INTRODUCTION: MAKING LITURGY

This is a book about religious ritual and its written remains. Much in the same way that scholars have devoted their attention to architecture, vestments, painting, ivories, metalwork, stone-carvings and the many other material fragments of Christian life which survive from early medieval Europe, my concern here is with books: those which stood ready on the lectern to be read and proclaimed in church; those which might help an individual find his or her way through the daily labyrinths of the liturgy; and those stowed away in the *armarium* for the future edification of their readers. On the surface, these are the witnesses which lead us deepest into the ritual past of the medieval Church. Their ceremonial directions, spoken words and notated music can furnish us with a vivid sense of how a rural priest passed his days, on one end of the spectrum, or how temporal power was legitimised in the spectacles of coronation or episcopal ordination, on the other. But ritual reconstruction is only one part of what follows here. To be sure, there is no shortage of social and cultural history in the ceremonies by which a sickly child was baptised or a pagan building made Christian, nor any shortage of fascination in the music sung to alleviate drought or to usher a dying soul into heaven. But that history is incomplete without an understanding of the men and women who wrote these things down, of the function and status of their writings and of the ancient parchment sheets which we now have before us.[1]

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[1] For stimulating treatment of these ideas see, among others, B. Cerquiglini, *In praise of the variant: a critical history of philology*, trans. B. Wing (Baltimore, MD, 1999); J. M. Gellrich, *The idea of the book in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1985); D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the sociology of texts* (Cambridge, 1999); D. Pearson, *Books as history: the importance of books beyond their texts* (London, 2008). Among existing studies which approach liturgical and musical sources from this kind of perspective see P.-M. Gy, 'Collectaire, rituel, processionnal', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 44 (1960), 441–69; S. Rankin, 'The earliest sources of Notker's sequences: St Gallen, Vadiana 317, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 10587', *EMH* 10 (1991), 201–33; *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*, ed. W. Arlt and S. Rankin, 3 vols. (Winterthur, 1996); N. K. Rasmussen, *Les pontificaux du haut moyen âge: genèse du livre de l'évêque*, ed. M. Haverals (Leuven, 1998).

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Behind every medieval manuscript there are human stories, and liturgical manuscripts of the early Middle Ages have a very special kind of insight to offer. Put simply, there was no one way to record in writing an elaborate and multi-sensory piece of ritual theatre. Nor, indeed, was there an a priori imperative to do so, for medieval memories were strong and adaptive, books expensive and inflexible. Written responses to ritual therefore encode all kinds of historical value, not only of the basic parameters of literacy and orality, but also of practical needs, abilities, customs and mindsets. As physical objects, liturgical texts were apt to be participants in the very acts they were designed to describe: held, carried, transported, damaged. They could symbolise beyond themselves, communicating authority, knowledge or entitlement, and they could be decorated inside and out. They could be associated with physical space, whether shrine, chapel or altar. They could be reshaped and adapted, rejuvenated for new contexts, and they could be discarded, either consigned to redundancy and obsolescence or memorialised as valued remnants of the past. Under the right circumstances, liturgical books are therefore supremely eloquent witnesses to the intellectual and cultural life of the early medieval Church. The challenge for the historian is first to learn their language, and second to persuade them to speak.

OTTONIAN LITURGY: PERCEPTIONS AND POSSIBILITIES

Few periods in history are more encouraging of this approach than tenth- and early eleventh-century Germany – known as 'Ottonian' for its line of Saxon kings called Otto – and for two quite different reasons.[2] Historians will be broadly familiar with the first, for this was 'a profoundly liturgical age', as Henry Mayr-Harting has put it, in which the spheres of temporal and spiritual life were utterly intertwined.[3] Kings were famed for their piety, bishops were famed for their lordship,[4] and religious acts framed the

[2] Henceforth 'Ottonian' and 'Germany' are used as shorthand to describe the period of East Frankish history loosely bounded by the accession of Otto I in 936 and the death of Henry II in 1024. To avoid undue confusion, I have not substituted the word 'Salian' in the few places where my discussion drifts later than the bounds of the 'Ottonian' dynasty.

