<sup>54</sup> In CS398, the blessing to be recited during the mass in honour of the patron saint of Mainz, St Martin, appears on folio 78r–v (pp. 155–6). St Stephen, a figure particularly venerated in Mainz, was commemorated with two different blessings, on folios 4v–5r (pp. 9–10) and 35v–66r (pp. 71–2). The *dies natalis* of St Innocent also included two different blessings, on folios 6r–v (pp. 11–12) and 37r–v (pp. 73–4). St Innocent’s importance rests on the presence of some of his relics in the nearby nunnery of Gandersheim, an institution under the influence of Mainz and over which the bishop of Hildesheim tried to establish a claim at the turn of the new millennium.<sup>55</sup> Paramount episodes in the life of the Virgin Mary, such as her *natale* or her Assumption, were also celebrated,

<sup>48</sup> Idem, ‘The text of the Benedictional’, 121–5.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. 126.

<sup>50</sup> Rivard, *Blessing the world*, 34–5.

<sup>51</sup> Prescott, ‘The text of the Benedictional’, 130.

<sup>52</sup> Stiftsbibliothek, St Gallen, Cod. Sang. 398, fos 61v–78r, 94v–105v. The codex also includes an initial pair of blessings only for the eve of Pentecost and Pentecost Day that appear on fos 17r–18v.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. fos 51r–56r.

<sup>54</sup> M. Lapidge, R. Deshman and S. Rankin, *The cult of St Swithun*, Oxford 2003, 87–9.

<sup>55</sup> C. Popp, *Der Schatz der Kanonissen: Heilige und Reliquien im Frauenstift Gandersheim*, Regensburg 2010, 23–34.

thus highlighting the growing importance of Marian feasts in Ottonian Germany.<sup>56</sup>

During the celebration of the eucharist in all those services, the benedictional was paraded and showcased, not necessarily by the primate himself, but by an assistant, likely a deacon. A depiction of such a practice is offered by the detached leaf from the Pericopes book of Bishop Sigebert of Minden, produced at St Gall in the period *c.* 1025–30 (see fig. 6).<sup>57</sup> This book was one of the seven liturgical books commissioned by the newly appointed bishop from the Alpine *Reichsabtei* before the Imperial Diet at his see in 1030. In this image, Sigebert appears seated on his *cathedra*, flanked by a Minden priest and a deacon. To Sigebert's left, the deacon stares at him whilst holding a liturgical book open. Similar interactions between the manuscript and its audience, rather static as this portrait demonstrates, are also conceivable on a regular basis in the case of the Mainz benedictional. In this regard, the so-called 'Solemn High Mass' is a service led by a priest, but held in the presence of the local bishop, seated on his *cathedra*.<sup>58</sup> This is probably the moment that the St Gall Pericopes portrays. Unfortunately, the types of manuscript showcased in the Minden Pericopes leaf remain a mystery.

None the less, it is the dynamic rituals of the regular processions which took place inside the cathedral and outside the walls of the building that the modern viewer needs primarily to consider in order to approach the performativity of Codex Sangallensis 398 and the visual reception of its *Maiestas Domini*. First and foremost, the sung prayers of the Introit marked the 'entrance' of the bishop in order to start the mass.<sup>59</sup> Here previously neglected correlations between the iconographies of the sculptured portals in twelfth-century buildings and specific introits are revealed. Margot Fassler, studying this synergy at Chartres, indicated that some of the themes represented in the cathedral's portals found textual counterparts in the tropes of the preserved Chartres introits.<sup>60</sup> The Nativity introit trope, for instance, celebrated 'the King's descent to Earth' and described 'the throne of His kingdom', likely alluding to two of the building's carved *Maiestates*.<sup>61</sup>

This direct correlation between visual culture and liturgical text may be evident at Mainz as well. BL, ms Add. 19768 is a manuscript containing diverse antiphons and tropes composed at Mainz during Willigis's tenure

<sup>56</sup> M. Clayton, *The cult of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge 2003, 23–51.

<sup>57</sup> Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian book illustration*, pt II, 91–3 (plate VIII); J. M. Pierce, 'Sigebert "the Beloved": a liturgical perspective on episcopal image from eleventh-century Minden', in S. Danielson and E. Gatti (eds), *Envisioning the bishop: images and the episcopacy in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2014, 249–73.

<sup>58</sup> Jungmann, *The mass of the Roman rite*, 198–202 at p. 201.

<sup>59</sup> D. Hiley, *Western plainchant: a handbook*, Oxford 1993, 109–16.

<sup>60</sup> M. A. Fassler, 'Liturgy and sacred history in the twelfth century tympana at Chartres', *The Art Bulletin* lxxv/3 (1993), 499–520.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 507–10.



Figure 6. Bishop Sigebert of Minden, together with a priest and a deacon: detached folio from the Sigebert Pericopes, Stiftung Preußisches Kulturbesitz, Berlin, MS Theo. lat. qu. 3, St Gall, c. 1025. Reproduced by permission of the Stiftung Preußisches Kulturbesitz, Handschriftenabteilung, Berlin; photo: Stiftung Preußisches Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

of the see.<sup>62</sup> The Nativity trope begins: ‘Today the Saviour of the World was deemed worthy to be born of a virgin’ / ‘From Heaven God gave us his only

<sup>62</sup> H. Parkes, *The making of liturgy in the Ottonian Church: books, music and ritual in Mainz, 950–1050*, Cambridge 2015, 31–88.

begotten son'.<sup>63</sup> The *Maiestas Domini* of CS398, and its *Salus Mundi*, highlighted the future redeeming nature of Christ's birth, and preceded the beginning of the blessings of Christmas Eve. Willigis and the creators of the benedictional perhaps had in mind these symbolic correlations between liturgical word and image when the benedictional's *Maiestas* was depicted. In that case, the book was likely paraded open during the Christmas introits, recreating the vision narrated in the trope. It is finally worth adding that a renovation that Mainz Cathedral underwent around the year 1200 witnessed the creation of a carved tympanum at one of its entries depicting an enthroned blessing *Maiestas* carried in the air by two angels.

