

Performance Culture in Medieval Metz, c. 200-1200

by

Susannah Crowder

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2008

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## Abstract

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by

Susannah Crowder

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This dissertation examines the history and culture of performance in the city of Metz, located in the Lorraine in the northeast of modern France, from the third through twelfth centuries. It realizes two goals: to situate the surviving evidence for medieval performance in its specific cultural and social context, and to develop new interpretive possibilities in the discipline of history through the use of the category of “performance” as a tool for the study of cultural and social history. Structured as a series of chronological case studies, this project brings together the disparate scholarly narratives of late antique, early medieval, and high medieval performance history through the combination of evidence for ceremony, ritual, and theater. As a Gallo-Roman city with a sizable amphitheater, the traditions of Roman imperial performance significantly shaped the public practices and material culture of late antique Metz. The city repeatedly employed that legacy for contemporary rituals and performances over the following millennium. This persistence of practice was not the result of simple, unconscious inheritance, however. Instead, contemporary performers and writers chose to preserve specific, useful elements of previous performance conventions in order to claim a special heritage for Metz and its communities. Chapter One gives an overview of Gallo-Roman Metz, then examines a Merovingian marriage ceremony that intertwined

imperial and Frankish traditions to integrate a foreign bride into a new cultural and political context. Chapter Two studies the eighth-century regulation of religious processions, performance spaces, and financial stipends under the archbishops Chrodegang and Angilram, revealing the implantation of ecclesiastical controls within the cathedral chapter through liturgical performance and the mapping of distant places onto local geography. Chapter Three explores the later Carolingian era and the episcopacy of Drogo, showing how text and image in an *Ordo* for church dedication prescribed a physical practice that could create a lineage of local saintly bishops and export episcopal authority. Chapter Four investigates how the preservation of a Greek *Laudes* at the imperial religious foundation of St-Arnoul contributed to the retelling of institutional history in the new Ottonian era, decades after its original composition. In these chapters, the methodology of performance makes an understanding of the crucial importance of physical practice and its record newly available to historians. In each period, the reconsidered and innovative use of past performance practice played a central role for individuals and groups in their shaping of and participation in the social, religious, political, and cultural life of Metz and the broader world.

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I would like to express my gratitude for the support of the Birgit Baldwin Fellowship in Medieval History of the Medieval Academy of America, without which the project would have been impossible. Special thanks are due to John Baldwin and Jenny Jochens, who opened their home in Paris to me and shared the story of the remarkable and much-loved woman who inspired the fellowship.

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## Table of Abbreviations

Works frequently cited have been abbreviated as follows:

AD Moselle	Archives Départementales de la Moselle
AN	Archives Nationales de France
ASHAL	<i>Annuaire de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de la Lorraine</i>
BHL	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis</i> . 3 vols. Brussels, 1898-1901, 1986.
BSV	R. Weber, ed. <i>Biblia sacra vulgata</i> . Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994.
CGMBPD	<i>Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements</i> . Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879.
DLH	Gregory of Tours. <i>Decem libri historiarum</i> . Edited by W. Arndt, Bruno Krusch, and W. Levison, MGH SSrM, 1. Hanover, 1885; reprint, 1961.
JGLG	<i>Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte</i>
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae historica
AA	Auctores antiquissimi
Capit.	Capitularia regum Francorum
Capit. episc.	Capitula episcoporum
Conc.	Concilia
DD	Diplomata
Poetae	Poetae Latini medii aevi
SS	Scriptores in Folio
SSrG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
SSrG N.S.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series
SSrM	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
<i>Opera</i>	Venantius Fortunatus. <i>Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati presbyteri italici opera poetica</i> . Edited by F. Leo, MGH AA, 4.1. Berlin, 1881.
PL	J.-P. Migne, ed. <i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina</i> . 221 Vols. Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1844-64.
PPP	Venantius Fortunatus. <i>Personal and Political Poems</i> . Translated by Judith W. George, Translated Texts for Historians 23. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995.
RA	Michel Andrieu. "Règlement d'Angilramne de Metz (768-791) fixant les honoraires de quelques fonctions liturgiques." <i>Revue des Sciences Religieuses</i> 10 (1930): 349-69.

This dissertation examines the culture and history of performance in the city of Metz, located in the Lorraine in the northeast of modern France, from the third to twelfth centuries. The goals of the project are twofold: to situate the surviving evidence for medieval performance in its specific cultural and social context, and to develop new interpretive possibilities through the use of the category of “performance” as a tool for the study of cultural and social history. This new category is formed through a broad definition of the sources that comprise performance and the use of performance theories based in cultural anthropology. The dual examination of what medieval people did and how they did it reconstitutes the long-lost rituals, actions, and practices that formed meaning in their lives.<sup>1</sup> Used alongside traditional historical methods, this approach reclaims neglected sources for interdisciplinary history, grounds the study of ritual and drama in local, contextualized history, and introduces a much-needed awareness of the comprehensive quality of performance in the medieval past. The study of a single aspect of a city, deeply layered over time, opens up new avenues in cultural analysis. It also reunites the disparate scholarly narratives of late antique, early medieval, and high medieval history. The following chapters

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<sup>1</sup> My “what” and “how” phrasing deliberately plays on recent trends in performance studies that shift the focus “from what to how,” as described in Marvin Carlson, *Performance: A Critical Introduction*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2003), ix. A similar approach to the “how” question is explored in the introduction to Mark Franko and Annette Richards, eds., *Acting on the Past: Historical Performance Across the Disciplines* (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2000), 1-9. The editors characterize these practices as the absent activity of the past.

offer a “thick” or “sedimentary” history of performance in Metz, exploring the full spectrum of performance activity in one city as it evolved over a millennium.<sup>2</sup>

In their use of performance, the inhabitants of Metz employed a shared and adaptable language of gestures, speech, and spaces from the city’s earliest origins.<sup>3</sup> These practices were one of the means by which people created and altered cultural meaning. They are found in a broad scope of sources, newly available through the use of the category of performance. This methodology collapses the divisions between the study of “theater” and “ritual” and instead addresses “the physical practices of social life.”<sup>4</sup> For this purpose, performance is defined as guided motion or action by an individual or community that conveys cultural meaning by citing and creating the past within a historically specific moment.<sup>5</sup> Useful and instrumental, Messine performance activity was effective in a literal sense: through language and motion that drew on the real and imagined past, it *did* something. As inhabitants of a former Gallo-Roman city with a sizable amphitheater, the early medieval residents of Metz inherited the traditions of Roman imperial performance.

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<sup>2</sup> Clifford Geertz has suggested that layers of description are necessary to successful cultural analysis; Luce Irigaray points to the process of sedimentation, writing about “specific constructions...[that] were available in different periods and to different cultures...[and] what historical effects such constructions may have had on later ones.” Clifford Geertz, *Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1973); Luce Irigaray, *Je, tu, nous: Toward a Culture of Difference*, trans. Alison Martin (New York: Routledge, 1993), 30.

<sup>3</sup> Carol Symes shared her formulation of a “vocabulary” of performance in a lecture on February 19, 2004 at Columbia University and in private conversation afterwards.

<sup>4</sup> Franko and Richards, eds., *Acting on the Past*, 5.

<sup>5</sup> The citable past may include past performances. Despite increasing use of the term “performance” in French and American scholarship, no clearly defined meaning has been agreed upon. In shaping my definition I draw on the work of Marvin Carlson, Victor Turner, and Mary Carruthers, among others. See: Carlson, *Performance*; Victor W. Turner, *The Anthropology of Performance* (New York: PAJ Publications, 1986); Kathleen M. Ashley and Wim Hüskens, eds., *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001); Mary Carruthers, “Rhetorical *Ductus*, or, Moving through a Composition,” in *Acting on the Past: Historical Performance Across the Disciplines*, ed. Mark Franko and Annette Richards (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 2000), 99-117.

By the sixth century, under Merovingian rule, the city was employing that history for contemporary rituals, and it continued to do so over the following centuries. From a marriage celebrated with poetry to the preservation of a Greek-language imperial acclamation, the evidence shows performance to be located at key moments in the formation of communal identity and institutional history. The shared practices of performance, I suggest, played a central role for individuals and groups in their shaping of and participation in the social, religious, political, and cultural life of the town and broader world.

#### From Gallo-Roman to High Medieval Metz: A Brief Historical Overview

In order to recover possible paths of transmission through a long-term view, this dissertation encompasses a wide span of time. From late antiquity through the high Middle Ages, Metz was a regionally influential, autonomous political entity that wielded significant wealth and power. During this period, the city experienced the profound transformations that took place across western Europe from a position of relative importance. Evidence for settlement predates the Gallo-Roman period. First named by the Romans as Divodurum, home to the Mediomatrici tribe and later called Mettis, the city sat at the junction of the Lyon-Trier-Reims roads. Although secondary to Trier and Reims in the region's imperial bureaucracy, Metz became a key transfer point due to its location at the crossing of the main north-south and east-west routes. In addition to its role in travel and trade, Metz also served as a staging ground for troop supply and temporary garrisoning during campaigns on the eastern frontier. Like other provincial towns in the area, the residents of Metz embraced Gallo-Roman culture. By the second century a fully Romanized population had helped to finance, among other things, the construction of a large amphitheater just south of the city walls. A second, smaller amphitheater was later built on the western edge of town.

The city rose in visibility and in prominence under Frankish rule, becoming a political and religious center while maintaining its grip on regional trade. Thierry I, the eldest son of Clovis, made Metz a residence in 511, and Sigibert I designated it the capital of Austrasia a few decades later. The regular visits of the court and a lucrative salt trade increased prosperity, and a yearly fair also contributed to economic growth. Its religious institutions enjoyed the patronage of the Merovingian dynasty, including the basilica of Saint-Arnoul, which was a favored burial site for members of the royal family. Metz played a less central political role under the early Carolingian rulers, but Saint-Arnoul and the cathedral of Saint-Étienne continued to rise in status, developing into important burial and ritual sites for the Carolingian family. By the mid-eighth century, the city housed a renowned song school and had become a focal point for the implementation of changes to the liturgy and communal life. Following the partition of the empire after the death of Louis the Pious, the city became the capital of the middle Frankish kingdom, later Lotharingia. During this whole time the see of Metz and its bishops made significant contributions to the religious and political spheres of the Carolingian empire. Men such as Chrodegang, Angilram, and Drogo, half-brother of Louis the Pious, served as key figures in the larger kingdom but also shaped the city itself.

With the fading of the Carolingian lineage in the early tenth century, the bishops of Metz came to dominate the city and its territories. Allied with and often related to the Ottonian emperors, they carved out the city as a base of power exempt from the jurisdiction of the dukes of Lorraine and the counts of Metz. The royal representative had disappeared by the late tenth century and Metz became largely independent under its bishop. A series of influential and well-connected officeholders took the ancient Austrasian palace as the seat of their episcopal courts, from which they governed the city and its now wide-reaching

holdings. Despite its affiliation with empire, however, Metz remained a contested middle ground between the Eastern and Western kingdoms and the center of political and military disputes. It is this complex and changing history that forms the backdrop to local performance traditions and contemporary practice.

### Medieval Metz and the Study of Liturgy, Ritual, and Drama

Performance in Metz has been little studied across this particular time frame, due to disciplinary boundaries. Existing scholarship confines itself to one of “liturgy,” “ritual,” or “drama,” and periodization has prevented connections among late antiquity, the early Middle Ages, and the high Middle Ages. In order to move beyond these distinctions, it is necessary to assess the current state of the fields as well as their limitations. The liturgy makes a good starting point. Traditionally, the methodology of liturgical studies focuses on textual origins, textual transmission, and evolutionary trends.<sup>6</sup> Until recently, attention to historical context or individual communities was infrequent, and Messine evidence has thus been situated within the general evolution of church practice. Studies of the local liturgy assemble surviving sources but attempt little comparative or historical analysis.<sup>7</sup> Thus it is difficult to evaluate the cultural or political role of liturgical practice in Metz internally or as a regional center through this approach alone.