[3] H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian book illumination: an historical study*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (London, 1999), vol. I, p. 64.

[4] On royal piety see, for example, G. Koziol, *Begging pardon and favor: ritual and political order in early medieval France* (Ithaca, NY, 1992); S. Hamilton, '"Most illustrious king of kings": evidence for Ottonian kingship in the Otto III prayerbook (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30111)', *JMH* 27 (2001), 257–88. On episcopal activities see, above all, T. Reuter, 'Ein Europa der Bischöfe: das Zeitalter Burchards von Worms', in W. Hartmann (ed.), *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000–1025* (Mainz, 2000), pp. 1–28, henceforth cited in its English translation as T. Reuter, 'A Europe of bishops', in L. Körntgen and D. Waßenhoven (eds.), *Patterns of episcopal power: bishops in 10th and 11th century Western Europe* (Berlin, 2011), pp. 17–38. See also R. McKitterick, 'The Church', in T. Reuter (ed.), *The new Cambridge medieval*

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great occasions of church and state, whether in sacral anointings staged on resonant feast days or in the processional *adventus* ceremonies when dignitaries imitated Christ's entry into Jerusalem in the presence of adulating crowds.[5] These events were not the everyday experience of worship in this period, by any means, but they are seen to symbolise a wider cultural re-engagement with the rituals of the Christian Church. As the tenth century wore on, religious communities which were errant or lax were being set back on track with 'reform' movements,[6] new churches were being built,[7] lay participation and private devotion were on the rise[8] and the liturgy was being adorned not only with new books – apparently the place of choice for Ottonian illuminators, who often took as their subjects the actors, postures and props of the liturgy – but also with new ritual compositions.[9] Now a couple of centuries old, the repertory of

   history III: c. 900–c. 1024 (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 130–62; H. Mayr-Harting, 'The early Middle Ages', in R. Harries and H. Mayr-Harting (eds.), *Christianity: two thousand years* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 44–64, esp. pp. 57–64.; T. Reuter, 'Bishops, rites of passage, and the symbolism of state in pre-Gregorian Europe', in S. Gilsdorf (ed.), *The bishop: power and piety at the first millennium* (Münster, 2004), pp. 23–36.

[5] Within a vast body of literature on German coronation rituals in this period see P. E. Schramm, 'Die Krönung in Deutschland bis zu Beginn des Salischen Hauses (1028)', *ZRG KA* 24 (1935), 184–332; C. Erdmann, 'Königs- und Kaiserkrönung im ottonischen Pontifikale', in F. Baethgen (ed.), *Forschungen zur politischen Ideenwelt des Frühmittelalters* (Berlin, 1951), pp. 51–92; C. A. Bouman, *Sacring and crowning: the development of the Latin ritual for the anointing of kings and the coronation of an emperor before the eleventh century* (Groningen, 1957). On *adventus* see B. Schwineköper, 'Der Regierungsantritt der Magdeburger Erzbischöfe', in W. Schlesinger (ed.), *Festschrift für Friedrich von Zahn*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1968), vol. I, pp. 182–238; O. Engels, 'Der Pontifikatsantritt und seine Zeichen', in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1987), vol. II, pp. 707–66; Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian book illumination*, vol. I, pp. 119–25; D. A. Warner, 'Ritual and memory in the Ottonian *Reich*: the ceremony of *Adventus*', *Speculum* 76 (2001), 255–83; see also E. H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae: a study in liturgical acclamations and mediaeval ruler worship* (Berkeley, CA, 1946).

[6] C. Dereine, 'Vie commune, règle de Saint Augustin et chanoines réguliers au XIe siècle', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 41 (1946), 365–406; R. Kottje and H. Maurer (eds.), *Monastische Reformen im. 9. und 10. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen, 1989); J. Wollasch, 'Monasticism: the first wave of reform', in Reuter (ed.), *New Cambridge medieval history III*, pp. 163–85; J. Nightingale, *Monasteries and patrons in the Gorze reform: Lotharingia c. 850–1000* (Oxford, 2001).