The so-called 'offertory procession' was probably another stage when the Mainz benedictional might have been used.<sup>64</sup> This small procession, sometimes led by priests and deacons or members of the congregation, carried the host and the wine from the sacristy to the altar, together with other devotional objects and liturgical instruments. These included, for instance, a portable cross to be placed over the altar, or, in the case of Mainz around the year 1000, perhaps Codex Sangallensis 398. The *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*, a compound of liturgical indications compiled in Mainz under Archbishop Willigis, is an invaluable source for the liturgical history of the period. It states that Gospel books were normally paraded by one of the acolytes during the 'offertory procession'.<sup>65</sup> As previously argued, the illumination of Gospel books in Germany around the year 1000 included an almost standardised representation of the *Maiestas Domini* as a frontispiece. In the case of a large diocese, such as Mainz, the option of a similar parading and showcasing of a benedictional by one of the many deacons that the cathedral had at its disposal is certainly plausible.<sup>66</sup>

A similar offertory procession occurred during the eucharist of the Exaltation or Feast of the Cross, celebrated on 14 September, whose blessing is displayed on folios 19r–v (pp. 37–8) as '*In festiuitate s(anctae) crucis*' in the Mainz benedictional.<sup>67</sup> Led by the bishop himself, a priest or deacon also held a *crux*, a crucifix that was eventually placed over the altar. The eucharistic tools, the host and the wine, accompanied the deposition of the cross, together with the books that were necessary for saying the mass that began immediately afterwards, likely including this benedictional as

<sup>63</sup> 'Hodie salvator mundi per virginem nasci dignatus est' / 'Deus de caelo dedit nobis unicum filium suum'. See Parkes, *The making of liturgy*, 36.

<sup>64</sup> Hughes, *Medieval manuscripts for mass*, 87–8; J. P. Kingsley, 'To touch the image: embodying Christ in the Bernward Gospels', *Peregrinations* iii/1 (2010), 138–73 at pp. 168–9.

<sup>65</sup> C. Vogel, *Le Pontifical Romano-germanique du dixième siècle: le texte*, i, Vatican 1963, 351.

<sup>66</sup> Parkes, *The making of liturgy*, 160.

<sup>67</sup> L. van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross: towards the origins of the feast of the cross and the meaning of the cross in early medieval liturgy*, Leuven 2001, 41–73; Chazelle, *The crucified God*, 36–7.

well. In the case of the *Exaltatio Crucis*, or any other eucharistic services in which one of the bishop's assistants carried a portable cross, the image in the Mainz benedictional complemented the probable simplicity of a wooden or metallic cross not necessarily displaying a Christ on it.<sup>68</sup> On its way to the altar, the image could be seen easily by those attending the mass, located in close proximity on both sides of the central aisle which divided the congregation in many buildings such as Mainz Cathedral. The salvific purpose of the liturgy, the image showcased and the text recited by the bishop, contributed to a multi-sensorial performance, a solemn and inspiring experience for the entire congregation.<sup>69</sup>

Another important festivity during which the benedictional would certainly have been handled was the Palm Sunday procession that re-enacts Christ's entry into Jerusalem a week before Easter Sunday.<sup>70</sup> A substantial number of records from the Middle Ages about this ceremony describe vibrant moments of civic religion, accompanied by gestures, prayers and chants. In many cases, weather permitting, the procession began outside the walls of a city, always led by the bishop, followed by priests, deacons and other lesser members of the local church hierarchy. The procession stopped at the entrance to the cathedral and a mass was held inside, or sometimes outdoors.<sup>71</sup> The Palm Sunday blessing of the Mainz benedictional starts on folio 11v (p. 22) and ends on the following page. According to the text, the bishop referred to the crowd, who held the palm fronds ('concedatque vobis ut sicut ei cum ramis palmarum'). Another paragraph begins with the expression 'Benedicat vobis omnipotens Deus'. In the absence of mural figurative representations, the effect of the omnipresence of Christ's gaze and judgement could not be better achieved than by showcasing an image of the *Maiestas Domini* as the procession moved through the city's streets.<sup>72</sup> The figure of Christ performed in advance the same meaningful gesture that the bishop would later make during the mass. On that occasion, the deacon certainly paraded the book either closed or open at its first page. Most of the weight of the object probably rested over the deacon's left arm while walking. The book's front cover, therefore, was easily held open with the right hand and the iconography on folio 1v displayed.

<sup>68</sup> Fisher, 'Cross altar and crucifix', 51–2.

<sup>69</sup> Flanigan, 'The moving subject', 36–7; M. Carlson, *Places of performance: the semiotics of theatre architecture*, Ithaca 1989, 115.

<sup>70</sup> C. Wright, 'The Palm Sunday procession in medieval Chartres', in M. A. Fassler and R. A. Baltzer (eds), *The divine office in the Latin Middle Ages: methodology and sources studies, regional developments, hagiography*, Oxford 2000, 344–71 at pp. 345–6; Snoek, *Medieval piety from relics*, 275–6.

<sup>71</sup> Wright, 'The Palm Sunday procession', 346.

<sup>72</sup> Similar uses and visual perception are attested in Byzantium: B. Pentcheva, *The sensual icon: space, ritual and the senses in Byzantium*, University Park, PA 2010, 185.

The argument that manuscripts were displayed during liturgical processions is supported by a number of Carolingian, late tenth- and eleventh-century images. A peculiar scene is found in a Gospel-Pericopes book, created at Echternach around the year 1040. Folio 160r of this luxury manuscript, now in Brussels, depicts an early eleventh-century procession, the annual parading of a relic of St Stephen (*see fig. 7*).<sup>73</sup> A number of clerics surround and accompany the relic (which is seemingly inside a large casket).<sup>74</sup> The inscription above the image refers to the healing of the local sick shown in the lower level of the image. Two of the tonsured clerics each hold open a manuscript with their respective right hands. The one with the thurible is a priest, whereas the other figure, wearing a cap and carrying a crosier, is evidently a bishop. The latter perhaps carries with him a gradual or an *Ordo Missae*, which contains prayers to be recited out loud. The former may have been carrying a benedictional, whose text was not necessary during the procession. Yet, both books were open and their interiors on view.