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<sup>6</sup> For examples, see the works cited in Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1986). For newer approaches, see the essays in Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001).

<sup>7</sup> For example, Jean Baptiste Pelt, *La Liturgie I, Études sur la cathédral de Metz*, Vol. 4 (Metz, 1937). An attempt to reconstruct Carolingian musical traditions forms a rare exception: Walther Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar von Metz*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 43 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1965).

Messine sources for performance in the early and high Middle Ages have also been approached through the methodology of ritual studies. This is the theoretical mode most often employed by historians, who usually address isolated aspects of “royal” liturgy, situating specific, single-use ceremonies within an evolutionary narrative of kingship or within broad political context.<sup>8</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz briefly addresses Messine evidence for royal acclamations in the Carolingian period, for example, but the scope of his project precludes a focus on the perspective of a single location.<sup>9</sup> Janet Nelson’s more recent work on Carolingian royal ritual incorporates material from Metz, yet her writings emphasize the overall political context of Frankish ceremony and royal participation.<sup>10</sup> She does not address these performances as the product of local centers like Metz, nor does she examine the rites themselves in detail. In her analysis, like much historical writing, the larger context of the liturgy is absent. The state of ritual studies for Metz in the tenth to twelfth centuries is very similar; the city appears in the historical scholarship as a byproduct of attention to

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<sup>8</sup> The study of medieval ritual grew out of cultural anthropology. Influential works include: Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969); B.G. Myerhoff, L.A. Camino, and E. Turner, “Rites of Passage: An Overview,” in *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 380-6; Catherine M. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); idem, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002).

<sup>9</sup> Kantorowicz’s study of royal ceremonies provided a pioneering model for the development of research into certain aspects of the liturgy under the Carolingian dynasty. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946).

<sup>10</sup> In her “Carolingian Royal Funerals” (2000) Nelson outlines the events leading up to the burial of Louis the Pious, placing them in larger contemporary context. *Charles the Bald* (1992) and “Carolingian Royal Ritual” (1987) do the same for Charles the Bald’s coronation as king of Lotharingia in 869. For an introduction to her work on ritual, see Janet L. Nelson, “Carolingian Royal Funerals,” in *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Frans Theuvs and Janet L. Nelson (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), 131-84; idem, *Charles the Bald* (London and New York: Longman, 1992); idem, “The Lord’s Anointed and the People’s Choice: Carolingian Royal Ritual,” in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. David Cannadine and Simon Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; reprinted in *The Frankish World, 750-900*, 99-132. London: Hambledon Press, 1996), 137-80.

Ottonian royal ritual.<sup>11</sup> This approach also tends to focus on the royal or aristocratic perspective and on the development of ritual behavior.<sup>12</sup> The small amount of research on ceremony in this period that is “native” to Metz focuses on rogation and pardoning processions.<sup>13</sup> Early analysis confined itself to reconstruction of the precise order of the stations, but recent work situates the processions in their urban context.<sup>14</sup> Overall, although this particular practice is now receiving further attention, the category of ritual studies has produced limited findings for Metz.

The inadequacies of ritual as employed in histories of Metz correspond with broader questions about the field that have led to revisionist scholarship. Of particular importance is Philippe Buc’s attack on the use of ritual theory based in structural anthropology.<sup>15</sup> His

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<sup>11</sup> A negotiation in Metz for an *Adventus* ceremony forms a part of the evidence for a general study of Ottonian *Adventus*, for example. See David A. Warner, “Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian Reich: The Ceremony of Adventus,” *Speculum* 76, no. 2 (2001): 266-7.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example: Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Primus, 2003), 187. For a study of Ottonian practice that takes a local perspective and incorporates interdisciplinary sources, see Thomas Head, “Art and Artifice in Ottonian Trier,” *Gesta* 36 (1997): 65-82.

<sup>13</sup> In 1901, E. Paulus published a piece on thirteenth-century processions that was followed by articles by Jean Baptiste Pelt (1923, 1926), René S. Bour (1924), Bour and Theodor Klauser (1929), Klauser (1930), and Paulus Volk (1935/6). See E. Paulus, “Les processions de rogations à Metz au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Revue ecclésiastique de Metz* (1901): 313-30, 375-85; Jean Baptiste Pelt, “Un Spécimen de la vie liturgique à Metz au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la procession de saint Marc,” *Almanach de Marie Immaculée* (1923): 33-42; René S. Bour, “A propos de la procession de la Saint-Marc à Metz,” *Cahiers Lorrains* 3 (1924): 85-96, 140-4; Jean Baptiste Pelt, “Les Processions de rogations à Metz au XI<sup>e</sup> et au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Almanach de Marie Immaculée* 5th year (1926): 25-46; Theodor Klauser and René S. Bour, “Un document du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle. Notes sur l’ancienne liturgie de Metz et sur ses églises antérieures à l’an mil,” *ASHAL* 42 (1929): 1-145; Theodor Klauser, “Eine Stationsliste der Metzger Kirche aus dem 8. Jahrhundert, wahrscheinlich ein Werk Chrodegangs,” *Ephemerides liturgicae: commentarium* 44 (1930): 162-93; Paulus Volk, “La Procession de Saint-Marc des bénédictins de Saint-Arnould à Metz au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Revue liturgique et monastique* 21 (1935/6): 201-19.

<sup>14</sup> François Héber-Suffrin, “La Liturgie dans la ville: Metz du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à l’époque romane,” *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 24 (2003): 13-25. Only recently have processions been analyzed as evidence for inter-institutional interaction in the region: Michèle Gaillard, “La Présence épiscopale dans la ville du haut Moyen Âge: Sanctuaires et processions,” *Histoire Urbaine* 10 (2004): 123-40.

<sup>15</sup> Philippe Buc, “Political Rituals and Political Imagination in the Medieval West from the Fourth Century to the Eleventh,” in *The Medieval World*, ed. Janet L. Nelson and Peter Linehan (London:

critique demonstrates that a functionalist approach leads to inflexible interpretations of the relationship between ceremonial forms and political structure. He also notes that ritual studies often erases intentionality and reception from historically specific artifacts. More broadly, others have argued that ritual is more than a tool for displaying power and that it must be understood to function in complex ways.<sup>16</sup> A critical assessment should be made of historians' use of sources, as well. Many scholars in the discipline rely upon printed editions and disregard the physical aspects of their evidence. The resulting research produces studies of ritual that are unaware of the impact of production and preservation on the historical record. Thus performance is seen as a positivistic "reflection" of the moment of its creation, and its original ability to interact with multiple contexts is lost.

In addition to liturgical and ritual studies, performance evidence from Metz has also been addressed from the perspective of drama. For the period of the ninth to thirteenth centuries, Messine examples have figured prominently in surveys of liturgical drama; they include early moments of "mimesis" and several *Visitatio sepulchri* plays. The latter have seen a vast amount of research shaped by the works of Karl Young, O.B. Hardison, and Walther Lipphardt.<sup>17</sup> Hardison, in *Christian Rite and Christian Drama* (1965), looks at a broad selection of examples of this type of performance and argues for its evolution from simple verbal

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Routledge, 2001), 190; idem, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

<sup>16</sup> Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000-1125* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 3. Related questions are addressed in Jennifer I. Kermode, "Obvious Observations on the Formation of Oligarchies in Late Medieval English Towns," in *Towns and Townspeople in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. John A.F. Thomson (Wolfeboro Falls, NH: Alan Sutton, 1988), 87-106; Stephen Rigby, "Urban 'Oligarchy' in Late Medieval England," in *Urban 'Oligarchy' in Late Medieval England*, ed. John A.F. Thomson (Wolfeboro Falls, NH: Alan Sutton, 1988), 62-86.

<sup>17</sup> Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933); O.B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965); Walther Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, 9 vols. (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1975-90).

exchange to complex “drama.” Walther Lipphardt, publishing his *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele* between 1975 and 1990, excerpts the “plays”—sometimes comprising no more than two or three lines of text—and offers musical analysis for each segment. This model of research, assuming an increase in complexity over time and divorced from manuscript, local, and historical context, dominated the study of these performances and their manuscripts until recently. Much-needed revisionist work by scholars such as Clifford Flanigan, Andrew Hughes, and Nils Holger Petersen reveals serious flaws in the evolutionary paradigm as well as the absolute importance of contextualization to the understanding of these performances.<sup>18</sup> Each offers a model of study grounded in local historical and social circumstances, yet no one has brought this new mode of liturgical and dramatic research to bear on studies of Metz.

Approaches to later Messine drama also rely upon this evolutionary view of theater, which isolates early medieval practice and separates “pure” liturgy from drama.<sup>19</sup> According

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<sup>18</sup> C. Clifford Flanigan, Kathleen M. Ashley, and Pamela Sheingorn, “Liturgy as Social Performance: Expanding the Definitions,” in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2001), 695-714; Andrew Hughes, “Liturgical Drama: Falling Between the Disciplines,” in *The Theatre of Medieval Europe: New Research in Early Drama*, ed. Eckehard Simon, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 42-62; Nils Holger Petersen, “Liturgical Drama: New Approaches,” in *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales (1993-1998): Euroconférence (Barcelone, 8-12 juin 1999)*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse, Textes et études du moyen âge 22 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 625-44. See also the works of these authors in the bibliography.

<sup>19</sup> Seen in the writings of Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*; Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*; Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*; Grace Frank, *The Medieval French Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960); E. De Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du moyen âge* (New York, 1964). Recent developments in medieval theater studies include a move away from evolutionary models and strict medieval/renaissance periodization, replaced by emphasis on local context and complexity of practice. For a summary of these trends in medieval English theater, see: Richard K. Emmerson, “Dramatic History: On the Dischronic in the Study of Early English Drama,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 35, no. 1 (2005): 39-66. For examples of this kind of work, see also: Kathleen M. Ashley, “Sponsorship, Reflexivity, and Resistance: Cultural Readings of the York Cycle Plays,” in *The Performance of Middle English Culture: Essays on Chaucer and the Drama in Honor of Martin Stevens*, ed. James J. Paxson, Lawrence Clopper, and Sylvia Tomasch (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1998), 9-24; Sarah Beckwith, *Signifying God: Social Relation and Symbolic Act in the York Corpus Christi Plays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Theresa Coletti, *Mary Magdalene and the Drama of Saints: Theater,*

to this narrative, drama began in Metz during the eleventh or twelfth century with the simple verbal exchanges of the *Visitatio sepulchri*, an exceptional portion of the Easter liturgy.

During two centuries of linear evolution to more complicated forms, these plays mysteriously moved outside the church and monastery walls. After a stalled fourteenth century, the fifteenth century finally saw the “floraison du théâtre” with the birth of “true,” “secular” theater in Metz.<sup>20</sup> This historical narrative is formed through the identification of

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*Gender, and Religion in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Pamela Sheingorn, “The Bodily Embrace or Embracing the Body: Gesture and Gender in Late Medieval Culture,” in *The Stage as Mirror: Civic Theatre in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Alan E. Knight (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), 51-89; idem, “Medieval Drama Studies and the New Art History,” *Mediaevalia* 18 (1995): 143-62; Claire Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England*, *Medieval Cultures* 10 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

<sup>20</sup> I take this wording from the chapter titles in Charles Mazouer, *Le Théâtre français du moyen-âge* (Paris: SEDES, 1998). The lack of work on performance in Metz has insured that outdated models hold sway. Studies on drama as such in Metz were first published in the mid-nineteenth century and appear only rarely in the following century and a half. In 1848 Henri Lepage published an extended essay outlining the history of theater for the entire Lorraine region through the late sixteenth century: Henri Lepage, “Études sur le théâtre en Lorraine,” *Mémoires de la société des sciences, lettres et arts de Nancy* (1848): 187-346. As the earliest scholar to address this topic directly, Lepage did important work to establish a timeline and preliminary list of plays and performances. He includes some archival evidence, but the breadth of his topic means that “early” Messine performance is discussed entirely in terms of the fifteenth and sixteenth-century *mystères*. A few decades later, Louis Petit de Julleville included Metz in his monumental study of French theater, in which he engages in little analysis of Messine drama, comparative or otherwise. See Louis Petit de Julleville, *Histoire du théâtre en France: Les mystères*, 2 vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1880; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1969). This work remains the essential guide to medieval French plays.