[7] E. Herzog, *Die ottonische Stadt: die Anfänge der mittelalterlichen Stadtbaukunst in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1964); W. Giese, 'Zur Bautätigkeit von Bischöfen und Äbten des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts', *DA* 38 (1982), 388–438; N. Hiscock (ed.), *The white mantle of churches* (Turnhout, 2003).

[8] H. Mayr-Harting, 'Public liturgy and private prayer in Ottonian liturgical manuscripts c. 1000', in C. Hourihane (ed.), *Manuscripta illuminata: approaches to understanding medieval and renaissance manuscripts* (University Park, PA, 2014), pp. 3–13; J. Hubert, 'La place faite aux laïcs dans les églises monastiques et dans les cathédrales aux XIe et XIIe siècles', in *I laici nella 'societas Christiana' dei secoli XI e XII: atti della terza settimana internazionale di Studio Mendola, 21–27 agosto 1965* (Milan, 1968), pp. 470–87; Hamilton, '"Most illustrious king of kings"'.

[9] On the specific association between liturgical books and illumination see Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian book illumination*, vol. I, pp. 60–8; Mayr-Harting, 'Public liturgy'; also E. A. Gatti, 'Developing an iconography of the episcopacy: liturgical portraiture and episcopal politics in late tenth- and early eleventh-century manuscripts', unpublished PhD thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (2005). New ritual compositions are considered in more detail below and in Chapter 1; broader creative developments are summarised in C. Leonardi, 'Intellectual life', in Reuter (ed.), *New Cambridge medieval history III*, pp. 186–211.

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Romano-Frankish chant known as 'Gregorian' was close to being filled out, and it was enjoying extensive embellishment as singers interwove their own words and melodies ('tropes') and composed new polyphonic layers ('organa');[10] the veneration of saints had begun to attract the composition of new sets of Proper chants (that is, music for a specific feast) to go with new hagiographic literature;[11] and there seems to have been an increased emphasis on rituals in procession, not only as expressed in the accounts of solemn *adventus*, in hagiography and in the abundance of surviving ritual directions, but also as permitted (or even demanded) by contemporary developments in romanesque architecture.[12]

In her researches into medieval biblical study Beryl Smalley proposed that there had been a wider intellectual shift in the tenth century, as theological practices had moved in an oft-quoted *dictum* 'out of the cloister and into the choir'.[13] She had observed not only the creative energies being devoted to the liturgy and its environs, but also a concomitant lull (a 'dramatic pause', in her words) in the production of scriptural commentaries. That assessment conceals a wider problem – or stimulus, depending on your point of view – which is that no appraisal of tenth-century activity is ever fully separable from the state of source survival. Perceptions of a dearth of evidence have long fuelled the idea that Ottonian culture operated in a less literate frame, with written documents replaced by the dynamic, performative transactions of ritual and ceremony. In his work on king-making Ernst Kantorowicz famously contrasted the numinous

10 Here I use the word 'trope' in its broadest sense, as elucidated in R. Crocker, 'The troping hypothesis', *Musical Quarterly* 52 (1966), 183–203. For well-rounded introductions see A. Haug, 'Neue Ansätze im 9. Jahrhundert', in H. Möller and R. Stephan (eds.), *Die Musik des Mittelalters* (Laaber, 1991), pp. 94–128; M. Fassler and P. Jeffery, 'Christian liturgical music from the Bible to the Renaissance', in L. A. Hoffman and J. R. Walton (eds.), *Sacred sound and social change: liturgical music in Jewish and Christian experience* (South Bend, IN, 1992), pp. 84–123, at pp. 98–103; and D. Hiley, *Western plainchant: a handbook* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 172–286. For an account of one source which contains both tropes and organa see *The Winchester Troper*, ed. Rankin.

