

Pontificalia: A Global Checklist of Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals

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The compilation of bibliographies, like the editing of texts, should require no apology, for active scholars recognize that in order to reconstruct the past accurately, one must have access to all the relevant sources in reliable editions. Nonetheless, academic administrators regard editors and compilers as mere “hewers of wood and drawers of water” (Dt 29:11, Josh 9:21-27), whose maintenance of the infrastructure may be essential but deserves little recognition. Perhaps that is why so many of the great repertoires on which liturgical scholarship depends have been compiled by men who were free from the pressure of academic advancement. Thus, to name but a few of them, we rely on the unhurried industry of Chevalier for hymns,¹ Grégoire for homilaries,² Hesbert for antiphons,³ Moeller for benedictions,⁴ and, of course, Leroquais for French sacramentaries, psalters, breviaries, books of hours, and pontificals.⁵ My current project is the compilation of a repertory of another liturgical genre, the *pontificale* or bishop’s

1 Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, 6 vols: vol. 1 (Louvain: Lefever, 1892); vols 2-3 (Louvain: Polleunis & Ceuterick, 1897-1904); vol. 4 (Louvain: Ceuterick, 1912); vols 5-6 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1920-21).

2 Reginald Grégoire, *Les homéliaires du moyen âge; inventaire et analyse des manuscrits*, *Rerum Ecclesiastica Documenta*, Series Maior, Fontes 6 (Rome: Herder, 1966).

3 René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, 6 vols, *Rerum Ecclesiastica Documenta*, Series Maior, Fontes 7-12 (Rome: Herder, 1963-79).

4 Edmond (Eugène) Moeller, *Corpus benedictionum pontificalium*, 4 vols, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 162, 162A, 162B, 162C (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971-79).

5 Victor Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols (Mâcon: Protat, 1940-41); *Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 5 vols (Paris: privately printed, 1934); *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques de France*, 4 vols (Paris: privately printed, 1937).

book of those occasional services that only a bishop could perform. Although I began collecting data as a graduate student, it has been only since September 2003 that I have returned to it as a project well suited to my status as a retired professor.

In the present article I will first give a general overview of my repertory as it now stands, describing especially the organization of each entry in order to make clear the extent and limitations of its usefulness. The project is not without its problems, however, and I will go on to discuss these in the second half of this paper in the hope of eliciting your (the reader's) comments.

ARRANGEMENT OF ENTRIES

The format of my project can best be conveyed by a few sample entries (see appendix). The entries are listed in alphabetical order by the repository's location. For convenient reference, each entry has a running number, the highest of which is currently 1190.

The body of each entry is divided into two parts or paragraphs. The first part provides a succinct description of the item, and the second gives a selective bibliography arranged chronologically. Although the entries themselves are largely self-explanatory, the underlying principles that have guided me are not. Consequently, in order to clarify my rationale, I shall briefly comment on the elements of a typical entry.

The *address line* is based on the form employed by Kristeller and Krämer in the latest edition of *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600*,⁶ unless more recent nomenclature has come to my attention. In parentheses, I give alternate shelf marks and/or catalog numbers a prominent place as these are often cited instead of the one I have taken to be the current official designation.

A factitious *title* is provided, which is underscored to facilitate scanning the list. It represents my best present understanding of the book, which is usually described by genre and by destinary ("Pontifical of Bamberg"). In cases where the destinary seems uncertain or of secondary importance, a generic title has been preferred ("Durandus Pontifical"). If the book is of a recognized type, this is noted in parentheses, especially for the various versions of the Roman Pontifical. When a book has a traditional title that is now considered dubious – if not downright inaccurate – the questionable alternative is also noted: for example, "Pontifical of Winchester" is my title for British Library

⁶ The most recent edition currently is: Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Latin Manuscript Books before 1600: A List of the Printed Catalogues and Unpublished Inventories of Extant Collections*, 4th ed., rev. and enlarged by Sigrid Krämer (München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1993).

Additional MS. 49598, which has been called the “Benedictional of Archbishop Robert.”