The twentieth century has seen barely more attention to the theater of Metz, likely due to the lack of surviving, recognized play texts and to disciplinary emphasis on literary analysis. The only existing book devoted to drama in the city was published in 1952 and contains a single, short chapter on medieval theater: Henri Tribout de Morembert, *Le Théâtre à Metz*, vol. 1 (Metz: Editions le Lorrain, 1952), 9-22. Nadine Martzloff, in her *mémoire de maîtrise* on daily life in fifteenth-century Metz, lists several kinds of performance mentioned in the *Chronique* of Philippe de Vigneulles. She touches on a broader range of performance types, such as funerals and jousts, than the traditional history of theater would allow yet does not analyze them: Nadine Martzloff, “La Vie quotidienne à Metz à la fin du moyen âge et au début de la renaissance. D’après la Chronique de Philippe de Vigneulles et le Journal de Jehan Aubrion” (*Mémoire de maîtrise*, Université de Nancy II, 1983-4); idem, “Metz en fête au XV siècle,” *Annales de l’est* 5th ser., 43 (1991): 115-40. Most recently, Jody Enders addresses evidence for drama found in Vigneulles’s writings, making a general argument about French theater that deconstructs descriptions of sexual attraction and violence; she does little archival work or historical contextualization: Jody Enders, “Theater Makes History: Ritual Murder by Proxy in the *Mistère de la Sainte Hostie*,” *Speculum* 79, no. 4 (2004): 991-1016; idem, *Death by Drama and Other*

“plays” and “play texts” through the application of early modern and modern conventions.<sup>21</sup> Plays are distinguished through the presence of “actors,” a “stage,” and moments of mimesis, all found within manuscripts containing highly specific textual apparatuses. Such efforts focus on literary analysis of vernacular texts and are decontextualized, both from manuscript and historical circumstance.<sup>22</sup> Scholars of French drama now embrace manuscript studies, but few have done work that challenges the flawed evolutionary model.<sup>23</sup> The study of drama remains isolated from the early Middle Ages and from the closely related fields of non-“dramatic” liturgy and ritual.

The result of these disciplinary divisions has been disastrous. Scholars of the early and high Middle Ages study “ritual” or “liturgical drama” and scholars of the late Middle Ages examine “plays,” all divorced from context and each other.<sup>24</sup> This artificial division of the evidence prevents analysis of cultural practices that fall outside these boundaries as well as restricting a full understanding of those that lie within. It also removes valuable tools for understanding medieval culture and society from scholars’ hands. Consensus admits the weakness and error inherent in the old methods, yet a new paradigm has yet to take hold.

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*Medieval Urban Legends* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); idem, *The Medieval Theater of Cruelty: Rhetoric, Memory, Violence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999). For a discussion of attitudes toward medieval drama over the past century in France, see Helen Solterer, “The Waking of Medieval Theatricality, 1935-1995,” *New Literary History* 27 (1996): 357-90.

<sup>21</sup> Carol Symes, “The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Theater,” *Speculum* 77, no. 3 (2002): 778-831.

<sup>22</sup> Recent work has documented the hostility of theater studies toward Latin drama. See Carol Symes, “The Performance and Preservation of Medieval Latin Comedy,” *European Medieval Drama* 7 (2003): 29-50.

<sup>23</sup> Manuscript context and archival evidence have been eagerly adopted by the scholarship emerging from the seminar of the Groupe d’Étude sur le Théâtre Médiéval du LAMOP, organized by Darwin Smith, Gabriella Parussa, and Jelle Koopmans.

<sup>24</sup> Another approach concerns itself with changing Christian ideas about the theater. An endeavor of intellectual history, this field is little concerned with performance texts or practices. See, for example: Donnalee Dox, *The Idea of the Theatre in Latin Christian Thought: Augustine to the Fourteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004).

### A New Methodology: Performance

The theoretical basis of this dissertation lies in alternative approaches and methodologies. As a cultural practice, performance can best be studied through the combination of interdisciplinary tactics with innovative theories. Operating from the basis of a new definition for performance, this project claims a fresh category of analysis for social and cultural research. Its solutions do not lie in the diminishment of liturgical, ritual, and dramatic studies; recent scholarship already seeks to redress limitations in these fields. For example, Yitzhak Hen situates the liturgy of the early Middle Ages within the study of larger Christian culture.<sup>25</sup> Buc re-categorizes ritual as a “clerical strategy,” introducing intentionality and authorship.<sup>26</sup> Susan Boynton demonstrates the connections between liturgy and history “as transmitted by narrative and archival sources” for a single community.<sup>27</sup> For drama, Carol Symes reveals the limited perspective of the search for plays and the need to reexamine the archives.<sup>28</sup> Her attention to format and manuscript context suggests the need for whole book studies, a methodology that adds local production, usage, and comparative

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<sup>25</sup> Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (877)*, Subsidia 3 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2001), 9-10.

<sup>26</sup> Buc, “Political Rituals,” 199.

<sup>27</sup> Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, 3.

<sup>28</sup> Symes shows how modern expectations about format, such as stage directions or labeled parts for actors, prevents the identification of potentially dramatic material. She argues that local archives contain many hidden moments of theater, recorded in alternative and varying formats. Symes’s revisionist methodology anchors drama in the archives, yet her work does not expand the frame of inquiry beyond the traditional scope of theater history. Her article presents the most succinct statement of the argument: Carol Symes, “The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays,” 778-831. See her Ph.D. dissertation for a more lengthy critique of previous scholarship: idem, “A Medieval Stage: Theatre and the Culture of Performance in Thirteenth-Century Arras” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1999).

content through physical evidence.<sup>29</sup> These approaches make valuable contributions to their respective fields and should be adopted, but they do not go far enough. A separate overhaul of each of the existing disciplines would not address periodization or practices that overlap the narrow categories of the academy.

This study takes the necessary next step: it draws upon multiple theoretical developments in order to incorporate early and high medieval history into the history of performance. The foremost goal is to weave together ritual and liturgy with concepts arising from the theater, under the category of performance. This new methodology arises in part from certain developments in the field of performance studies that were themselves inspired by cultural anthropology.<sup>30</sup> In the mid-1960s, Richard Schechner advanced an idea of performance which went beyond text-based drama to include play, games, and ritual.<sup>31</sup> This definition of the term combined with the work of the anthropologist Milton Singer, who used the phrase “cultural performance” to describe ceremonies, and with that of Clifford Geertz, who employed cultural performance in his studies of Balinese society and culture.<sup>32</sup> Victor Turner also strongly influenced the field through his work on ritual, which used metaphors of social drama.<sup>33</sup> Outside the academic discipline of medieval history,

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<sup>29</sup> For whole book and miscellany studies, see Stephen Nichols, “Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture,” *Speculum* 65, no. 1 (1990): 1-10; Stephen Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, eds., *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996); the special issue “Medieval and Early Modern Miscellanies and Anthologies,” in *Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003).

<sup>30</sup> What follows is, by necessity, a brief outline of a single aspect of performance studies. For an overview and discussion of the influence of cultural anthropology on performance, see: Carlson, *Performance*, 11-30.

<sup>31</sup> Schechner first outlined this approach in a 1966 essay: Richard Schechner, “Approaches to Theory/Criticism,” *Tulane Drama Review* 10 (1966): 163-8.

<sup>32</sup> Milton Singer, ed., *Traditional India: Structure and Change* (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1959); Clifford Geertz, “Deep Play: Notes on a Balinese Cockfight,” *Daedalus* 101 (1972): 1-37.

<sup>33</sup> Turner, *The Anthropology of Performance*; idem, “Liminality and the Performative Genres,” in *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*, ed. John J. MacAloon

performance is well-established as an analytical category that enables the study of drama, ritual, ceremony, and other forms of cultural performance.

Yet, until recently, historical perspective has itself been absent from performance studies. Scholars of performance have neglected historical phenomena and historians ignore the evidence for medieval performance practices in the larger sense. A collection of essays edited by Mark Franko and Annette Richards addresses this problem.<sup>34</sup> In the introduction and its essays, the book joins the study of performance to that of history and historical practice and underlines the need to study the ephemeral practices that shaped the cultural lives of long-dead people.<sup>35</sup> These new developments in performance theory allow a more subtle framing of cultural inquiry within the field of history.

This project thus incorporates pioneering approaches from multiple methodologies. Alongside revisionist critiques from liturgy, ritual, and drama, it also employs performance theory, cultural anthropology, and manuscript studies. Shifts in local liturgical practice could respond directly to changing ideas about theology and representation;<sup>36</sup> Metz possessed fluid performance practices that responded to local social and cultural conditions. Processional theory, based in repeated movement through space in a particular city over time and grounded in anthropology and social history, offers another model for the study of

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(Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), 19-41; idem, *From Ritual to Theatre* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982); idem, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974); Turner, *The Ritual Process*.

<sup>34</sup> Franko and Richards, eds., *Acting on the Past*.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example: Carruthers, "Rhetorical *Ductus*," 99-117.

<sup>36</sup> Michal Kobialka, *This is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999). Kobialka explores changes in the practice and interpretation of the liturgy as it responded to the *Regularis Concordia* and the ideas of the Fourth Lateran Council. His work provides a model for historically contextualized study of the liturgy.

performance.<sup>37</sup> This approach draws on the ideas of Victor Turner, among others, to examine ideas of liminality, semiotics, and social structure. Other theories of performance space can also help to unravel the complicated relationships among religious activity, social practice, and the sacred.<sup>38</sup> Last, a single manuscript might function in performative ways for the reader, “shaping the reader’s reception and visualization of the dramatic text” and guiding the reader in an experience of motion.<sup>39</sup> This method of reading texts, through emphasis on visual culture, demonstrates and reinforces the importance of manuscript context and *mise-en-page* to the interpretation and understanding of performance sources. Together, these approaches all help to join the now-disconnected components of medieval cultural practice that were made manifest in performance.

The methodology of the project is thus fully rooted in material objects and grounded in current theory. The dissertation abandons evolutionary models and gives much-needed attention to neglected and “new” sources in the category of performance. It carefully examines documents for *mise-en-page*, images, use over time, and provenance, while putting aside preconceived notions about format. The relationship of manuscript to performance is also considered: does the text describe, proscribe, or prescribe?<sup>40</sup> This study explores Messine performance in detail, using cultural and anthropological theory to determine the range of meanings for specific cultural symbols. It connects the articulation of belief and

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<sup>37</sup> For further discussion of processional theory, the role of Turner, and examples of the methodology in use, see the articles in: Ashley and Hüskens, eds., *Moving Subjects*; Kathleen M. Ashley, ed., *Victor Turner and the Construction of Cultural Criticism: Between Literature and Anthropology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

<sup>38</sup> See, for example: David Wiles, *A Short History of Western Performance Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>39</sup> Robert L. A. Clark and Pamela Sheingorn, “Performative Reading: The Illustrated Manuscripts of Arnoul Gréban’s *Mystère de la Passion*,” *European Medieval Drama* 6 (2002): 129.

<sup>40</sup> Nils Holger Petersen introduced these distinctions in his October 15, 2003 lecture for the New York Liturgy Group at the American Bible Society.

reception to a particular community and to shared ideas about the past. Institutions and individuals created systems of thought by borrowing from and envisioning historical performance.<sup>41</sup> The dissertation links these ideas to the local perspective through consideration of the spaces of performance and historical context. Participants and audience, often one and the same, interacted among distinct and overlapping communities. Each performance contained the potential for the creation of unity or division and the shaping of individual and communal identity. For all forms of performance, the full event is explored, including vocal and instrumental music, architectural space, gesture and bodies in space, processional routes, placement, and costume or vestments. Finally, this project locates each instance of performance within the larger cultural, social, and political life of the participants and the town. If cultural knowledge may be stored in actions,<sup>42</sup> then the patterns of performance experienced by a medieval person are an unrivaled source for understanding the greater cultural environment.