11 R. M. Jacobsson and A. Haug, 'Versified Office', in *NG*, vol. XXVI, pp. 493–9; see also the introductory bibliography in the note above. For a general introduction to saints' cults in this period see R. Bartlett, *Why can the dead do such great things? Saints and worshippers from the martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, NJ, 2013), chs. 2, 3 and 13; on German hagiographic developments more specifically see S. Coué (S. Haarländer), *Hagiographie im Kontext: Schreibanlass und Funktion von Bischofsviten aus dem 11. und vom Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1997); S. Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum: eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier* (Stuttgart, 2000).

12 A. Doig, *Liturgy and architecture: from the early Church to the Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2008), esp. pp. 135–68; see also D. Chadd, 'The ritual of Palm Sunday: reading Nidaros', in M. S. Andås (ed.), *The medieval cathedral of Trondheim: architectural and ritual constructions in their European context* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 253–78; H. Gittos, *Liturgy, architecture, and sacred places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013).

13 B. Smalley, *The study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd rev. edn (Oxford, 1983), pp. 44–5; see also A. S. Cohen, *The Uta Codex: art, philosophy, and reform in eleventh-century Germany* (University Park, PA, 2000), pp. 183–4; M. B. Bedingfield, *The dramatic liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2002).

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'liturgy' of this period with the rational 'legal science' of the twelfth cen-
tury, while Karl Leyser proposed that a post-Carolingian cultural break-
down had pushed the workings of Ottonian government into the realm
of orality.[14] Whether or not we embrace these views, the principle of a
non-verbal, ritualised culture appears to hold even where sources do sur-
vive, with the written testimony often characterised as unusually opaque,
symbolic or polyvalent, and contested accordingly.[15] As Timothy Reuter
once put it in a sage piece of advice to the would-be historian, 'people
who want their sources to offer something like video-reportage of the
past should not choose the tenth and eleventh centuries to work on'.[16]

As objects of material and intellectual history, liturgical books have a
valuable and largely unrealised place in these debates.[17] But by the same
token they also refocus the agenda. Contrary to outward impressions,
the majority of surviving liturgical sources from the tenth century actu-
ally yield no direct insights into this supposed 'age of liturgy', and they
communicate none of the decorative or dramatic embellishments just
described. Instead, their purpose was far more mundane. Serving the
obligations of Mass and Office, the daily sources of spiritual nourishment
upon which religious life subsisted, these books were the simple tools of
the trade, with whose help were performed the basic rituals by which
time was structured, memories carved out and each successive age of the
human existence marked, from baptism to last rites to commemoration
in death.[18] From this point of view emerges a 'liturgy' whose defining

[14] E. H. Kantorowicz, *The king's two bodies: a study in mediaeval political theology* (Princeton, NJ, 1957),
pp. 87–97; Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae*, p. 60; see also R. Southern, *The making of the Middle Ages*
(New Haven, CT, 1953), esp. pp. 93–4. K. J. Leyser, 'Ottonian government', *EHR* 96 (1981), 721–53;
K. J. Leyser, 'Ritual, ceremony and gesture: Ottonian Germany', in T. Reuter (ed.), *Communications
and power in medieval Europe: the Carolingian and Ottonian centuries* (London, 1994), pp. 189–213. For
revisions of these views see, respectively, J. Nelson, 'Liturgy or law: misconceived alternatives?',
in S. Baxter *et al.* (eds.), *Early medieval studies in memory of Patrick Wormald* (Farnham, 2009), pp.
433–47; D. Bachrach, 'Exercise of royal power in early medieval Europe: the case of Otto the Great
936–73', *EME* 17 (2009), 389–419.