Next, conveniently close to the beginning of the entry, the place and date of the manuscript’s production are stated. Usually these indications are not firm, being subject to the expertise of paleographers. Consequently I have often had to choose between conflicting opinions, in which case I have indicated the discarded, alternative date with its author’s entry in the bibliography.⁷

My treatment of *place* requires some justification. Although catalogers do not invariably indicate the country of origin, I thought that this should be plainly stated because it would be useful for those who wished to single out, by an electronic search, manuscripts originating in a given country. To make such a search possible, I have imposed uniformity by using the names of modern countries (England, France, Italy). If the place of origin – where exactly the book was written – can be determined more specifically, that also is noted in parentheses (Winchester, Avignon, Montecassino).

The utility of electronic searching and sorting also recommended the format of the *date*. A paleographical date is invariably given, the century (*saeculum*) being indicated in capital Roman numerals (saec. XIV), which to facilitate electronic searching are not used for other purposes in the repertory (e.g. Mabillon’s *ordo* xiv). When a more precise date can be stated in years, it too is given, again in parentheses.⁸

As a general rule, the type of *script* has not been specified, as some form of minuscule is understood before about 1200, with Gothic prevailing thereafter. The presence of less common hands such as uncial, Beneventan, and humanistic, however, has been noted.

Perhaps the most developed element of my description concerns the *destinatory*: the person or institution for whom the book was originally written. Inasmuch as the composition of these books was governed by local custom and personal preference, each one is a unique witness to what was or might be done at a particular time and place by its compiler, or at least by his patron. For one simple instance from the conciliar *ordines*, we can ascertain whether the synod in a particular diocese took place over one day, or two, or even more; further, by comparison, we can determine whether a particular bishop was an innovator or a traditionalist in this regard. Hence it is especially useful to know the circumstances surrounding the book’s production.

⁷ For example, in sample entry no. 2, see after the name “Pfaff.”

⁸ See, for example, samples entries nos. 2 and 5.

Ideally, a full description would include a complete listing of the book's *contents*, such as John Brückmann provided for English pontificals and benedictionals.⁹ Given the large number of manuscripts involved and the fact that the contents of many of them remain to be inventoried or even printed, such a desideratum must be left to some younger, more energetic compiler. When a benedictional is included in or annexed to a pontifical, however, I regularly note its presence. Furthermore, I occasionally provide a brief conspectus of the contents, most especially for fragmentary or abbreviated pontificals, but also for pontificals that have been combined with other liturgical genres such as collectars or sacramentaries.

Another desideratum would be a comprehensive inventory of the *decoration* of each manuscript. By the fifteenth century, a manuscript pontifical had become one of the symbols of the bishop's status, and consequently many of them were luxury books adorned with all the splendor and imagination of the illuminator's craft. A full description of such a book's decor unfortunately would overburden my entries with a profusion of detail, so I have been content to note at most such generalities as the presence of historiated initials or full-page illustrations. Similarly, I note the presence of *musical notation*, usually distinguishing between square notes on staves and neumes, but without, I fear, enough detail to satisfy a musicologist.

On the other hand, usually under the rubric *olim*, I have briefly listed the book's medieval owners and often their modern ones. Because pontificals and benedictionals were frequently used for generations and often in different dioceses, the whereabouts of a manuscript provides a noteworthy clue to its possible influence.

The descriptive part of an entry concludes by stating the number of *folios* and their *dimensions*, which together describe the book as a physical object. I have found these data to be particularly useful for identifying manuscripts in auction catalogs or in collections with shelf marks that are confusing or nonexistent.

Finally, the bibliographical part of the entry is largely self-evident. The items are arranged in chronological order. References that pertain only to the manuscript in question are given in full, but otherwise I save space by using the so-called "author-date" system for references that recur throughout the repertory and are fully identified in an introductory bibliography. In my first sample, for instance, "Jackson 1995" stands for Richard A. Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and*

⁹ John Brückmann, "Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals in England and Wales," *Traditio* 29 (1973) 391-458.