This scene indicates that liturgical books were paraded by the bishop and his assistants during public processions in early eleventh-century Germany. The priest himself, or a deacon, would have later assisted the bishop during the mass, holding the benedictional open to facilitate his task. This is the precise moment captured by a scene in the Marmoutier Sacramentary, created around the year 850 at the eponymous abbey of Tours (fo. 173v) (*see fig. 8*).<sup>75</sup> The bishop was depicted holding a crosier, standing on a pedestal bearing his name, reminiscent of a pulpit. He appears to be blessing the assembly gathered before him, as the inscription above reads: ‘Hic benedic(ere) populu(m)’. As Voyer remarked, the stooping figure carrying a manuscript open on his back was the officiant’s assistant, a deacon, and the manuscript in question an independent benedictional or a sacramentary containing an equivalent list of blessings.<sup>76</sup>

A third and final glimpse into tenth- and eleventh-century manuscript handling and the display of manuscripts during a liturgical performance is offered by one of the sketches in the Lanalet Pontifical, a late Anglo-Saxon manuscript from Cornwall that depicts the consecration of a church (*see fig. 9*).<sup>77</sup> Folio 2v of this manuscript, now in Normandy, is

<sup>73</sup> Bibliothèque royale de la Belgique, Brussels, MS 9428.

<sup>74</sup> Snoek, *Medieval piety from relics*, 250–9; J. M. H. Smith, ‘Portable Christianity: relics in the medieval West (c. 700–1200)’, *Proceedings of the British Academy* clxxxi (2012), 143–67.

<sup>75</sup> C. Voyer, ‘Le Sacramentaire de Marmoutier (Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, 19bis) et l’abbé Rainaud’, in A.-O. Poilpré and S. Brodbeck (eds), *La Culture des commanditaires: L’œuvre et l’empreinte*, Paris 2015, 158–73 at fig. 4. <sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* 171.

<sup>77</sup> Bibliothèque municipale, Rouen, MS 27; D. Méhu, ‘The colours of the ritual: description and inscription of church dedication in liturgical manuscripts (10th–11th centuries)’, in B. M. Bedos-Rezak and J. F. Hamburger (eds), *Sign and design: script as image in cross-cultural perspective (300–1600 CE)*, Washington, DC 2016, 259–77. See also P. W. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: a tenth-century cultural history*, Woodbridge 1993, 43–4.

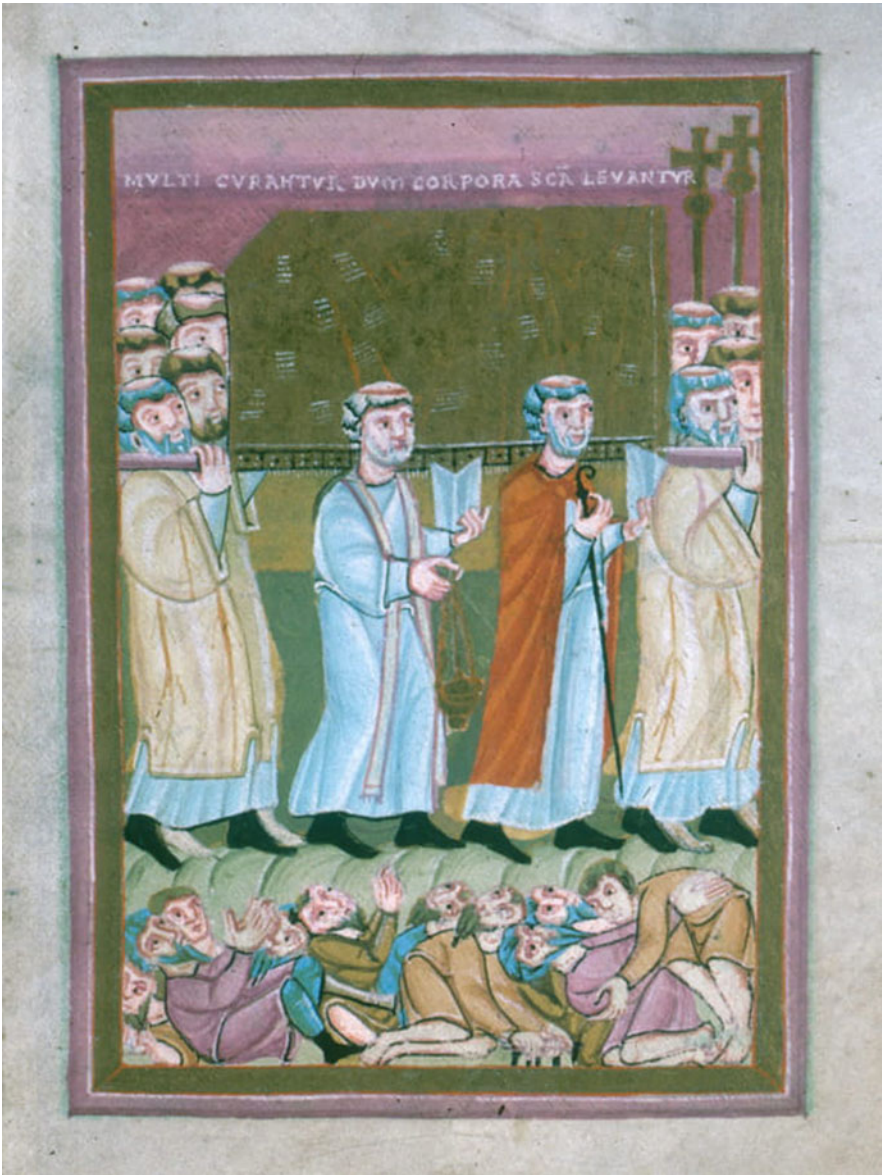


Figure 7. Procession of St Stephen's relic, Echternach Periscopes, Bibliothèque royal de la Belgique, Brussels, ms 9428, fo. 16or, Echternach, c. 1040. © Bibliothèque royal de la Belgique, Service des manuscrits.