[15] T. Reuter, 'Introduction: reading the tenth century', in Reuter (ed.), *New Cambridge medieval
history III*, pp. 1–24; G. Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation im Frieden und
Fehde* (Darmstadt, 1997); G. Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft in Mittelalter*
(Darmstadt, 2003). On the problems and limits of interpreting ritual acts see P. Buc, 'Ritual and
interpretation: the early medieval case', *EME* 9 (2000), 183–210; P. Buc, *The dangers of ritual:
between early medieval texts and social scientific theory* (Princeton, NJ, 2001); and the response in G.
Koziol, 'The dangers of polemic: is ritual still an interesting topic of historical study?', *EME* 11
(2002), 367–88.

[16] Reuter, 'Bishops', p. 36.

[17] Significant attempts to date include Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian book illumination*, vol. II, and Mayr-
Harting, 'Public liturgy'.

[18] See M. Fassler, 'The liturgical framework of time and the representation of history', in R. A.
Maxwell (ed.), *Representing history, 900–1300: art, music, history* (University Park, PA, 2010), pp. 149–
71, among many pertinent writings by this author.

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feature was not difference at all, but continuity, not only with those first members of the early Church whose actions were memorialised in scripture and re-enacted on a daily basis, but also with the Carolingians, whose efforts to transform the Frankish liturgy in the eighth and ninth centuries had profoundly shaped its ongoing practice in the tenth.[19] Hence the absence of liturgical evidence from this period is far less significant than it might initially seem. Even if book production slowed in the early tenth century, Carolingian manuscripts probably continued to suffice and, more to the point, memory kept the whole machinery going, as it had done for centuries.[20] As Isidore of Seville wrote of one particular aspect of the liturgy, 'this creed of our faith and hope is not written on papyrus sheets and with ink, but on the fleshly tablets of our hearts'.[21]

When tenth-century liturgy is viewed through the lens of continuity, an equally important historical parameter emerges, and this is the second of two reasons to study liturgical sources from this period. Whether or not ritual practices were changing in any substantive way under the Ottonians, what was certainly changing was the use of the written word. Whilst most of the 'new' forms of ceremony can actually be traced back to the ninth century − whether tropes, sequences, processions or coronations − the codicological forms associated with those texts mostly cannot.[22] This separation may well be connected to source survival, and there may be some truth in the thesis that certain Ottonian scriptoria prioritised *liturgica* ahead of other types of book.[23] But that is not the

[19] McKitterick, 'The Church'; on the importance of this perspective for ritual study see J. Nelson, 'Ritual and reality in the early medieval ordines', in *Politics and ritual in early medieval Europe* (London, 1986), pp. 329–39.

[20] On liturgical memory see, among others, A. Bouley, *From freedom to formula: the evolution of the eucharistic prayer from oral improvisation to written texts* (Washington, DC, 1981); T. Elich, 'Le contexte oral de la liturgie médiévale et le rôle du texte écrit', unpublished PhD thesis, 3 vols., Institut Catholique, Paris (1988); T. Elich, 'Using liturgical texts in the Middle Ages', in G. Austin (ed.), *Fountain of life: in memory of Niels K. Rasmussen, O.P.* (Washington, DC, 1991), pp. 69–83; Rasmussen, *Les pontificaux*, esp. pp. 453–5; L. Treitler, 'Medieval improvisation', in *With voice and pen: coming to know medieval song and how it was made* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 1–38.

[21] Isidore, *Etymologies*, VI.xix.58, trans. Barney *et al.*, p. 150.

[22] On the origins of these practices see, respectively, P.-M. Gy, 'L'hypothèse lotharingienne et la diffusion des tropes', in W. Arlt and G. Björkvall (eds.), *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques* (Stockholm, 1993), pp. 231–7; P. Dronke, 'The beginnings of the sequence', in *The medieval poet and his world* (Rome, 1984), pp. 115–44; T. Bailey, *The processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto, 1971); J. Nelson, 'The Lord's anointed and the people's choice: Carolingian royal ritual', in D. Cannadine and S. R. F. Price (eds.), *Rituals of royalty: power and ceremonial in traditional societies* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 137–80. On surviving books with coronation texts see Bouman, *Sacring and crowning*, pp. 61–70; see also the inventories in *Ordines coronationis Franciae*, ed. Jackson, vol. I. For a sense of the newness of trope and sequence manuscripts in the tenth century see *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*, ed. Arlt and Rankin, vol. I.