Queens in the Middle Ages (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1995). Occasionally, for the sake of clarity, a siglum or short title has been added: e.g., also in item one, Andrieu, OR stands for his *Ordines Romani*. References to manuscript catalogs are given only in abbreviated form, assuming that the full citation can be supplied from Kristeller's list. Boldface type has been used to signal the existence of editions and facsimiles. Brief explanatory annotations have been added to some entries, chiefly to record an alternate opinion to the one I have adopted. Finally, I have noted when a manuscript or a microfilm of it has been examined by an informant or by me.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE REPERTORY

From the foregoing analysis of the entries, certain strengths and weaknesses of my project should now be evident. Since these are in large part due to the history of the undertaking, let me indulge in a bit of autobiography in order to make plain how and why this repertory developed. While writing a doctoral dissertation on the procedure of French provincial councils, the *ordines de celebrando concilio* came to my attention, and I realized that each copy was a valuable witness to local and regional practice. Consequently, I determined to collect and edit these texts for France, which, thanks to Leroquais' catalog of pontifical manuscripts, seemed a relatively simple task.¹⁰ Accordingly, starting in 1958 I collected dozens of microfilms, and although they contributed little to my dissertation, I pressed it to completion the following year. It was during my postdoctoral year working in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels that I discovered the fascination of manuscripts as physical and art objects, and I began to look for Latin pontificals without regard to provenance. I included benedictionals as well, if only for the sake of the blessings *in synodo*. I realized that my task would be easier if I had a list of known pontificals, and in the hope that previous workers in the field had kept some such record, I consulted Cyrille Vogel, who assured me that neither he nor Michel Andrieu had done so. Accordingly, I resolved to keep a record, however brief, of every pontifical and benedictional that I encountered. Thus the present project was born.

In 1960, using the resources of the Bibliothèque Royale, I compiled checklists of pontificals in Great Britain, Milan, and the Vatican, all of which I was able to examine in the course of that year. The following year was spent as a research fellow at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, where I was able to accumulate much further documentation. To make a long story short, for the next forty years I worked only intermittently on pontificals and their conciliar *ordines*,

¹⁰ Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits de France*.

opting instead to publish and not perish. In the meantime, John Brückmann replicated and considerably expanded my checklist of English pontificals, and Herbert Schneider produced an extraordinary edition of the *ordines de celebrando concilio* before 1200 that far exceeded anything I might have done.¹¹ Nevertheless, it seemed useful in my retirement not to let go to waste the data that I had spent several years of my youth collecting. Thus in 2002 I began to compile the repertory on the plan I have described.

After entering the data I had at hand, I have been enriching and extending it by systematically searching through the last generation of repertories, catalogs, and monographs, including the works of Brückmann, Baroffio, Buonocore and Ceresa, Dykmans, Gamber, Grégoire, Jackson, Janini, Martimort, Mazzatinti, Moeller, Palazzo, Rasmussen, Salmon, Samaran and Marichal, Schneider, Vogel and Elze. Another major resource has been the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, where I have been able to consult microfilms of dozens of pontificals and benedictionals from Spain, Germany, and Austria. Perhaps the day will come when such data can all be retrieved from electronic databases.¹² In the meantime, however, I intend to continue trawling the traditional media in the hope of adding still more pontificals and benedictionals to my list.

CHALLENGES CONCERNING DEFINITION, ISOLATED *ORDINES*, AND BENEDICTIONALS

Perhaps I have made my enterprise seem simpler than it is, for I have saved a discussion of my major problems for the end of this article in the hope of eliciting some help from the readership. The biggest problem is one of definition: what is a pontifical? Earlier catalogers used the term interchangeably with a ceremonial, a ritual, and even a sacramentary, but the tendency among liturgists in the last century has been to define these types as mutually exclusive genres. With pontificals, this approach reached its apogee with the studies of Niels Krogh Rasmussen,¹³ who attempted to identify the moment in

11 Herbert Schneider, *Die Konzilsordines des Früh- und Hochmittelalters*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, *Ordines de celebrando concilio* (Hanover: Hahn, 1996).