Figure 8. Bishop blessing the congregation, Marmoutier Sacramentary, Bibliothèque municipale, Autun, MS19bis, fo. 173v, Tours, c. 850. Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque municipale, Autun; photo: cliché IRHT.





Figure 9. Bishop consecrating a church, from the Lanalet Pontifical, Bibliothèque municipale, Rouen, MS 27, fo. 2v, Cornwall, c. 1000. Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque municipale, Rouen, MS 27; photo: cliché IRHT.

illustrated with the only known representation of this ceremony from this period. A bishop, perhaps Buhrweald (c. 1002–19), is shown touching his crosier to the doors of the newly inaugurated church.<sup>78</sup> A group of lesser clergy stands behind him. A priest, who seemingly leads the group, holds a manuscript, this time closed. The scene likely represented the aftermath of the reading of the blessing, when the bishop performed a very precise dynamic ritual of consecration. Yet the manuscript was depicted as a paramount tool in the entire outdoor rite. A crowd of spectators, likely including the masons and other workers, as well as the local population, witness the performative ritual. In the Mainz benedictional, the blessing for this particular ceremony is displayed on folios 106v–107r (pp. 212–13: ‘In dedicatione aecl(esi)ae’).<sup>79</sup>

In the case of the Echternach Book of Pericopes, the modern viewer can only speculate about the type of manuscripts that were being handled by bishop and priest. It is clear, however, that benedictionals were paraded in Carolingian and Ottonian times. Priests, and especially deacons, played a major role, normally holding and carrying the necessary liturgical tools. It is now time to analyse in depth when and how CS398 might have been used in a specific historical context. The diocese of Mainz under Archbishop Willigis (975–1011) has been extensively studied by modern scholarship and offers a myriad of documented scenarios when the benedictional was probably handled.

*A setting: Mainz under Archbishop Willigis, c. 1000*

Even though the previous examples of liturgical performances certainly occurred in a variety of geographical contexts, Codex Sangallensis 398 contains blessings for services held during the lifetime of Archbishop Willigis in the city of Mainz and at which Willigis’s presence was required. The figure of this bishop defined the history of both the city and its diocese around the turn of the eleventh century.<sup>80</sup> Thietmar of Merseburg reported that Willigis was a person of very humble origins.<sup>81</sup> After becoming a cleric, he soon came to the notice of higher officials, being appointed chancellor

<sup>78</sup> Méhu, ‘The colours of the ritual’, 265 (fig. 13.2).

<sup>79</sup> D. E. Thiery, *Polluting the sacred: violence, faith and the ‘civilizing’ of parishioners in late medieval England*, Leiden 2009, 41–9. The seminal work on the rituals performed remains R. W. Muncey, *A history of consecration of churches and churchyards*, Cambridge 1930. For the use of relics in these rituals see Snoek, *Medieval piety from relics*, 179–81.

<sup>80</sup> P. Aufgebauer, ‘Der Mainzer Erzbischof Willigis (975–1011) und seine Wirken auf dem Eichsfeld’, in T. T. Müller, M. Pinkert and A. Seeboth (eds), *Bischof Burchard I. in seiner Zeit*, Heiligenstadt 2001, 51–77. See also n. 3 above.

<sup>81</sup> *Ottonian Germany: the Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, ed. and trans. D. A. Warner, Manchester 2001, 130.

to Otto II in 971. A few years later, in 975, Willigis became archbishop of Mainz and arch-chancellor of the Empire, the highest political office under the auspices of the Ottonian monarchs.<sup>82</sup> During his tenure, Willigis's plans for the city involved ambitious urban planning, mainly focused on church building.<sup>83</sup> The cathedral of St Martin experienced a major enlargement, resulting, not without trouble, in today's Romanesque building (see fig. 10).<sup>84</sup> A late Roman or Frankish structure likely existed before, although its dating and original aspect are unclear. Around the year 980 Willigis decided to enlarge the building, but it is impossible to ascertain whether eucharistic services and other liturgical gatherings were held inside the original, early medieval building for the duration of the works that culminated in 1009. Sadly, a fire broke out on the very day of the cathedral's inauguration, devastating large parts of the complex. The large abbey church of St Albans, home to the relics of the earliest Mainz saint, acted after that event as the city's cathedral.<sup>85</sup>

In order to explore the use of CS398, a pertinent question is, therefore, its dating. Since the different lists of blessings do not contain an individual passage related to St Albans, it is reasonable to believe that the benedictional now at St Gall was commissioned as a liturgical book to be used in St Martin's Cathedral. The commission and subsequent use of CS398 perhaps occurred within the walls of the previous building soon after 975 or during its enlargement over the following decades. A third option is to consider the manuscript as a future liturgical tool for use in the services to be held after the inauguration of the new building in 1009. As it was a basilica – as were most churches in Mainz at this time – it is easy to conceive of regular processional entries, from the sacristy on one of the sides or from the main gate, through the central apse, to the main altar, at least in the case of introit or 'offertory' processions.<sup>86</sup> The benedictional was likely one of the objects displayed by the group of deacons holding books and other liturgical and processional objects, such as banners or a portable cross, who stood in the altar area, facing the crowd that gathered

<sup>82</sup> W. Metz, 'Willigis in Rahmen der Beziehungen des Erzstifts Mainz zum deutschen Königtum in ottonischer und salischer Zeit', in A. Ph. Brück (ed.), *Willigis und sein Dom: Festschrift zur Jahrtausendfeier des Mainzer Domes, 975–1975*, Mainz 1975, 1–30; G. Althoff, *Otto III*, trans. P. G. Jestic, University Park, PA 2003, 35; J. Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutsche Könige*, ii, Stuttgart 1996, 204–5.

<sup>83</sup> J. Heinzelmann, 'Mainz zwischen Rom und Aachen: Erzbischof Willigis und der Bau des Mainzer Doms', *Jahrbuch für westdeutsche Landesgeschichte* xxx (2004), 7–34.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* 8–13; K. J. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque architecture, 800–1200*, New Haven 1993, 123–4 (fig. 78).