[23] C. Winterer, *Das Fuldaer Sakramentar in Göttingen: benediktinische Observanz und römische Liturgie* (Petersberg, 2009), pp. 25–32.

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whole story. Also changing was the very contract between ritual, writing and the book, in multiple and significant ways which go beyond simple oral–literate dynamics, and which provide ample fodder for the discussions which will follow.

LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS BETWEEN THE 'FIRST' AND 'SECOND' GENERATIONS

At the beginning of the tenth century, a priest responsible for the organisation of Christian worship had a range of different written tools at his disposal. We cannot generalise about all of them, for scribes were not inextricably bound to convention (a point which is always worth keeping in mind), but we can comment on the basic books which had come to be standard issue for the parish clergy under the Carolingians. In his early ninth-century capitulary, one of countless such edicts of the period, Bishop Gerbald of Liège required that every priest have a sacramentary (*missale*), lectionary, martyrology, penitential and psalter.[24] Some 300 miles to the east, booklists from the Bavarian diocese of Freising show that priests had, among others, sacramentaries (*missales*), lectionaries, antiphoners, collectars, homiliaries and Office books (*officiales*).[25] Each book type contributed the basic raw materials for the daily obligations of Mass and Office, as well as the means to perform the *cura animarum*, that is, the pastoral rituals which included baptism, penance and last rites.[26] A sacramentary therefore provided the relevant prayers for the celebration of Mass, a lectionary provided the readings, an antiphoner provided the chants to be sung, a martyrology provided the calendar of important hagiographic observances, a collectar provided collects (prayers), a homiliary provided biblical commentary and sermons, a psalter provided psalmody and a penitential afforded the means to administer penance.[27]

[24] *Capitula episcoporum*, ed. Brommer *et al.*, MGH Capit. episc. 1, pp. 39–40. The reasons for translating *missale* as 'sacramentary' are explained in E. Bourque, *Étude sur les sacramentaires romains*, 2 vols. (Vatican City, 1948–58), vol. II, pp. 503–4.

[25] *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*, ed. Lehmann *et al.*, vol. IV.2, pp. 640–2. For a monastic perspective see A. Häse, 'Liturgische Handschriften in Lorsch um die Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts', in H. Schefers (ed.), *Das Lorscher Evangeliar: eine Zimelie der Buchkunst des abendländischen Frühmittelalters* (Darmstadt, 2000), pp. 23–32.

[26] Early pastoral books are considered in some detail in A. Angenendt, 'Die Liturgie und die Organisation des kirchlichen Lebens auf dem Lande', in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto medioevo: espansione e resistenze*, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1982), vol. I, pp. 169–226.

[27] For the book types described here and below there exists no one authoritative guide, partly because none is sufficiently comprehensive, partly for specific historical reasons which I shall explore below. The reader is therefore advised to consult across the following list: V. Fiala and W. Irtenkauf, 'Versuch einer liturgischen Nomenklatur', in *Zur Katalogisierung mittelalterlicher und*

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By the end of the period bounded by this book, however, the intellectual climate had changed considerably. New kinds of codex were now being created in abundance, each creation being defined very broadly by a tendency to compile, arrange and prescribe, and by a move from genre-based collections to those directed towards a performer or situation, a shift often spoken of in terms of a 'second' generation.[28] As existing ritual texts were being brought together in new combinations, so too were previously unwritten liturgical details being incorporated into the mix, whether minor spoken interpolations, elements of choreography or logistical directions. In the book known as the troper, therefore, scribes had begun to collect together and organise tropes, the elaborate musical and textual interpolations of the chants for Mass and Office, just as other scribes were beginning to make processionals for the chants sung in procession, and sequentiaries for the lengthy, quasi-symphonic compositions for festal Mass known as sequences.[29] Sometimes these different genres of text were combined with one another, and sometimes they were brought together with the Gregorian chants already found in graduals, antiphoners and cantatoria to make ambitious new kinds of musical compendia.[30] In breviaries, meanwhile, the daily obligations of performing the Divine Office were simplified and systematised by uniting the previously disparate components of worship (chiefly collects, chants and readings) from their respective books (collectar, antiphoner, and bible);[31] and in missals were united the equivalent materials for the Mass (chiefly from the sacramentary, gradual and lectionary).[32] The daily pastoral needs of clergy