12 Judith Pearce, "Finding Medieval Manuscripts: Discovery and Citation in the Digital Era," in *Our Medieval Heritage: Essays in Honour of John Tilotson for his 60th Birthday*, ed. Linda Rasmussen et al. (Cardiff UK: Merton Priory) 192-99.

13 Niels Krogh Rasmussen, *Les pontificaux du haut moyen âge: gènes du livre de l'évêque*, Études et Documents 49 (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1998).

the ninth century when a collection of *ordines* could truly be called a pontifical. It has become fashionable to dismiss any small, early group of *ordines* as a mere *libellus*, although Nicholas Orchard has recently taken the opposite tack and prefers to describe the texts he edits as “sacramentary-cum-pontificals.”¹⁴ Medieval compilers, it seems, were no respecters of genres, which they felt free to mix for the sake of convenience.

Similarly, right down to the end of the Middle Ages, a pontifical contained whatever a given bishop thought would suit his needs. Some bishops, like Ferry de Clugny (d. 1483), were collectors of variant forms, but many more were inclined to omit any *ordines* they felt were unnecessary – or to substitute ones they preferred – so that it seems to me unrealistic to describe the contents of a given book as “excerpts” or “selections,” as if their source were more authentic. Indeed, it is fairly common to find books that contain only the most common services performed exclusively by bishops, which I think cannot be dismissed as *libelli*. For example, a fourteenth-century manuscript from Toledo in 68 folios provides the bishop’s basic *ordines* for confirmation and for holy orders, plus a series of pontifical blessings.¹⁵

Despite these misgivings, in this preliminary, collecting stage of my project I have been hesitant to describe a small assemblage of episcopal *ordines* as a pontifical. Instead, I have cautiously marked such collections with a code indicating that their status is problematic (+?), which eventually may be removed in my final redaction.¹⁶ I am currently inclined to count books like my late-medieval example from Toledo as pontificals without qualification, but I am less certain how to deal with early-medieval hybrids of the sacramentary-cum-pontifical type.

A related problem is how to deal with isolated individual *ordines*. Brückmann’s interest in coronation orders led him to include several coronation books in his checklist of English pontificals, and I have provisionally included similar liturgical materials collected by Richard Jackson for his edition of French coronation *ordines*, but have assigned them a lesser status as *pontificalis elementa* (code ÷, as in item 8). I borrowed the concept of *elementa* from Pierre Salmon, who in his catalog of Vatican liturgical manuscripts used the term to describe items that he placed under the rubric *pontificaux* when the source was a book other than a “complete” or “true” pontifical.¹⁷ Useful though these

14 *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 12052), Henry Bradshaw Society 116 (Rochester NY: Boydell, 2005) xcxi.

15 See sample entry no. 7.

16 See sample entries nos 7 and 9.

17 Pierre Salmon, *Les manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*,

entries may be for components of a pontifical, they cannot be included systematically because they would swamp my repertory with peripheral references. This danger is most clear from Herbert Schneider's edition of the conciliar *ordines*, about half of which is based on legal rather than liturgical sources. Consequently, I anticipate that in the end I will eliminate the category of *elementa* altogether.

Perhaps my most vexing problem is that of benedictionals. As I stated earlier, originally I had included them in my search because I was interested in the blessings of kings *in sinodo*, and when Brückmann, perhaps for similar reasons, included them in his hand-list, I did so too. To be sure, collections of episcopal blessings constitute a distinct genre, one that is frequently appended to pontificals – if not incorporated into them – so they could well be treated like other *elementa* and ignored. At first Edmond Moeller's four-volume *Corpus benedictionum pontificalium* seemed to render a repertory of his sources unnecessary, but closer acquaintance suggests that such is not the case. Moeller worked mostly from printed sources, and his supplementary list of manuscripts not consulted – his *codices nondum adhibiti* – can be considerably enlarged.¹⁸ Consequently, my present practice is to include collections of *benedictiones episcopales*, even when they are found in sacramentaries.