<sup>85</sup> Parkes, *The making of liturgy*, 23. See also R. Schmidt, *Die Abtei St. Alban vor Mainz im hohen und späten Mittelalter: Geschichte, Verfassung und Besitz eines Klosters im Spannungsfeld zwischen Erzbischof, Stadt, Kurie und Reich*, Mainz 1996, 25–41.

<sup>86</sup> F. Arens, 'Die Raumaufteilung des Mainzer Domes und seiner Stiftsgebäude bis zum 13. Jahrhundert', in Brück, *Willigis und sein Dom*, 185–249 at pp. 232–6.

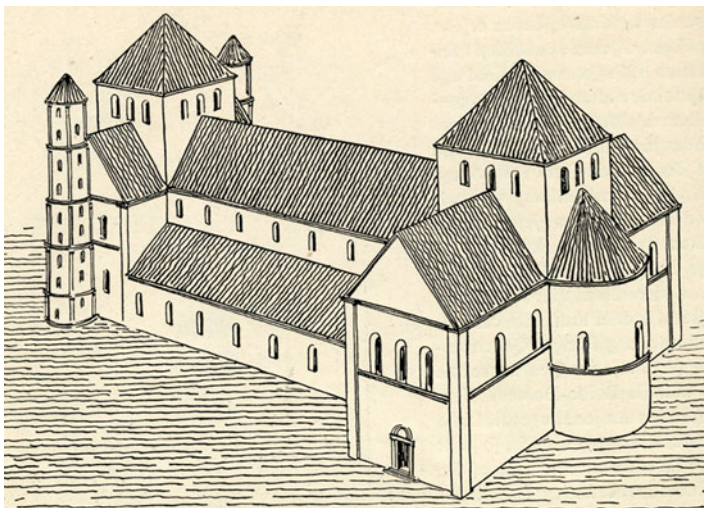


Figure 10. Model of Mainz Cathedral before Willigis's intervention, reproduced from Rudolf Kautsch, *Der Dom zu Mainz*, i, Darmstadt, 1919, 38.

mostly in the central nave and under the arches. In the hypothetical case of being carried open during the entry procession, the manuscript's image, although of secondary importance in relation to the figure of the bishop that led the group, also represented the entry of an *imago* of Christ into the *Sancta sanctorum* that the area around the altar symbolised.<sup>87</sup> The presence and showcasing of other illuminated liturgical books depicting the *Maiestas Domini* (such as the Gospels that the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* mentioned) remains an open question.

An almost certain setting for the handling and showcasing of Codex Sangallensis 398 was the church of St Stephen, promoted and inaugurated by Willigis in 990 and the beneficiary of an endowment offered by Emperor Otto II's wife, the Greek princess Theophanu.<sup>88</sup> This building, Willigis's second most important architectural initiative, is a three-aisle basilica with a developed *Westwerk*.<sup>89</sup> The edifice likely hosted the celebrations of the saint's *dies natalis* on 26 December. Two different commemorative blessings composed for the mass said on that day, are displayed on folios 51r–v (pp. 9–10) and 36r–v (pp. 71–2) of the benedictional. On the other hand,

<sup>87</sup> H. Belting, *Likeness and presence: a history of the image before the era of art*, trans. E. Jephcott, Chicago 1994, 227–9.

<sup>88</sup> J. Heinzelmann, 'Spuren der Frühgeschichte von St. Stephan in Mainz: ein Beitrag zur einer noch nicht geführte Diskussion', *Archiv für mittelhheinische Kirchengeschichte* lvi (2004), 89–100. See also H. Hinkel (ed.), *1000 Jahre St. Stephan in Mainz*, Mainz 1990.

<sup>89</sup> For the ninth century see C. Heinz, *Recherches sur les rapports entre l'architecture et la liturgie à l'époque carolingienne*, Paris 1963, 140.

if produced before 990, Willigis's benedictional might well have been used for the actual consecration of the church. This service involved a series of liturgical performances outside and inside the building.<sup>90</sup> Two different blessings to be recited by the primate during the mass on such an occasion appear on folios 31v and 32r (pp. 62–3). In case of a later date, Willigis and his subordinates likely used Codex Sangallensis 398 in the liturgical service that commemorated the anniversary of the consecration of a church, a blessing for which is written on folios 32r and 32v (pp. 63–4) – '[Benedictio] in anniv(er) saria dedic(atione) eccle(siae)'.<sup>91</sup>

Codex Sangallensis 398 also contains other blessings that probably reflect its potential use in late tenth- and, early eleventh-century Mainz. Folios 11v–12r (pp. 22–3), and 50r–v (pp. 99–100) contain two blessings read out by Willigis during the mass of Palm Sunday. This service was normally preceded by a solemn procession intended to re-enact Christ's entry into Jerusalem.<sup>91</sup> Led by the archbishop himself, this began at one of the gates of the city. The Roman *Mogontiacum*, the original settlement of Mainz, had probably boasted solid stone walls since the early first century.<sup>92</sup> These were reinforced in the fourth century with the widening of the precinct and the creation of several gates, such as the so-called *Kästrich* entrance, near St Stephen's church. Another gate stood to the south of the city, near the Roman theatre. This entrance later gave way to the *Neutorstraße*, which enlarged the path from Mainz's southern *extra moenia* to the cathedral. This second option remains the most likely setting for an outdoor re-enactment of the entry into Jerusalem by Archbishop Willigis. To the otherwise symbolic east of the city was the harbour on the Rhine which still dominates the landscape of the Rhineland's historical capital.

Archbishop Willigis was an extraordinary priest of great ambition. With the commission of the benedictional now at St Gall, he certainly intended to provide his see with a brand-new liturgical instrument for regular use. Willigis has been primarily studied by modern art historical scholarship as the driving force behind the construction of St Stephen's church and, most notably, the enlargement of St Martin's cathedral, one of the

<sup>90</sup> See n. 52 above.