### Chapter Contents and Organization

The dissertation is divided into an introduction, four chapters, and conclusion. The organization is chronological, with interdisciplinary sources grouped together by century. This format allows for careful contextualization of primary materials as well as attention to changes and trends over time. Research begins with the history of the region in the late antique period: Chapter One investigates Gallo-Roman and Merovingian Metz. Chapter Two examines the eighth century, Chapter Three the ninth century, and Chapter Four the

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<sup>41</sup> For an exploration of theories of appropriation, see: Kathleen M. Ashley and Véronique Plesch, "The Cultural Processes of 'Appropriation,'" *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, no. 1 (2002): 1-15.

<sup>42</sup> Kirsten Hastrup, *A Passage to Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1995), 82-3.

tenth and eleventh centuries. In this way, a more complex model of innovation and response replaces earlier evolutionary models, and a fuller variety of evidence for performance is considered.

Chapter One studies the earliest evidence for performance in Metz, which survives from the Gallo-Roman and Merovingian eras. Archaeological findings for the amphitheater and for public worship are situated within the comparative context of other regional capitals and their late-imperial triumphs and spectacles. The influence of Gallo-Roman and imperial culture on performance practices such as games, feasting, and sacrifice is considered, especially in the context of public identity and masculinity. The chapter also studies the evidence for performance at Metz under the Merovingian dynasty, including processions, banquets, and a beast fight. A royal marriage is examined from two contemporary perspectives, revealing its construction of a Frankish, Christian ideal through Gallo-Roman conventions. Overall, a period previously characterized as “dark” is shown to have nurtured subtle and complex performance practices that engaged past traditions and present requirements.

Chapter Two examines the sources for performance in Metz and their social meanings in the early Carolingian era of the eighth century. It first details performance culture under archbishop Chrodegang of Metz, looking at the city’s song school, stationary liturgy, and refurbished interior liturgical spaces. It then examines a financial plan of stipends for liturgical performance that was put in place by Chrodegang’s successor, archbishop Angilram of Metz. Using the category of performance, this document is situated within the larger context of Frankish reform and prior local practice. Early Carolingian performance in Metz is shown to have reshaped and re-imagined the city on the model of Rome, through community-specific liturgy. Performance practice also introduced or

reaffirmed hierarchies of status that benefited the bishop of Metz and his cathedral canons. An idealized image of civic and ecclesiastical harmony was projected onto the geography of Metz through performance.

Chapter Three centers on Carolingian performance in the ninth century, closely examining a model ceremony created in Metz for its bishop. Drogo, an archbishop of Metz and half-brother of Louis the Pious, sponsored the production of the Drogo Sacramentary (Paris BNF lat. 9428) for his personal use. A church dedication ceremony within this manuscript has previously been identified as an early example of mimesis, thus thwarting any study of its complex functions. Using the interdisciplinary approach of performance, this chapter reunites the prescriptive text with its intricate mise-en-page and ivory cover, showing that this ceremony could shape sacred relationships between a community and its saints through episcopal intercession. This local model for performance responded to contemporary historical events by providing an ideal practice that established and promoted the prestige of Messine bishops and their saintly predecessors.

Chapter Four discusses the post-Carolingian and Ottonian eras, demonstrating how performance practice and its record participated in the cultivation of continuity and change. The abbey of St-Arnoul, located just outside the city walls of Metz, had developed a mythology of Carolingian sanctity by the late ninth century that was intertwined with its own foundation. This chapter studies how a Greek *Laudes*, produced at St-Arnoul for a late-Carolingian king, took part in a larger rethinking of institutional history. The preservation of this text alongside other Greek and imperial performance materials claimed their ongoing importance and incorporated them into a new narrative during a time of dynastic change. This process resonates with hagiographic innovations at St-Arnoul, which posited a

foundation myth rooted in “Greekness.”<sup>43</sup> Over the tenth and eleventh centuries, St-Arnoul created a performance history and a communal past for itself that, like other areas of contemporary production, imagined Greek origins and asserted Greek authority for its foundation.

Thus a broader approach to interdisciplinary sources, along with the flexibility that performance provides over ritual or drama, forms the theoretical basis of the dissertation. Contemporary disciplinary boundaries and terminology have limited scholarly inquiry, but performance, cultural history, and whole-book studies reopen these closed doors. Since historians have yet to incorporate ideas about performance into their work, this project offers a model for long-term history that claims a role for it. Many varieties of practice are considered, carefully contextualized, and examined in and over time. Much as the work of prior scholars has situated hagiography in history through the perspective of a single location over the centuries, this dissertation produces a history of performance in Metz.<sup>44</sup> Like gender studies, performance should be a standard interpretive tool available to historians as we open every available window onto the social and cultural history of the Middle Ages. The medieval creators of our sources used material and historical context to create multifaceted performance models; our analysis should do the same.

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<sup>43</sup> The term “Greek” will be used throughout to refer to the Greek language and to the imagined culture and sources of Messine “Greekness;” the term will “Byzantine” refer to the historical culture and peoples of the Byzantine Empire.

<sup>44</sup> See, for example: Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

## Chapter One: The Legacy of Gallo-Roman Performance Culture in Early Medieval Metz

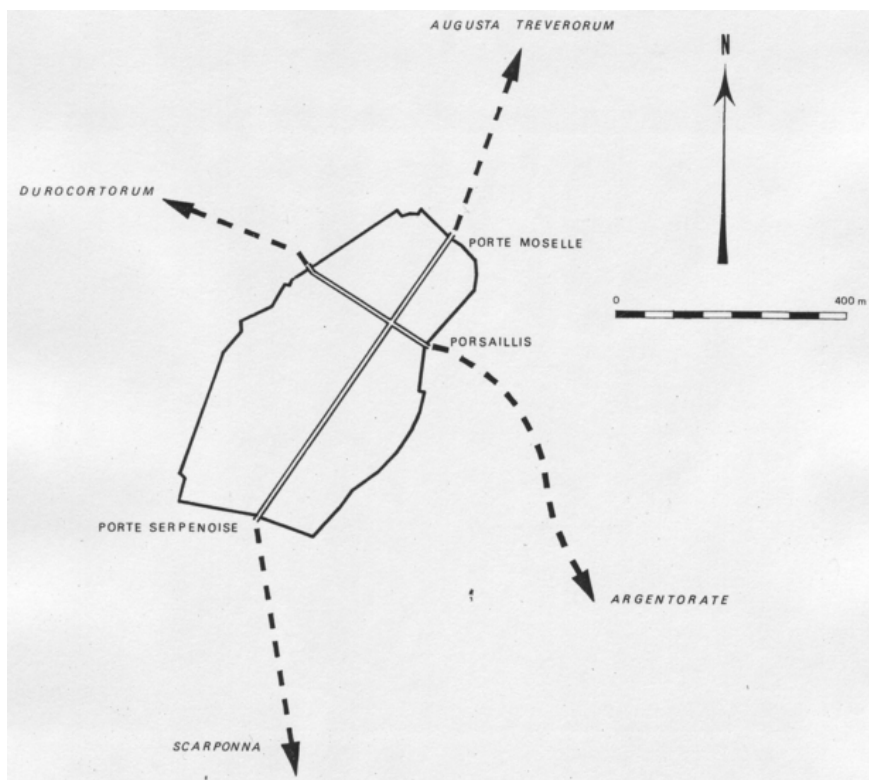
What was the performance legacy of the Gallo-Roman and Merovingian-era inhabitants of Metz? This chapter answers that question with the little documentary and archaeological evidence that has survived. Direct evidence for performance practice in late Gallo-Roman and early medieval Metz is sparse, yet highly suggestive both on its own and in comparative context. During the second to eighth centuries, Roman ceremony and games were introduced to the region, then taken up and altered by Frankish successors under the Merovingian dynasty. A heavily Gallo-Roman-influenced civic and religious life brought public spectacles, imperial ceremony, and Christian ritual to Metz. These formative early centuries also saw the creation of performance traditions among the Franks that were transmitted to later generations.

### The Gallo-Roman Physical Legacy: City Layout and Topography

Metz developed the characteristic layout and structures of a large Gallo-Roman provincial city during the second to fourth centuries despite having only a medium-sized population. The early city was laid out in the form of a rectangle with four quadrants, bisected by two perpendicular main roads<sup>1</sup> (see Map 1).

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<sup>1</sup> A 'typical' large Roman provincial city was laid out on this pattern, and contained a forum, a basilica, an amphitheater, and baths. Pierre Grimal, *Roman Cities*, trans. G. Michael Woloch (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 10-11, 41, 46, 66.

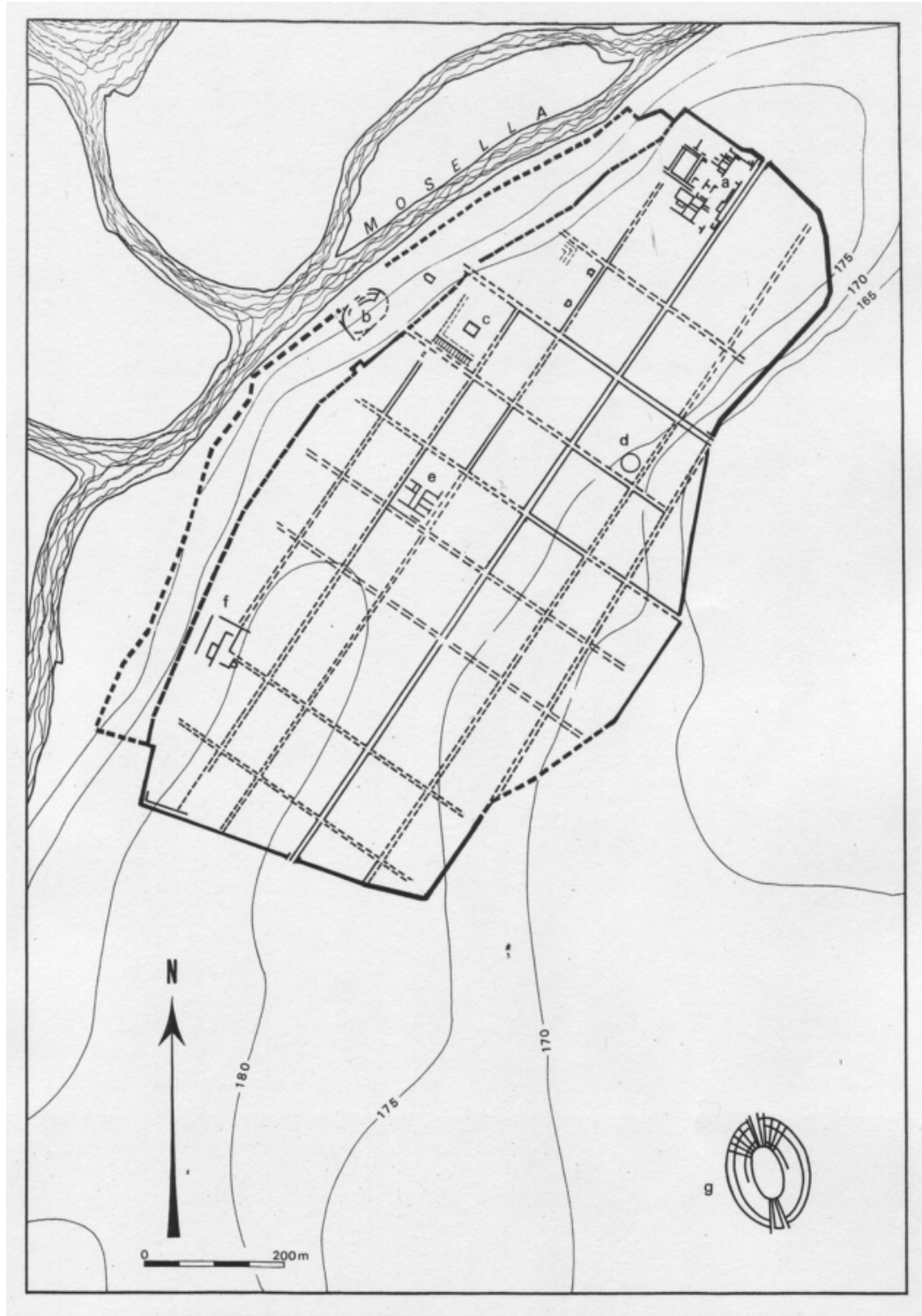


**Map 1: Arteries of Gallo-Roman Metz (*Durocortorum* [Reims]; *Augusta Treverorum* [Trier]; *Argentorate* [Strasbourg]; *Scarponna* [Dieulouard, station on the Lyon road])**

(Image from Frézouls, *Les Villes antiques*, 306.)