CONCLUSION

I have saved the two most pressing unresolved problems for my conclusion. One is quite simple: how can I locate manuscripts that have changed hands during the last fifty years? Any suggestions are welcome. The other problem requires somewhat more explanation and much more discussion: in what form should this repertory be published? In 2003, I began the project with the thought of creating a web site where entries could be added and revised, but the impermanence of such a format now leads me to think that a more traditional approach may be preferable, always assuming that a publisher can be found for such an arcane work as this repertory.

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5 vols, Studi e Testi 251, 253, 260, 267, 270 (Vatican City: Vatican Press, 1968).

¹⁸ See note 4 above.

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Sample entries

1. Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MS. Lit. 56 (Ed. VI. 5)

Pontifical of Bamberg. Germany, saec. XIV. Andrieu regards as an evolved PRG. Olim Bamberg cathedral. 191 fols. (260 x 182 mm).

--F. Leitschuh, *Kat. Bamberg*, 1/1 (1898), p. 202-203 (contents). --Andrieu, OR, 1 (1931), p. 78; 4 (1956), p. 475-476. --Brundage exam 1968. --Jackson 1995, 1:203: ed. as ordo 16, sig. B; copied from MS. Köln, Dom, 141.

2. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 44 (92; I. 1)

Pontifical of Canterbury. England, saec. XI 2/2 (post 1066). Probably written in Canterbury. Additions (saec. XVI in.), probably while MS was at Ely. Benedictions. iv + 410 fols. (34 x 25 cm).

--Greenwell, *Egbert* (1853), ix. --Henderson, *Bainbridge* (1873), xxi-xxii. --Frere, BML, 1 (1901), no. 897. --Frere, PS (1901), 95-96. --Wilson, *Robert* (1903), xix. --Wilson, *Magdalen* (1910), 277. --M. R. James, *Cat. CCCC* (1912), 1/1:88-90. --Ker, *Medieval Libraries* (1941), 26, 42. --RK exam 1960. --Brückmann 1973, p. 403-404. --Schneider, OCC (1996), p. 87, 489: ed. as ordo 18, not collated. --Dumville 1992, p. 71. --Budny 1998. --Pfaff 1999: saec. XI med.

3. London, British Library, MS. Add. 17004

Romano-Germanic Pontifical (PRG). Germany (Bamberg?), saec. XI 2/2. Probably for Bamberg, but possibly for Cologne. By saec. XII in. MS was at Amiens cathedral, perhaps via another church in Picardy (?St-Riquier). 492 pages. (24 x 19 cm).

--*Cat. Add. 1846-1847* (1864), p. 344-345. --Andrieu, OR, 1 (1931), 144-156. --Bourque 1958, 2/2, p. 371, no. 492. --RK exam 1960. --Ed. Vogel/Elze 1963: sig. J; concilia not collated; vol. 3 (1972), p. 68. --Brückmann 1973, p. 421-423: indicates the 97 texts from this MS ed. Vogel/Elze. --Martimort 1978, p. 38-39, no. 3. --Schneider 1996, p. 75, 77n, 297, 438: ed. as ordines 7 & 15, sig. L₁.

4. Macerata, Biblioteca comunale, MS. "Moizzi-Borgetti" 378

Pontifical of Benevento. Italy, saec. XII in. Beneventan script. Neumes. Olim Benevento cathedral ("Pontificale monasterii S. Petri Benev."); T. Borgetti.

--Lowe/Brown 1980, 1:67 & 340. --Grégoire 1968, p. 516: Roman

Pontifical. --Richard F. Gyug, "A Pontifical of Benevento," *Mediaeval Studies*, 51 (1989), 355-423, with **facts**. --Schneider 1996, p. 297: **ed.** as ordo 7, not collated.

5. Montecassino, Archivio dell' Arciabazia, MS. 451 NN (451; 243; int. 669)

Pontifical of Montecassino (PRG). Italy (Montecassino), saec. XI (ca. 1022-1035). Exemplar came from Rome. Beneventan script. 218 fols. = 436 pages (217 x 165 mm, per Andrieu; 305 x 175, per Inguanez).