<sup>91</sup> W. Ehbrecht, 'Überall ist Jerusalem', in H. Brauer and E. Schlenkrich (eds), *Die Stadt als Kommunikationsraum: Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte vom Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 2001, 129–86 at pp. 132–3. Palm Sunday processions in Ottonian Germany were certainly moments of communal pride, as well as a great display of logistics. They often witnessed the attendance of illustrious guests, such as the royal couple Otto I and Adelaide of Italy who attended the ceremonies at Marburg a number of times. See G. Althoff, 'Gandersheim und Quedlinburg. Ottonische Frauenklöster als Herrschafts- und Überlieferungszentrum', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* xxv (1991), 123–44 at p. 129.

<sup>92</sup> L. Falck, 'Mainz vom frühen Mittelalter bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts', in F. Schwind (ed.), *Geschichtlicher Atlas von Hessen*, Marburg 1984, 247–57 at pp. 247–8.

pioneering structures of the Romanesque in Germany. The intentions of the primate for his city were not restricted to the creation or enlargement of buildings, but also encompassed the progressive renovation of the modern city's *Altstadt*, mirroring Rome as its ideal model.<sup>93</sup>

Codex Sangallensis 398 can also offer to the modern viewer a glimpse into the aspirations and future projects of this archbishop. Folios 30v and 31r–v (pp. 60–2) of the manuscript contain the blessing that was to be recited ‘super rege(m) ... te(m)p(o)r(e) synodi’ – a hypothetical synod of the German primates chaired by an Ottonian monarch. Such a gathering would probably have been hosted at the new cathedral, after the building work was completed, or alternatively, at St Albans. As a matter of fact, in 952 a synod had been summoned by Otto I at Augsburg and its ceremonies led by the then archbishop of Mainz, Frederick (937–54).<sup>94</sup> Two years later, Frederick organised a minor gathering at Mainz.<sup>95</sup> Perhaps Willigis expected similar occasions to occur during his tenure, at Mainz or elsewhere.

An archbishop's personal relationship with the monarch was pivotal in these sorts of decisions. Otto I had been crowned at Aachen in 936 by Hildebert, archbishop of Mainz (927–37).<sup>96</sup> Otto II, who later appointed Willigis as chancellor and archbishop, had been crowned at Aachen Cathedral in 967, jointly by the archbishop of Cologne and Willigis's predecessor at Mainz, William (954–68).<sup>97</sup> Otto II died in November 983. The new king of Germany, and later Holy Roman emperor and king of Italy, his three-year-old son Otto III, was also crowned at Aachen Cathedral on Christmas Day that very year, the ceremony being led by Willigis himself.<sup>98</sup> The archbishop probably expected to develop a similarly close relationship with the young king and his future offspring. Folios 88r–v, 89r–v and 90r–v (pp. 175–80) of the manuscript contain blessings denominated ‘benedictiones regales’, whose texts exalt the role of the emperor and the importance of the priesthood that serves the monarch, including a number of Old Testament references (‘D(eu)s qui congregatis in tuo nomine sa mulis medium te dixisti assistere corona valentem imperatorem da gratiam sacerdotibus quam Abraham in holocausto’). Had CS398 been produced before 983, the benedictional might have been paraded in Aachen on that day. At some point of the solemn ceremony, perhaps the blessing gesture of the manuscript's *Maiestas Domini* would have been oriented towards the

<sup>93</sup> Heinzelmann, ‘Mainz zwischen Rome und Aachen’, 8–10 at fig. 2.

<sup>94</sup> H. Wolter, *Die Synoden im Reichsgebiet und in Reichsitalien von 916 bis 1056*, Paderborn 1988, 58–61. <sup>95</sup> *Ibid.* 62–4.

<sup>96</sup> J. W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant kingship and royal monasteries in early medieval Germany*, c. 935–1075, Cambridge 1996, 4; T. Reuter, *Germany in the early Middle Ages*, London 1991, 148.

<sup>97</sup> Reuter, *Germany*, 159, 170. <sup>98</sup> E. Garrison, ‘Otto III at Aachen’, *Peregrinations* iii/1 (2010), 83–137 at pp. 91–7.

enthroned infant Otto III. The precise chronology of the manuscript, therefore, remains an unsolved (but significant) problem. Otto III died unexpectedly in 1002. At Mainz, Willigis crowned the new monarch, Henry II, king of Germany in July of that year.<sup>99</sup> It is very likely that Codex Sangallensis 398 was used by Willigis and his subordinates during the coronation at Mainz of the last of the Ottonian monarchs. The image of the *Maiestas Domini* in the manuscript stood then as an earthly representation, a physical reminder of the power and authority upon which both Henry's realm and the Mainz archbishopric ultimately depended.

Otto III and Henry II were avid commissioners and recipients of sumptuously decorated manuscripts, such as Gospel-Pericopes or sacramentaries. The study of Ottonian and early Salian manuscript art has for too long orbited around explicit visual relationships of Christocentric kingship in imperial portraiture and donation scenes. Moreover, researchers (particularly in Europe) have also prioritised iconographic relations among extensive narrative cycles of Christ's life, following more traditional approaches to the manuscript medium.<sup>100</sup> Yet, the study of single images such as the *Maiestas Domini* of Codex Sangallensis 398, consistently sidelined due to their apparent aesthetic simplicity, can open the door to further consideration of the role and reception of visual culture in the regular liturgy of the period. In order to define the performativity of a medieval illuminated manuscript, specialists must rely upon its textual content, the study of the ceremonies in which the manuscript was involved, its iconographies and the symbolism that they conveyed in certain contexts. Scenes such as the Christ in Majesty or a Crucifixion, with a powerful symbolism for medieval audiences, reinforced the liturgical message and the emotional experience of viewers during the services. In contrast, the potential study of the performative use of luxurious and *ex-voto* manuscripts, such as the Benedictional of St Æthelwold or the several examples of Ottonian Gospel-Pericopes intended for royal use, is less plausible. The key importance of their decorative apparatuses reflected the primarily commemorative and symbolic functions of these manuscripts.