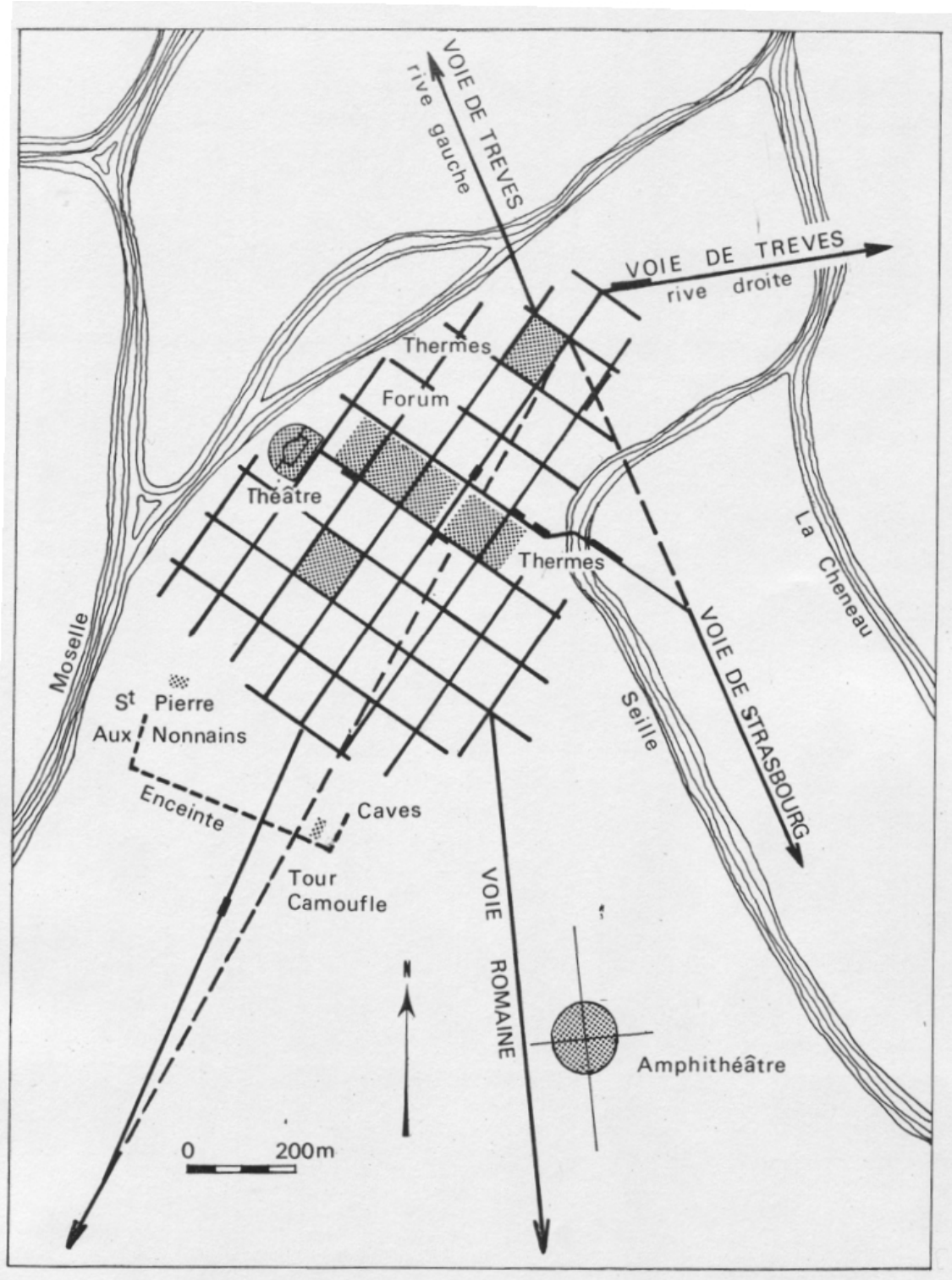
The Lyon-Trier axis ran roughly from south to north and the Strasbourg-Reims axis from southeast to northwest, respectively. The two routes met in the center of town, near the forum, one of at least two basilicas, and one of two sets of public baths (see Maps 2-3, below). This central location also corresponded to the highest point on the land between the Moselle and Seille Rivers, at a height of roughly 15-20 meters above the rivers.<sup>2</sup> A city wall, built in the late third century, encircled the elevated area. A small theater sat at the base of this hill, perhaps outside the wall, on the bank of the Moselle. Predating the theater was a large second-century amphitheater, located 600 meters southeast of the city walls on the flats between the Seille River and the Lyon road.

<sup>2</sup> Edmond Frézouls, ed., *Les Villes antiques de la France: Belgique 1. Amiens, Beauvais, Grand, Metz*, vol. 1 (Strasbourg: AECR, 1982), 298.



**Map 2: Topography of Gallo-Roman Metz from Archaeological Finds. *a*, thermal baths; *b*, small theater; *c*, forum (?); *d*, pool; *e*, baths; *f*, basilica of St-Pierre-aux-Nonnains; *g*, large amphitheater**

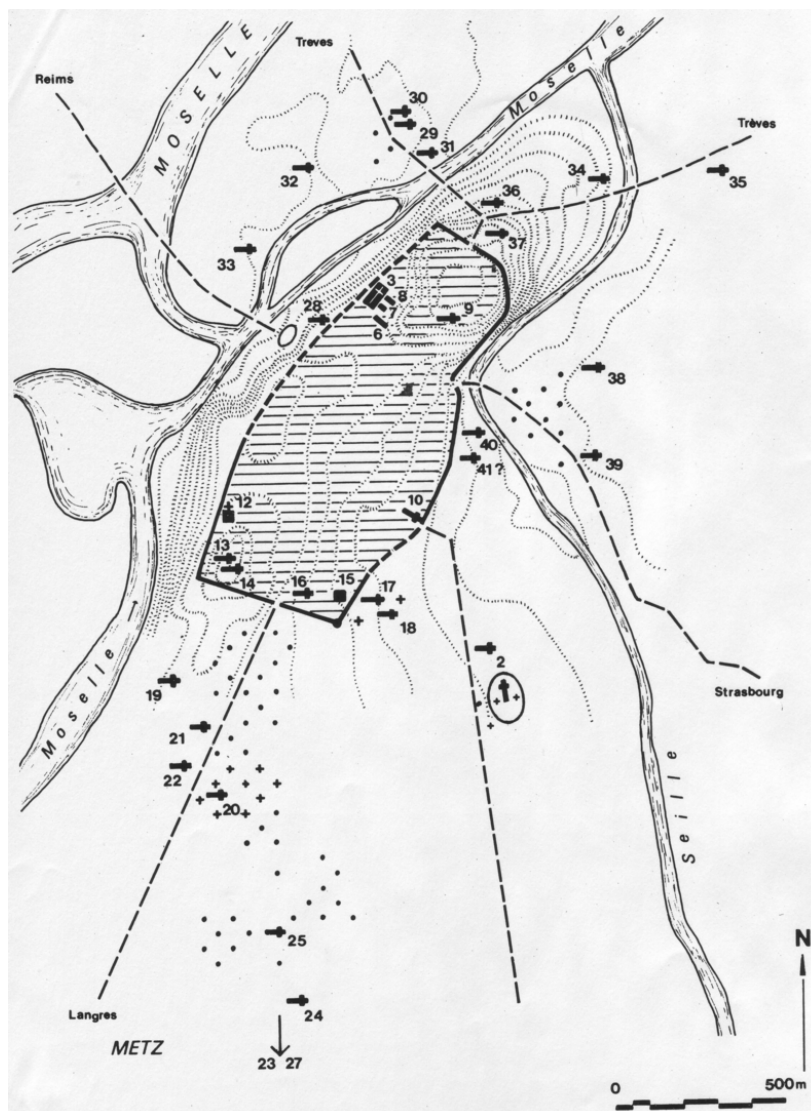
(Image from Frézouls, *Les Villes antiques*, 308.)



**Map 3: Topography of Metz from Archaeological Finds**

(Image from Frézouls, *Les Villes antiques*, 309.)

Gallo-Roman burial monuments clustered in three locations outside the walls, where they lined the Strasbourg, western Trier, and Lyon roads from the second century onward. The latter, by far the largest necropolis, was in an area now called the Sablon that also contained the large amphitheater (see Map 4).



**Map 4: Pagan, Early Christian, and Merovingian Burial and Cult Sites. Dots represent pagan or mixed burials and crosses (+) christian ones. The Sablon area encompasses nos. 2, 21, 22, 20, 25, etc.**

(Image from Gauthier, *Topographie*, 35.)

The Lyon road as it neared Metz was crowded on either side with the grand funerary monuments of the wealthy, according to the evidence of archaeological finds and descriptions from later centuries.<sup>3</sup> An aqueduct also approached the city from the south. Taken together, the public buildings and burial structures shaped Metz into a grid of streets surrounded by a raised circle, with outstretched branches delineated in monumental stone. With its forum, basilicas, baths, aqueduct, city wall, amphitheater, and theater, Metz contained the physical structures that were necessary and common to Gallo-Roman provincial life. The city's investment of considerable resources in public buildings and monuments reveals the importance of the performance practices that took place within them, despite the lack of written documentation about function.

### Civic Life and Religious Ceremony

Public life and religious ritual were intertwined and essential parts of life for the Gallo-Roman citizen during the Empire. Observance of the imperial cult and those of other gods, public games, and processions like the *adventus* were regularly practiced, especially in the provinces. Beginning in 20CE, Celtic elites like those of Metz entered into a distinctive Gallo-Roman priesthood that focused on participation in ceremony.<sup>4</sup> Provincial cities celebrated special feast days with a related group of practices that originated in Rome. These included processions [*pompae*], priest-led dedications with sacrifices, imperial or military entries, banquets, and games [*ludi*]. The games consisted variously of gladiatorial battles [*munera*], beast-fights [*venationes*], horse races, pantomime, dancing, and comic or tragic

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<sup>3</sup> For analysis, see Maurice Toussaint, "Metz à l'époque gallo-romaine," *ASHAL* 49 (1948): 164-5. These monuments became an important source of stone for building in later centuries.

<sup>4</sup> Edith M. Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1985), 72.

theater. Since these lavish spectacles were usually paid for by a single prominent citizen, they were strongly connected to ideas of civic patronage and public honor.<sup>5</sup>

Surviving archaeological evidence indicates the participation of the inhabitants of Metz in religious ceremonies and civic life much like their contemporaries elsewhere in Gallia Belgica. The many monumental buildings, such as the amphitheater, are only understandable in the context of civic ceremony and games. Such buildings were necessary for Gallo-Roman public life and were an “efficient means of romanization.”<sup>6</sup> Their very existence implies the presence of romanized performance practices among the people of Metz. In addition, a few inscriptions and artifacts point to an active group of elite Messine men during the second to fourth centuries who took on the role of generous civic benefactor. An excavation of the Saint-Jacques baths revealed inscriptions describing how a local man who had served as a priest of Rome and Augustus had endowed part of the complex.<sup>7</sup> Priests of the imperial cult, known as *virī augustales*, held honorary roles in the feast and sacrifices. Three inscriptions from Metz describe men as carrying this title.<sup>8</sup> They sacrificed on behalf of the citizens of the city, represented them to the emperor, provided games, and funded public works. Dedications to various deities and to the imperial cult have been found that date throughout the period, suggesting a level of public religious performance comparable to that documented for other provincial cities.<sup>9</sup> One surviving

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<sup>5</sup> For a study of spectacle and honor across the empire, see Alison Futrell, *Blood in the Arena: The Spectacle of Roman Power* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997).