--Andrieu, OR, 1 (1931), 176-211. --Andrieu, PR, *passim*. --**Facts**. in Ferretti, tab. III A. --*Codicum casinensium manuscriptorum catalogus*, 3 (1941), ed. M. Inguanez, p. 80-81 (bibl.). -- Bourque 1958, p. 361-366, no. 476. --C. Vogel in *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 74 (1960), 145-162: date. --Grégoire 1968, p. 536-537. --**Ed.** Vogel/Elze 1963 (sig. C); vol. 3 (1972), p. 65. --Gamber 1968, p. 566. --Loew/Brown 1980, 1:80, 165n, 203n, 351; 2:87. --Schneider 1996, p. 414: **ed.** as ordines 7 & 14, sig. M (bibl.).

6. Paris, BNF, MS. lat. 951

Durandus Pontifical (Burgundian group). French, saec. XIV. Made for use at Autun. Benedictions, f. 158r-192v. Olim Renaud de Maubernard, bp Autun 1358-1361; Jean de Sarrebruche, bp Châlons-sur-Marne 1419-1438 (arms of families Sarrebruch, Commercy, & Joinville); Maréchal de Noailles 18. 196 fols. (350 x 235 mm).

--M. L. C. Pellechet, *Notes sur les livres liturgiques de diocèses d'Autun, Chalon et Mâcon* (Paris/Autun, 1883), p. 152-155. --Leroquais, PM (1937), 2:38-40, no. 101. --*Cat. gén. mss. lat.* 1 (1939), p. 338-339. --**Ed.** Andrieu, PR, 3 (1940), 180-193: sig. R; second-best Durandus MS. --RK exam 1960. --**Ed.** Moeller 1973, p. 55-56. --Martimort 1978, p. 86, no. 82, & p. 148-149, no. 187 (bibl.).

7. Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitular, MS. 39-13 (36-6; 29-5)

+?Pontifical-Missal. Spain (Toledo), saec. XIV. Mostly for pontifical mass. Episcopal blessings, f. 15v-43r. Confirmation and making cleric. Quadrangle musical notes on 5 lines. Binder's title: "Manuale seu ceremoniale episcoporum MS." 68 fols. (255 x 188 mm).

--Riano 1887, p. 60. --Beer 1893, p. 485. --Janini/González 1977, no. 151. --MF: HMML 33542.

8. Vatican, BAV, MS. Vat. lat. 4740

÷Ordo for council of Ferrara, f. 1-3v + blessing of military standard, f. 4-7. Italy (Ferrara), saec. XV (1438). Bound with prayers for Jubilee of 1550, f. 9-11. ii + 6 parchment + 6 paper fols. (354 x 275 mm).

--Ehrensberger 1897, p. 535: Pontificale. --Bannister 1905, f. 6. --Ed. R. Kay, "The Conciliar *Ordo* of Eugenius IV," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 31 (1965), 295-305. --Salmon, MLL, 3 (1970), no. 91: Pontificalis partes. --MF: VFL 7408.

9. Vatican, BAV, MS. Vat. lat. 4743

+?Pontificale-Missale. Italy (North), saec. XIV in. Pontifical masses, f. 1-24. Episcopal benedictions, f. 395-410. Deleted arms on f. 204v (not same as those on f. 31r).

Episcopal benedictions "per circulum anni" (f. 31-40). A separate quire. Unidentified arms of a bishop (f. 31r).

Olim Franciscans of Gubbio. Musical notation. Miniatures. 411 fols. (284 x 416 mm).

--Ehrensberger 1897, p. 528. --Bannister 1905, f. 6. --Bannister 1913. --RK exam 1960. --Salmon, MLL, 3 (1970), no. 93: Pontificale-Missale; cf. 2 (1969), no. 388: Gubbio Missal, saec. XIII-XIV (bibl.). --Moeller 1973, p. 100. --Buonocore 1994, no. 12105. -- MF: VFL 7466.