neuerer Handschriften (Frankfurt, 1963), pp. 105–37; C. Vogel, *Medieval liturgy: an introduction to the sources*, trans. W. G. Storey and N. K. Rasmussen (Washington, DC, 1986); M. Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique* (Turnhout, 1988); J. Harper, *The forms and orders of Western liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth century* (Oxford, 1991); R. W. Pfaff (ed.), *The liturgical books of Anglo-Saxon England* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1995); E. Palazzo, *A history of liturgical books: from the beginning to the thirteenth century*, trans. M. Beaumont (Collegeville, MN, 1998); T. F. Heffernan and E. A. Matter (eds.), *The liturgy of the medieval Church* (Kalamazoo, MI, 2001).

[28] N. K. Rasmussen, 'Célébration épiscopale et célébration presbytérale: un essai de typologie', in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, vol. II, pp. 581–607, pp. 584–5; Palazzo, *A history*, passim; *The Winchester Troper*, ed. Rankin, p. 49.

[29] M. Huglo, 'On the origins of the troper-proser', *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society* 2 (1979), 11–18; S. Rankin, 'ä as collector', in *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*, ed. Arlt and Rankin, vol. I, pp. 78–95; H. Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften* (Munich, 1964); M. Huglo, *Les manuscrits du processionnal*, vol. I, *Autriche à Espagne* (Munich, 1999).

[30] Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique*.

[31] P. Batiffol, *Histoire du bréviaire romain* (Paris, 1893); S. Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers* (Freiburg, 1895); S. J. P. van Dijk and J. Hazelden Walker, *The origins of the modern Roman liturgy: the liturgy of the papal court and the Franciscan order in the thirteenth century* (Westminster, MD, 1960), pp. 528–42; P.-M. Gy, 'Les premiers bréviaires de Saint-Gall, deuxième quart du XIe s.', in W. Dürig (ed.), *Liturgie: Gestalt und Vollzug* (Munich, 1963), pp. 104–13.

[32] Bourque, *Étude*, vol. II, pp. 501–44; see also A. Wilmart, 'Les anciens missels de la France', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 46 (1932), 245–67; Vogel, *Medieval liturgy*, pp. 105–6.

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were increasingly catered for by multi-purpose handbooks known as rit-uals,[33] and the often instructional and educational intent of these books was shadowed by the proliferation of ordinals and customaries, which prescribed rules and guidance for the religious life.[34] Finally, this period also saw the rise of the pontifical, the book type which was to the bishop as the ritual was to a priest: a compilation of liturgical materials broadly appropriate to that clerical rank.[35]

While it is true that some of these 'new' book types can be traced back to Carolingian times – one could cite, for example, the 'breviary' in the hand of Reginbert of Reichenau (†846) or the near-contemporary 'pon-tifical' of Bishop Baturich of Regensburg (817–47) – there is a distinction to be made between these early examples and those which came later.[36] Seeking to put this difference into words, some have resorted to the value-heavy language of 'first attempts' and 'prototypes', of forms 'primi-tive' and 'pure'.[37] However, it may be more helpful to understand the shift in terms of a growing perception, recognition and awareness of the means by which these texts were being stored. By the eleventh century, conventions were beginning to crystallise as books took on more con-sistent shapes and formats, and this was often accompanied by a higher, more self-aware grade of manuscript production. Even the nomenclature was beginning to stabilise, although much of the modern vocabulary (including terms like 'pontifical' and 'ritual') would not enter common use until much later. Tasked to distil this development into its essence, one could say that whereas occasional compilations had once merely assisted as resources for the performance of the liturgy, liturgical books of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were coming much closer to being active participants in – if not determinants of – the rituals they sought to represent.