<sup>6</sup> Grimal, *Roman Cities*, 57.

<sup>7</sup> See Frézouls, ed., *Les Villes antiques de la France*, 256-7. See also Toussaint, “Metz à l’époque gallo-romaine,” 168-77; Bernard Vigneron, *Metz antique: Divodurum Mediomatricorum* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1986), 132-3; Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*, 83.

<sup>8</sup> Frézouls, ed., *Les Villes antiques de la France*, 263-5.

<sup>9</sup> These gods include Apollo, Hercules, Jupiter, Mercury, Minerva, and a host of names associated with the imperial cult. See *ibid.*, 260-5. Many small devotional items also survive from this period.

object exemplifies the kind of public sacrifice that *virī augustales* presided over: a monument commemorating the sacrifice of a bull, offered for the health of the emperor in 199CE<sup>10</sup> (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1: Monument Commemorating the Sacrifice of a Bull, Musée de Metz**

(Images from Espérandieu, *Recueil général*, no. 4303, 392-3.)

One of its four sides depicts the sculpted head of a bull; another, a ram. The remaining sides show a tympanum (a kind of drum), a syrinx (a pan pipe), and a harp. The juxtaposition of sacrificial animals and musical instruments underlines the essentially performance-oriented nature of the act and its commemoration. It seems likely that music was a part of the ritual of sacrifice or of the dedication of the monument. Whether or not music featured in the two civic ceremonies, however, late second-century Messine visual culture connected the physical act to aural art through the association of images. This monument hints at the complexity, and evanescence, of late Gallo-Roman performance practices in Metz.

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For a catalog of all surviving items from this period, see Toussaint, “Metz à l’époque gallo-romaine,” 34-155.

<sup>10</sup> For the text and a French translation of the inscription, see Frézouls, ed., *Les Villes antiques de la France*, 264 and n. 29. For discussion, see Vigneron, *Metz antique*, 133 and n. 2.

Furthermore, the residents of Metz participated in an aspect of late Gallo-Roman visual culture that made public the ceremonial nature of elite lives. Processional and funeral banquets are depicted in two sculptures from the immediate area, examples of the elaborate monuments that lined the roads into Metz. The first represents a funeral feast at which a woman and two men eat and drink (see Figure 2).



**Figure 2: Funerary Monument Depicting a Ceremonial Funeral Banquet, Musée de Metz**

(Image from Espérandieu, *Recueil général*, no. 4306, 394-7.)

A second side shows a processioning musician playing a flute. A disconnected block from the same monument depicts two nude female dancers, playing the tympanum and the lyre, and a male and female dancer (see Figure 3, below). These images “revealed” and inscribed the essential aspects of elite banqueting and funerary practice to all who passed: the consumption of food and wine at leisure, music, and the bodies of dancers displayed for the appreciative eyes of the guests. Images like these express the public nature of status in late Gallo-Roman Metz and its dependence on display. By visualizing feasting practices, elite Messians constructed themselves as performers, accruing honor in the civic sphere.



**Figure 3: Funerary Monument Depicting Musicians and Dancers, Musée de Metz**

(Image from Espérandieu, *Recueil général*, no. 4307, 394-7.)

The second relief, a fragment from a funeral monument, shows a long-haired youth bearing a dish with a cooked fowl on it (see Figure 4, below). Unbearded, he processes from right to left, and the artist tips the plate to reveal its contents. The iconography of the processing servant was often used by prosperous local elites, especially on funeral stelae in the northern part of the empire.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Katherine M.D. Dunbabin, “The Waiting Servant in Later Roman Art,” *American Journal of Philology* 124, no. 3 (2003): 464 and n. 26.



**Figure 4: Fragment of a Funerary Monument Depicting a Long-Haired Youth Bearing a Dish with Fowl, Musée de Metz**

(Image from Espérandieu, *Recueil général*, no. 4313, 400.)

Such sculpture was found outside the home and depicted processions of servants carrying food, drink, and offerings. The figures usually show elegance of dress, smooth cheeks, and long flowing hair.<sup>12</sup> These images are also connected to an iconographic type used to depict attendants at public sacrifices.<sup>13</sup> The representation of the processing servant reveals that Messine elites adapted a part of the imagery of civic ceremony, reusing it through public envisionings of performance for personal and familial gain. The presence of these images in Metz indicates that the Roman iconography of public ceremony was adopted by local elites, at the very least. Although we cannot know if these monuments depict “real events,” the

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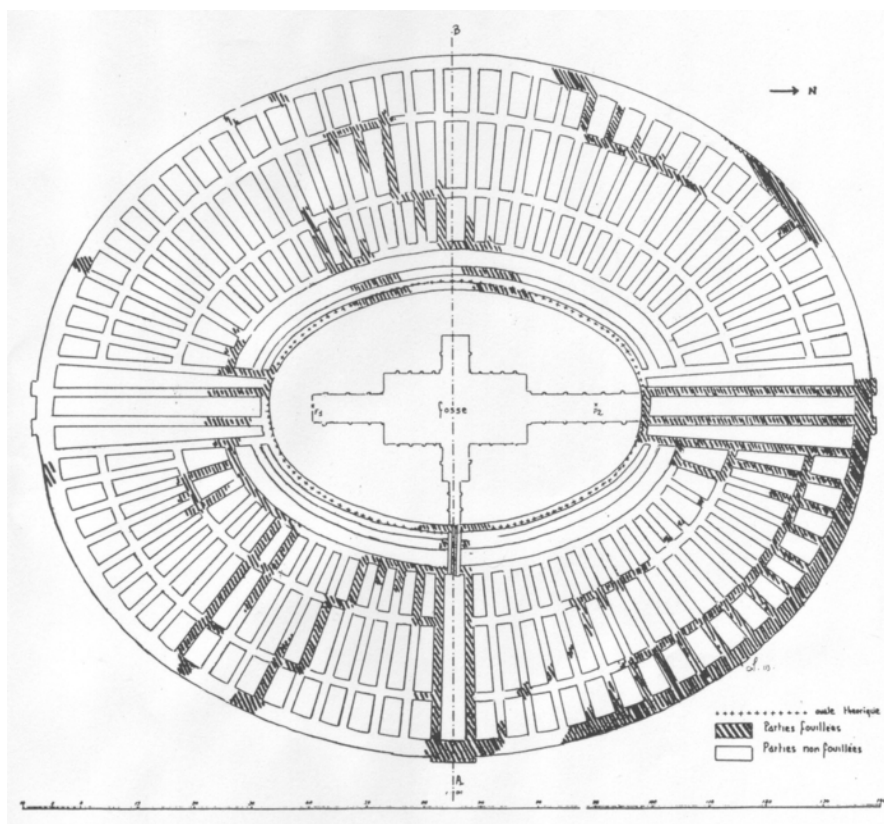
<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 444, 450.

<sup>13</sup> Dunbabin credits Freiderike Fless with this identification. Ibid., 455 and n. 45.

deployment of these images through display was part of a continuing performance of power and culture, and strongly suggests the actual performance of such ceremonies.

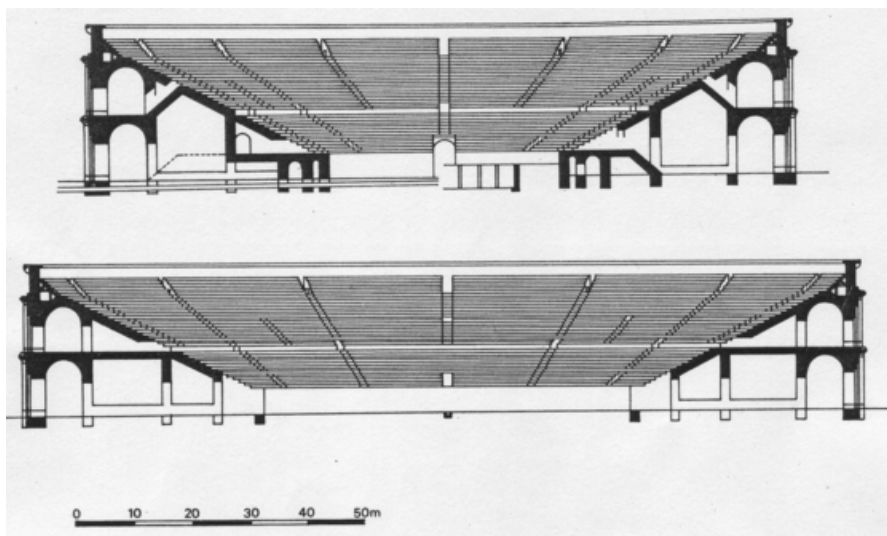
### The Amphitheater and Theater

Further evidence for a lively performance culture in Gallo-Roman Metz exists in the form of a large amphitheater and a smaller theater dating to this period (see Maps 2-3, above; Figures 5-6, 8-9, below).



**Figure 5: Plan of Large Amphitheater, Top View**

(Image from Vigneron, *Metz antique*, 238.)



**Figure 6: Plan of Large Amphitheater, Side Views**

(Image from Frézouls, *Les Villes antiques*, 330.)

Built in the late first or early second century, the amphitheater provided seating for an extraordinary number of spectators in relation to the size of other Gallic amphitheaters and to the population of Metz itself.<sup>14</sup> Its dimensions, 148 x 124 meters with a 61 x 41 meter arena, made it the fourth largest amphitheater in Gaul and the eighth largest in the entire Roman world.<sup>15</sup> A train station now stands on the site, but the ruins were excavated prior to their demolition in 1902-3.<sup>16</sup> The discovery of numerous architectural fragments—including decorated columns and capitals, mosaic tesserae, and granite, marble, and porphyry wall

<sup>14</sup> Estimates of the population of Roman Metz range from 10,000 to 25,000, remaining a matter of conflict. Most scholars seem to support numbers on the smaller side. The seating capacity of the amphitheater is agreed to be 20,000-25,000, however. For recent arguments on both sides of the population question, see Bernard S. Bachrach, "Fifth Century Metz: Late Roman Christian Urbs or Ghost Town?," *Antiquité Tardive* 10 (2002): 363-81; Guy Halsall, "Towns, Societies and Ideas: The Not-so-strange Case of Late Roman and Early Merovingian Metz," in *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Neil Christie and Simon T. Loseby (Hants: Aldershot, 1996), 235-61; idem, *Settlement and Social Organization: The Merovingian Region of Metz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>15</sup> Vigneron, *Metz antique*, 236.

<sup>16</sup> The report of the excavation's findings was published in Percy Ernst Schramm, Georg Wolfram, and Johann-Baptist Keune, "Das grosse römische Amphitheater zu Metz," *JGLG* 14 (1902): 340-430.

facings—suggests a luxurious building.<sup>17</sup> It fell from use as an amphitheater proper at the end of the third century, during the construction of Metz’s city wall. The site was too far to the southeast to be enclosed within the city and became a source of building materials. Despite some missing stone, the enormous ruin remained standing on the site and was soon adapted for other uses.<sup>18</sup>

An extremely large, richly decorated amphitheater was thus in use in Metz over the course of two prosperous, peaceful centuries. It was a grand building in a second-tier city, one that was more than adequate for the residential population. Why construct such an expansive public work in a medium-sized city? The answer lies both in the function of provincial amphitheaters and in Metz’s location at the intersection of two major roads. Throughout the Roman Empire, public spectacles lay at the heart of political and cultural expression. More than mere frivolous entertainment, games and amphitheaters provided a public setting for the creation and performance of Roman cultural identity. Amphitheaters were a vehicle for romanization, especially in the provinces; they shared and enforced the power of Rome through the imperial cult and created a local Roman community.<sup>19</sup> In Metz, two inscriptions attest that a local donor dedicated the amphitheater.<sup>20</sup> Much like the civic figure who paid for the public baths, the donor of the amphitheater could expect the real gains in prestige and power that attended civic patronage. In addition, since ritual performances in designated performance space legitimized the authority of the emperor,

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 376-430; Frézouls, ed., *Les Villes antiques de la France*, 330.