In the absence of primary sources, studies on the performativity of early medieval manuscripts require, to a certain extent, the formulation of hypotheses. However, other examples of medieval visual culture have proved valuable, leading to a clarification of hypothetical original practices and the handling of manuscripts in early medieval liturgical contexts. Nowadays, the art historical structuralist study of a decorated liturgical manuscript, such as this Mainz benedictional, requires the investigation of all possible aspects of its original function and reception, not only of its aesthetic components.

<sup>99</sup> Parkes, *The making of liturgy*, 158.

<sup>100</sup> Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian book illustration*, pt II, 57–68.

## APPENDIX

*List of Blessings, Codex Sangallensis 398 (Mainz, c. 1000)\**

- p. 3: *In vigilia natalis dmi* (beginning)  
 p. 4: Image of the Christ in Majesty  
 p. 5: *Ds qui in filii sui* (opposite page, continuation of the Christmas Eve blessing)  
 pp. 6–7: *Incarnacione*  
 pp. 8–9: *Benedicat vobis Om̃ps Ds vestram*  
 pp. 9–10: *B. in natali S. Stephani*  
 pp. 10–11: *B. in natali Johann Evangltae*  
 pp. 11–12: *B. in natal Innocentum*  
 pp. 12–14: *B. in octava Dmi*  
 pp. 14–15: *B. in Theophania*  
 pp. 15–16: *B. in Purific Sce Mariae*  
 pp. 16–17: *B. inicio Quadrag*  
 pp. 18–19: *Dom ii in quadragis*  
 pp. 19–20: *Dom iii in quadrag*  
 pp. 20–1: *Dom iiii in quadrag*  
 pp. 21–2: *Dom v in quadrag*  
 pp. 22–3: *B. in ramis palmari*  
 pp. 23–4: *B. Ite alia in Passione Dni*  
 pp. 24–5: *B. in caena Dni*  
 pp. 25–6: *in sbb sco*  
 pp. 26–8: *In die sco*  
 pp. 28–9: *B. in octava Pasc*  
 pp. 29–30: *B. de Resurrectione Dni*  
 pp. 30–1: *Item alia benedic*  
 pp. 31–2: *Iunior diebus*  
 pp. 32–3: *B. in die Ascension Dni*  
 pp. 33–4: *B. in Vig Pentecostes*  
 pp. 34–5: *B. in die Sco Pentecostes*  
 pp. 36–7: *B. in nal S. Iohann Baptiste*  
 pp. 37–8: *Benedic in Festivates Crucis*  
 pp. 38–9: *In natale Aploru Petri et Pauli*  
 pp. 39–40: *B. in festivo Sanctae Mariae*  
 pp. 40–1: *In festivit S. Ioh de martyrio*  
 pp. 41–2: *B. de Adventu Dmi*  
 pp. 42–3: *Item alia ben*  
 pp. 43–4: *In nat unius Apli*  
 pp. 44–5: *In nal unius Mart*  
 pp. 45–6: *In n plurimoru mart*

\* For practical purposes, this list uses the pagination system of the Stiftsbibliothek, St Gall, and, therefore, of the digitised copy on *e-Codices* (rather than the standard folio recto/verso numeration for manuscripts).



- pp. 46–7: *In nat unius confes*  
 pp. 47–8: *In nat plurimor conf*  
 pp. 48–9: *In natal unius virginis*  
 pp. 49–50: *In nat plurimar virg*  
 pp. 50–1: *Ben cotidianis diebus*  
 pp. 51–2: *Item alia benedictio*  
 pp. 52–3: *Item alia b*  
 pp. 53–4: *Item alia b*  
 pp. 54–5: *Alia ben*  
 pp. 55–6: *Item alia b*  
 pp. 56–7: *Item alia b*  
 p. 57: *Alia benedictio*  
 pp. 57–8: *Item alia b*  
 pp. 58–9: *Item alia ben*  
 pp. 59–60: *Item alia ben*  
 pp. 60–2: *B. super rege dicenda tepr synodi*  
 pp. 62–3: *B. in dedication eccle*  
 pp. 63–4: *In annisaria dedec eccle*  
 pp. 64–5: *B. super rege dicenda*  
 pp. 68–9: *Populu quum qs Dme*  
 pp. 69–71: *Respice omps Ds de celo plebe tua propicius*  
 pp. 71–2: *B. in nat Sci Stephani*  
 pp. 72–3: *B. in n Iohannis*  
 pp. 73–4: *B. in nat Innocentu*  
 pp. 74–6: *B. in octava Dni*  
 pp. 76–8: *B. in die Theophanie*  
 pp. 78–9: *In octava Theophan*  
 pp. 79–80: *B. in n Sci Hilarü Epi*  
 pp. 80–2: *Ben. in natl cathedre Sci Petri*  
 pp. 82–3: *B. in n Sci Vincentii*  
 pp. 83–4: *B. in Purific S. Mariae*  
 pp. 84–5: *Dominicis dieb dicendea Theoph usq in Xlma*  
 pp. 85–6: *Dom II post Theo*  
 pp. 86–7: *Dom III p Theop*  
 pp. 87–8: *Dom IIII p*  
 p. 88: *Dom V post Theop*  
 pp. 88–9: *Dom VI p*  
 pp. 89–90: *Dom VII p*  
 pp. 90–1: *Dom VIII p*  
 pp. 91–2: *Dom VIII p*  
 pp. 92–4: *Dom II in Xlma*  
 pp. 94–5: *Dom III in Xlma*  
 pp. 95–6: *Dom IIII in Xlma*  
 pp. 96–8: *B. in aurium apertione*  
 pp. 98–9: *B. Dom V in Xlma*  
 pp. 99–100: *In die Palmarum*