This 'second' generation was itself a new departure, for to arrange liturgical materials in more prescriptive kinds of formation was not only

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[33] Gy, 'Collectaire, rituel, processionnal', esp. pp. 454–7; S. Hamilton, 'The *rituale*: the evolution of a new liturgical book', in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church and the book* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 74–86.

[34] A.-G. Martimort, *Les 'ordines', les ordinaires et les cérémoniaux* (Turnhout, 1991).

[35] The most assured introduction is Rasmussen, *Les pontificaux*, esp. pp. 452–502. See also V. Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1937).

[36] The 'breviary' survives as the fragments Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Kupferstichkab., Kapsel 536/SD 2815 and 2816, on which see B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998–2004), no. 3644, vol. II, p. 325; the 'pontifical' is ÖNB Ser. nov. 2762, published as *Das Kollektar-Pontifikale*, ed. Unterkircher. I thank Susan Rankin and David Ganz for drawing my attention to the former.

[37] *Les Ordines*, ed. Andrieu, vol. I, p. 175; R. E. Reynolds, 'Ordines Romani', in J. R. Strayer (ed.), *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13 vols. (New York, 1987), vol. IX, p. 269; Palazzo, *A history*, pp. 108, 195 and *passim*; Vogel, *Medieval liturgy*, p. 262.

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to shift the equilibrium between performance and the written word, but also to force existing texts into new conceptual categories. That which was previously unwritten was being made certain and fixed, simultaneously reifying current practice and determining that of future generations; and that which was already written was being reinterpreted through the act of compilation. To provide hagiographic Office lessons excerpted from the original *vitae*, for example, is to alter the way in which that literature is understood. Similarly, to collect together different tropes of a single introit chant is to transfer their identity from the individual (the association with a specific ritual moment at the beginning of Mass) to the collective (the common factor of 'trope'). The subsequent transmission of lesson sets and trope sets as if literary objects in their own right raises the legitimate question of what came first: were the written records manifestations of a conceptual separation, or did they precipitate that change? The same dilemma colours the history of missals, sometimes seen as the catalyst for the proliferation of private devotions from the tenth century onwards, sometimes as the product.[38] In these various ways, the changes to ritual practice and written convention in the tenth and eleventh centuries cannot be seen as separable issues. They were intimately and inextricably bound together.

Needless to say, the division of medieval liturgical books into the categories of 'first' and 'second' generations is useful only as a loose guide. Quite apart from the difficulty of systematising the intent of thousands of individual scribes, the grey area between these imaginary poles is precisely what empowers this study. The same point applies to book typologies, which, though essential aids for navigating through the baffling array of surviving sources, give a misleading impression of uniformity. For those who appreciate the certainty of codicological categories and systems, and who may lament the wider scholarly absence of a foolproof guide to early medieval liturgical books, there are at least three reasons why such security is neither attainable nor desirable here, even in the imaginary world where ritual customs stay still.[39]

I have suggested that one of the features of tenth- and eleventh-century liturgical practice was the growing recognition and solidification of new, more clearly defined book types. But there is an accompanying paradox. The more that writing intervenes in the running of the liturgy, the more a scribe has to commit to performance decisions in advance, hence the greater the potential for these books to differ among themselves. This

[38] Bourque, *Étude*, vol. II, pp. 507–10; Vogel, *Medieval liturgy*, pp. 105–6.
[39] Some of the ideas which follow echo P.-M. Gy, 'Typologie et ecclésiologie des livres liturgiques médiévaux', *La Maison-Dieu* 121 (1975), 7–21.