<sup>18</sup> The exact nature of the second life of the amphitheater remains open. Possibilities include reconstruction as a municipal structure or as an early church. Evidence points to the former. See Schramm, Wolfram, and Keune, “Das grosse römische Amphitheater zu Metz,” 348; Nancy Gauthier, *L’Évangélisation des pays de la Moselle. La Province romaine de première Belgique entre antiquité et moyen âge (III<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1980), 20-1.

<sup>19</sup> Futrell, *Blood in the Arena*, 4, 93.

<sup>20</sup> Frézouls, ed., *Les Villes antiques de la France*, 259, 330-1.

local donors and elites could expect the same through association with imperial performance practice.

The region of northern Gaul in particular developed small cities with oversized amphitheaters.<sup>21</sup> Alison Futrell argues that large amphitheaters indicate the “excess wealth and administrative energy...found in highly Romanized centers,” rather than large populations.<sup>22</sup> The political and cultural impact of amphitheaters outweighed the size of the potential urban audience. Yet, despite its huge capacity, the amphitheater at Metz might not have played to an empty or half-full house. Such a building asserts itself as the main gathering point of a region, and thus as a cultural center. As elsewhere in Gaul, large numbers of people traveled to cities from rural areas when spectacles were given.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, in addition to the heavy traffic in trade that passed through Metz, the city saw the constant passage of Roman garrisons on their way to and from the eastern frontier. Although no direct evidence survives to support this theory, the presence of Roman soldiers at the games might help to explain the size of the amphitheater at Metz.

Archaeological finds point to the popularity of two particular aspects of the spectacle that took place in Metz’s amphitheater: gladiator fights and wild-beast hunts. In 1969 a large mosaic was discovered in the southeast sector of town, depicting four gladiators with their equipment and labeling them by name. One figure named Sentanus carries a net and knife, similar to the traditional gear of a *retiarius*<sup>24</sup> (see Figure 7).

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<sup>21</sup> Futrell, *Blood in the Arena*, 69.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>23</sup> Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*, 84.

<sup>24</sup> The label is missing letters; the surviving portion spells SEN IANUS, but I follow custom in calling the figure Sentanus. A *retiarius* was a type of gladiator equipped with net and trident.



**Figure 7: Detail of a Second-Century Mosaic Depicting Gladiators, Musée de Metz**

(Image from Vigneron, *Metz antique*, 97.)

The other labels are more fragmentary, but one figure appears lightly dressed in tunic and mantle, bearing a cutlass, while another wears a helmet and armbands.<sup>25</sup> Although the mosaic has not been definitively dated, gladiator mosaics that have been found in Gallia Belgica come from the second to third centuries,<sup>26</sup> contemporary with the period of activity of the Metz amphitheater. The presence of traditional imagery of gladiatorial types in Metz suggests the adoption, also, of the wider cultural practices that accompanied the visual culture of the games. Mosaics that indicate the names of specific performers usually represent a specific gladiatorial battle or set of games, paid for by the commissioner of the

<sup>25</sup> Vigneron, *Metz antique*, 232.

<sup>26</sup> Thomas Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators* (London: Routledge, 1992), 25.

artwork; these depictions of public spectacles made the munificence of the donor more permanent.<sup>27</sup> The resident of Metz who provided gladiator fights and memorialized them in the mosaic could have created legitimacy linked to Rome through shared cultural identity. Indeed, gladiatorial combat was often paid for by the provincial priest of the imperial cult, sometimes as part of games given for Roman soldiers far from home.<sup>28</sup> This supports the conclusion that soldiers were present in the Metz amphitheater. The duties of the Messine civic priests documented above were likely to have included the funding of this aspect of the public games. Through gladiator combat and a military audience, elite urban males tied themselves to the power and prestige of the Roman army and that of the emperor.

Another find of the 1902-3 excavation reveals a second type of performance that took place in the amphitheater: wild beast fights, or *venationes*. A vast number of animal bones were found, including those of bulls, wild boar, horses, dogs, foxes, bears, aurochs, and stags.<sup>29</sup> Wild beast fights were an important part of civic celebrations and were usually associated in the provinces with spectacles centered on the imperial cult.<sup>30</sup> Large numbers of animals were purchased for slaughter, with highly prestigious foreign specimens commanding high prices. The beasts were valued by a rough hierarchy of relative danger, with the most dangerous also being the most desirable.<sup>31</sup> The more animals in a given game and the more dangerous they were, the more honor accrued to the sponsor of the event.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 24, 15.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 44, 46.

<sup>29</sup> Vignerot, *Metz antique*, 231. The author argues that the bones of deer found on the site were too abundant to have gathered naturally after the amphitheater fell from use. Given the location, it seems safe to assume that the finding of such a varied and dense collection of animal remains concentrated in a single spot indicates beast fights.

<sup>30</sup> Dorothea Ruth French, "Christian Emperors and Pagan Spectacles: The Secularization of the 'Ludi' A.D. 382-525" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California Berkeley, 1985), 56.

<sup>31</sup> Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 59.

The types of animals killed in the Messine beast fights indicate local origins, likely from the forests of Gaul and Germany.<sup>32</sup> Compared to the distances animals were brought for games in Rome, and their exotic nature, the collection of animals found at Metz looks rather unimpressive in variety and numbers. However, their presence does clearly indicate the performance of *venationes* in Metz, even if not on a par with Rome.

The presence of animal bones also hints at the practice of *damnatio ad bestias* in the Messine games. From the time of the Republic, the execution of criminals by beasts functioned as another and separate part of the games.<sup>33</sup> Never performed as frequently as other aspects, *damnatio ad bestias* was often practiced as a form of military discipline that punished traitorous or deserting soldiers.<sup>34</sup> In Metz it could have provided a particularly pointed warning to garrisons heading to or from the Eastern front and a sharp contrast to other celebrations in their honor and for their entertainment. Nonetheless, despite the solid evidence for *venationes* and the presence of soldiers in the city, we cannot conclude that these executions ever took place in the amphitheater at Metz.

The amphitheater was not the only building in the city dedicated to performance: archaeological evidence from late Gallo-Roman Metz and later documentation show the presence of a theater on the western side of town (see Maps 2-3, above; Figures 8-9, below). Measuring 75 x 45 meters, with a height of 12 meters, the theater was built along an arm of the Moselle River, just below the area of raised elevation that contained the forum and main clustering of public buildings.<sup>35</sup>

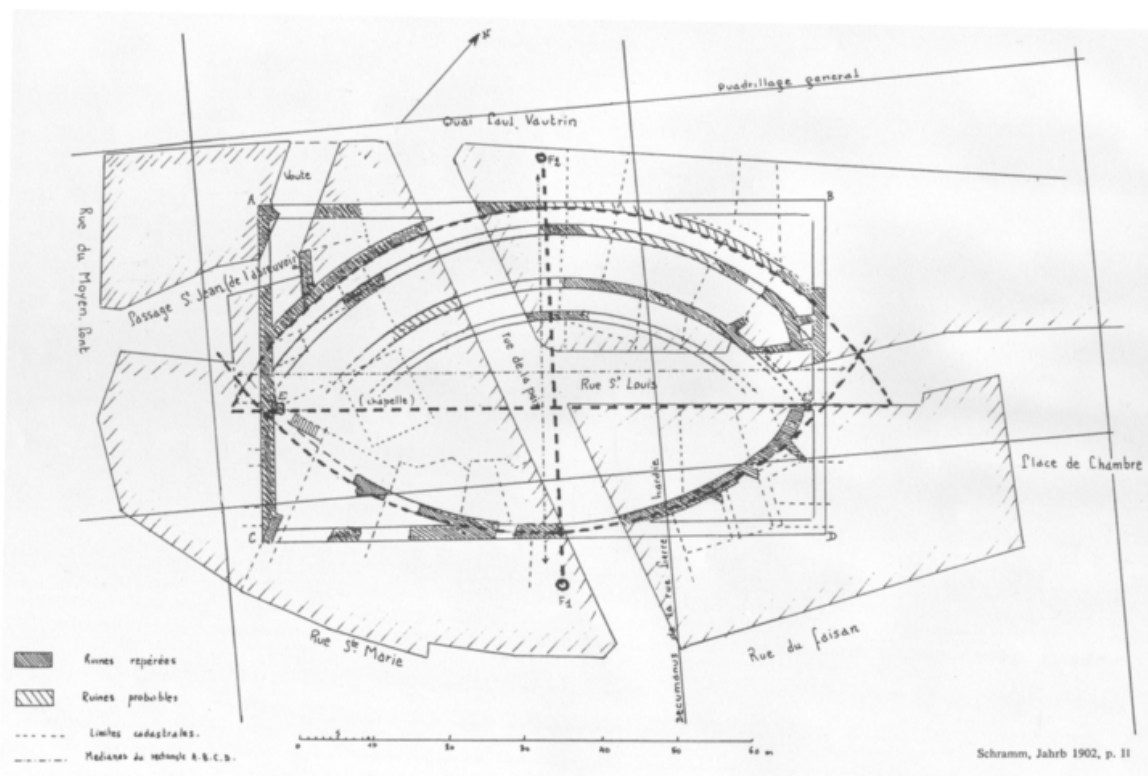
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<sup>32</sup> Toussaint, "Metz à l'époque gallo-romaine," 185.

<sup>33</sup> Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 68-9.

<sup>34</sup> Futrell, *Blood in the Arena*, 28-9.

<sup>35</sup> Frézouls, ed., *Les villes antiques de la France*, 332.



**Figure 8: Plan of Small Theater, Top View**

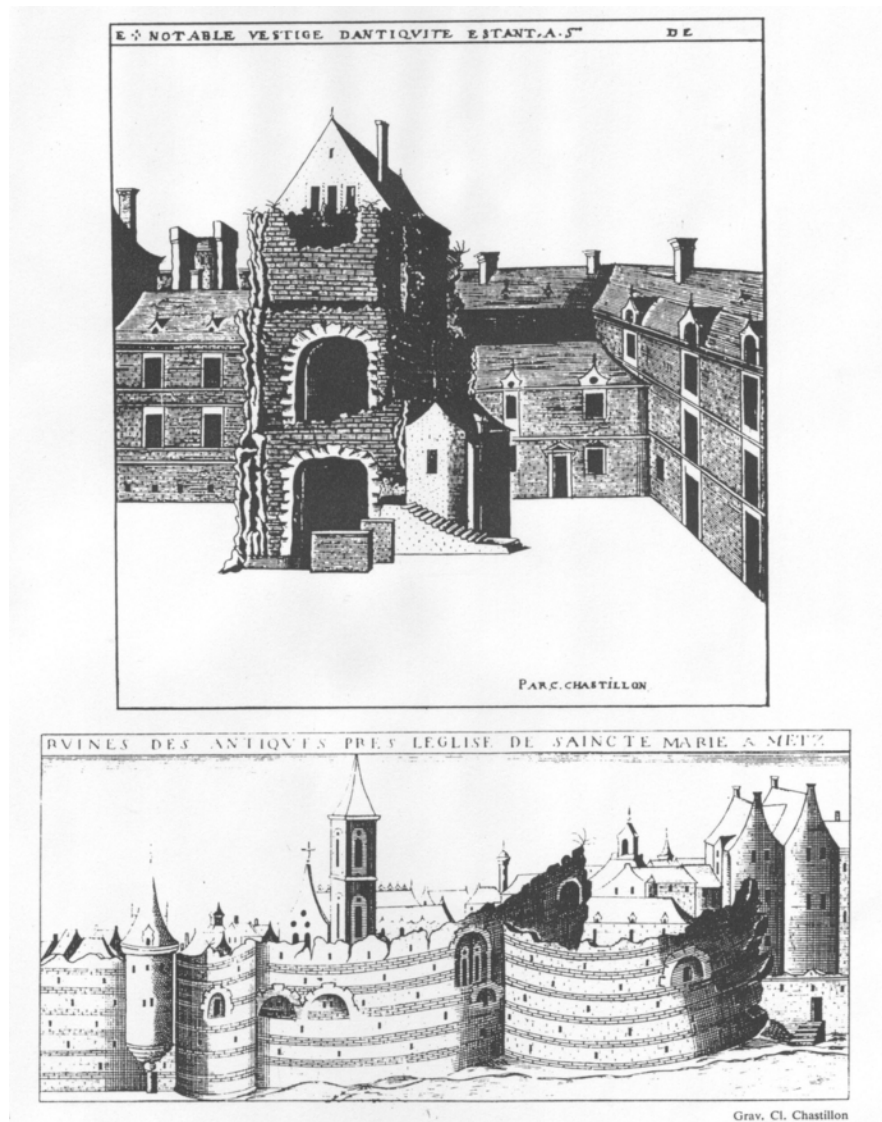
(Image from Vigneron, *Metz antique*, 243.)