- pp. 100–1: *In cena Dni*  
 pp. 101–2: *B. in vigiliis S Pasch*  
 pp. 102–4: *B. in Die Sco Paschae*  
 pp. 104–5: *In II Fra Pascha*  
 pp. 105–6: *In III Fer Pasch*  
 pp. 106–8: *In IIII Fer Pasch*  
 pp. 108–9: *In V Fer*  
 pp. 109–11: *In VI Fer*  
 pp. 111–12: *In Sabbato*  
 pp. 112–13: *Ad clausu Pasch*  
 pp. 113–14: *In let maiore*  
 pp. 114–15: *Dom I p clausum*  
 pp. 115–16: *In dom II p clausu Pasch*  
 pp. 116–18: *B. dom III p clas Pen*  
 pp. 118–19: *Dom IIII ut Sup*  
 pp. 119–20: *In Ascensione Dni*  
 pp. 120–1: *De Inventione Sce Cru*  
 pp. 121–2: *In Dom p Ascensione D*  
 pp. 122–4: *Benedicto in die Sco Pentecostes*  
 pp. 124–5: *In Oct Pentecost*  
 pp. 125–6: *In Dom p Pentecost*  
 pp. 126–7: *Domc II*  
 pp. 127–8: *Domc III*  
 pp. 128–9: *In nat S Iohannis B*  
 pp. 129–30: *Domc V*  
 pp. 130–1: *In natl Apslm Petri et Pauli*  
 pp. 131–2: *Dom VI p Pentecos*  
 pp. 132–3: *Domc VII*  
 pp. 133–4: *Domc VIII*  
 pp. 134–5: *Domc VIII*  
 pp. 135–6: *Domc X*  
 p. 136: *In natl Machabeor*  
 pp. 136–7: *Domc XI*  
 pp. 138–9: *In Assuptione S Mar*  
 pp. 139–40: *Domc XII*  
 pp. 140–1: *Domc XIII*  
 pp. 141–3: *De Passione S Ioh*  
 pp. 143–4: *Dom XIII*  
 pp. 144–5: *De Nativit S Marie*  
 pp. 146–7: *Dom XVI*  
 pp. 147–8: *In Dom XVII p Pent*  
 pp. 148–50: *In Festivt S Michahel Arhangl*  
 pp. 150–1: *Domc XVIII*  
 p. 151: *Domc XVIII*  
 pp. 151–2: *Domc XX*

- pp. 152–3: *Domc XXI*  
 p. 154: *Domc XXII*  
 pp. 154–5: *Domc XXIII*  
 pp. 155–6: *in nat Sci Martini*  
 p. 157: *De Adventu Dni*  
 pp. 157–8: *In natl S Andree*  
 pp. 159–60: *Domc II de Advent*  
 pp. 160–1: *De Adventu III*  
 pp. 161–2: *III de Advent*  
 pp. 162–3: *Dom V de Advent*  
 pp. 163–4: *In natl unius martyri*  
 pp. 165–6: *B. in natl plurimor mar*  
 pp. 166–7: *in natl unius confessoris*  
 pp. 167–8: *in natl plurimor confessor*  
 pp. 168–9: *B. in natl virginum*  
 pp. 169–70: *B. in nat Aeclessiae*  
 pp. 170–1: *B. in conventu Eporu*  
 pp. 171–2: *B. in natal Epi*  
 pp. 172–4: *B. super populu cu Eps suum celebrat natl*  
 pp. 174–5: *B. super Ancillas Dni*  
 pp. 175–7: *Benedictio regalis*  
 pp. 177–80: *Alia benedictio regalis*  
 pp. 180–1: *B. in tempr belli*  
 pp. 181–2: *B. quando in trib missa celebrat*  
 pp. 182–3: *B. in temp qd absit mortalitatis*  
 pp. 183–4: *B. cu egreditur in itinere*  
 pp. 184–6: *B. dum in navigiu ascenditur*  
 pp. 186–7: *B. super homine unu*  
 p. 187: *Conclusio omnium bened*  
 pp. 188–90: *Item Benediction congruentissime ex lectionibus Apostolicis et Evangelicis ordinatae*  
 (Preface). *In vigilia Pentecostes*  
 pp. 190–1: *In die Sco Pentecostes ben.*  
 pp. 191–3: *B. in octab Pentec*  
 p. 193: *Benedict in Dom III post Pent*  
 p. 193–4: *In Dom III p Pent*  
 pp. 194–5: *B. in Dom V p Pent*  
 p. 195: *B. in Dom VI post Pentecost*  
 p. 196: *B. in Dom VII post Pent*  
 pp. 196–7: *Benedict in Dom VIII post Pent*  
 pp. 197–8: *In Dom VIII post Pent*  
 p. 198: *B. in Dom. X p Pentec*  
 pp. 198–9: *Benedict in Dom XI p Pentec*  
 pp. 199–200: *In Dom XII p Pent*  
 p. 200: *B. in Dom XIII p Pent*  
 pp. 200–1: *B. in Dom XIII p Pent*

- pp. 201–2: *B. in Dom XV p Pentec*  
p. 202: *Benedict in Dom XVI p Pent*  
pp. 202–3: *Benedictio in Dom XVII p Pent*  
p. 203: *in Dom XVIII p Pent*  
pp. 203–4: *Sabbato in duodecim lection*  
pp. 204–5: *Benedictio in Dom XVIII p Pen*  
pp. 205–6: *Benedictio in Dom XX p Pentec*  
p. 206: *Benedictio in Dom XXI p Pen*  
pp. 206–7: *Benedictio in Dom XXII p Pen*  
pp. 207–8: *Benedictio in Dom XXIII p Pen*  
p. 208: *Benedictio in Dom XXIII p Pentec*  
pp. 208–9: *Benedictio in Dom XXV p Pentec*  
pp. 209–10: *Benedictio in Dom XXVI p Pen*  
pp. 210–11: *B. in Festivitate Omn Scrm*  
p. 211: *Alia*  
pp. 211–12: *Alia*  
pp. 212–13: *In dedicatione aeclae*  
pp. 213–14: *Alia*  
p. 214: *In synodo*  
pp. 214–15: *Alia benedict*  
pp. 215–16: *Alia*  
pp. 216–17: *Benedictiones de Septuagesima*  
pp. 217–18: *B. in Sexagesima*  
pp. 218–19: *B. in Quinquagesima*  
pp. 219–20: *In natale Dmi primo mane*