The main entrance opened northwards onto the Reims road, where the Place de Chambre is now located.<sup>36</sup> There is little consensus about the exact date of its construction, but scholars generally agree that the theater post-dates the amphitheater by a century or more.<sup>37</sup> Some of the confusion stems from the design of the theater, which combines traditional elements of Roman theater and Roman amphitheater.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Vigneron, *Metz antique*, 247.

<sup>37</sup> For a summary of scholarship on the dating of the theater, see Frézouls, ed., *Les Villes antiques de la France*, 332 and n. 126-7.

<sup>38</sup> Much of the literature on the theater has been devoted to the question of whether the building was a theater or amphitheater. Since the scholars involved all agree that the structure has usable elements of both, I have put aside the question of definitions. I use the term “theater” simply to distinguish the building from the amphitheater, without presupposing or restricting its possible uses. For a summary of scholarship, see Vigneron, *Metz antique*, 247 and n. 2.



**Figure 9: Views of Small Theater Ruins, Seventeenth-Century Engraving**

(Images from Vigneron, *Metz antique*, 245.)

Built as a long, ovoid shape, the theater contained both a *skene*, or façade, and an arena. Some have hypothesized that the building was specifically built as a theater and was altered for arena use after the abandonment of the amphitheater in the late third century. Others suggest that the structure was designed for mixed use originally, again after the amphitheater fell into disuse. In either case, the theater was clearly used for multiple purposes by the late third century and stood at nearly its full height into the seventeenth century (see Figure 9).

The various elements of the building itself speak to the kinds of performances practiced in its space, despite the lack of mosaics and inscriptions that would tell a more colorful tale. The arena could have been used for performances that overlapped with those of the amphitheater: gladiator battles, beast fights, sacrifices. The smaller space indicates a lower number of participants, both human and animal, and fewer seated spectators than the amphitheater. The audience was not limited to people within the theater, however, since the arena was visible from the elevated area that the forum and the rest of the city stood on. This height difference created a line of sight into the theater that opened up performances in the arena to the city as a whole, especially to the area centered on the forum. Unlike the amphitheater, which stood several hundred meters away from the main settlement, the theater was folded into the west side of Metz. Unlike the former, whose practices were concealed by tiers of seats that formed an encircling wall,<sup>39</sup> the arena of the theater was an integral part of the cityscape.

The theater's multi-level façade suggests the practice of performances more often associated with the traditional Roman *skene*, as well. These structures stood several levels high, each decorated with rows of pillars from between which performers could enter. The Metz façade was curved and ran roughly from north to south on the east side of the building, facing away from the city out onto tiered seats nearer to the Moselle (see Figure 8). The stage area was visible to slightly less than a 180 degree arc, and thus limited to those spectators seated in the tiers. Unlike performances in the theater's arena, which could be seen from all angles—the seats and the city—the practices that used the façade were invisible to viewers outside the arena. At the same time, this contrast brings out the

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<sup>39</sup> The frequent location of amphitheaters in natural depressions, with seats streaming up the hills on all sides, indicates that the visual isolation of the Metz amphitheater was not necessarily the case elsewhere.

corollary to the line of sight into the theater: the view out. Set against the hill with grand public buildings atop, the façade could have appeared to be yet another piece of monumental civic architecture. Although the location of the *skene* excluded casual viewers, it emphasized the dramatic integrity of the city as a whole. To the spectator from the tiered seats, Metz itself became a part of the stage.

Contemporary descriptions of practices at Roman theaters and those in the provinces give a good sense of possible displays in Metz. Drama—both tragedy and comedy—and farces, mime, dancing, and singing were all part of the vast array of civic ceremony that accompanied religious celebrations. Changes in public taste during the late empire, however, meant that full-scale and full-length plays were no longer performed.<sup>40</sup> They were replaced by shorter versions or satirical pieces, and dance came increasingly to represent mythical and historical subjects. Given the dates of the theater at Metz, these latter types of performances, along with mime, dancing, and singing, were the most likely candidates for performance. They could have been presented in conjunction with the other aspects of civic ceremony discussed above.

#### Processional Performance: Metz and Trier

Processional performance played a vital part in Roman ceremonial practice and civic ceremony. No feast day was complete without its *pompae*, no imperial celebration without its panegyric or *adventus*. These performances were based on ritual movement through a city combined with historically specific speech. The absence of written sources for Metz during the late Gallo-Roman period means that its processional practices have evaporated and since

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<sup>40</sup> French, “Christian Emperors and Pagan Spectacles,” 201. For a detailed discussion of this trend, see Richard C. Beacham, *The Roman Theatre and Its Audience* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

these celebrations did not need specialized civic buildings they have left no archaeological trace. Yet parades and speeches could have taken place; the evidence for performances in the amphitheater and theater indicates this. Since no direct evidence has survived, a short comparative analysis of nearby Trier suggests what Messine practices might have been like.

The similarities between Trier and Metz and their frequent contact make a good basis for comparison, with some reservations. Located in Gallia Belgica, 100 kilometers to the north of Metz, Trier eclipsed the former in the second century and soon replaced Reims as the capital of the province. It served as imperial residence for the emperor of the West from 286/7 until the end of the fourth century, when the administrative headquarters was moved to Arles.<sup>41</sup> The continuing presence of the imperial court during this period indicates that the scale of performance in the two cities was likely to be significantly different. Nonetheless, Metz's location on the Trier road meant that one had to pass through the former to reach the latter, which gave it a role in manufacture and supply for the court.<sup>42</sup> Second-tier Metz was thus kept abreast of happenings at the capital and saw the passage of important personages. The two shared aspects common to many provincial cities; like Metz, Trier had an amphitheater and other monumental civic buildings.<sup>43</sup> Yet the two cities had closer ties than those of simple Gallo-Roman culture. Indeed, the late-Gallo-Roman basilica that survives in Metz, later called Saint-Pierre-aux-Nonnains, is closely modeled on the famous Imperial Basilica of Trier and both employ the same stamped tiles.<sup>44</sup> This indicates

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<sup>41</sup> Depending on the scholar, the move is dated 395 or 407. See Gauthier, *L'Évangélisation des pays de la Moselle*, 28.

<sup>42</sup> Vigneron, *Metz antique*, 10.

<sup>43</sup> The seating capacity of the Trier amphitheater was only half of that at Metz, however. See Map 5 in Futrell, *Blood in the Arena*, 68.

<sup>44</sup> Saint-Pierre-aux-Nonnains was converted to Christian use as a monastery only in later centuries. See Gauthier, *L'Évangélisation des pays de la Moselle*, 33; Vigneron, *Metz antique*, 278; Toussaint, "Metz à l'époque gallo-romaine," 178.

the direct communication of architectural ideas from one city to the other. In addition, a large gladiator mosaic was uncovered in a villa near Trier.<sup>45</sup> Although not specifically connected to the mosaic in Metz, its presence reveals a shared vocabulary of celebratory practices and their commemoration through imagery. These shared aspects of visual culture confirm, at a basic level, that a flow of cultural ideas and practices took place between the two cities. The presence of the emperor in Trier meant more performance activity than in Metz, of course, as well as better documentation.

The survival of narrative sources for Trier in this period reveals what accompanied its gladiator fights and other elements of the games, albeit on a much grander scale than Metz. Singly and in combination, panegyrics, the *adventus* ceremony, and other parades were included in celebrations performed at Trier. An imperial *adventus* took place in 287, followed by a panegyric delivered in 289 for Diocletian and Maximian and written by Mamertinus.<sup>46</sup> Constantine I enjoyed two victory celebrations in Trier, in 306/7 and 308/10, that marked military victories in local battles.<sup>47</sup> A 310 panegyric marked the death of Maximian, and another was given in 313.<sup>48</sup> These practices reveal change and continuity over the fourth century, as the triumph became the urban *adventus* and the *adventus* itself increasingly marked a succession.<sup>49</sup> Triumphal entries, parades, panegyrics, the *adventus*, and performances in the theater and amphitheater: all of these were typical elements of civic and imperial celebration

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<sup>45</sup> Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 25.

<sup>46</sup> Sabine G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 280 n. 2, 169.

<sup>47</sup> Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 36.

<sup>48</sup> MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 179, 181.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, vii.

over the fourth century in Trier.<sup>50</sup> Given the proximity and connections between the cities, Metz could have had similar practices on a smaller scale, and its residents could have been familiar with the grand imperial mode of celebration.

Late Roman processional performance celebrated a variety of occasions with a set of common and associated practices. During the fourth century processions continued as a part of civic religious festivals, alongside games, sacrifices, and banquets. The *pompae* opened the games with a festive procession that assembled at the temple of a dedicatory deity and progressed through the streets to the theater or amphitheater.<sup>51</sup> These and other ceremonial processions included important local figures, musicians, garlanded animals, and groups singing hymns, all walking in order of precedence.<sup>52</sup> Do the instruments depicted on the Messine monument to a bull sacrifice point to the *pompae* that surely preceded it? There is no way of knowing, but the evidence is suggestive. The *adventus* ceremony consisted of a formalized processional entry into the city. The classical tradition of *adventus* underwent changes in the late empire, maintaining basic elements but turning them to new purposes and contexts.<sup>53</sup> It was increasingly used in a Christian milieu from the late fourth century onward. The panegyric, a speech given in praise of an individual, also continued as a part of performance culture throughout the fifth century. The occasions for its delivery were numerous, and included arrivals, departures, marriage, presentation of wreaths, accessions,

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<sup>50</sup> McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 46.

<sup>51</sup> French, "Christian Emperors and Pagan Spectacles," 34.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> This evolution has been extensively studied; for a sampling see: *Ibid.*; McCormick, *Eternal Victory*; Sabine G. MacCormack, "Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity, the Ceremony of the *Adventus*," *Historia* 21 (1972): 722-52; *idem*, *Art and Ceremony*; K.G. Holum and G. Vikan, "The Trier Ivory, *Adventus* Ceremonial and the Relics of S. Stephen," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979): 113-33; Donald A. Bullough, "*Imagines Regum* and Their Significance in the Early Medieval West," in *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice*, ed. Giles Robertson and George Henderson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1975), 223-76.

awarding of consulships, anniversaries of rule, and as part of the *adventus*.<sup>54</sup> They were an essential part of civic and imperial performance practice, yet only a fraction of these held in Gaul survive.<sup>55</sup> An emphasis on themes of victory and *adventus* and their growing association with imperial accession turned panegyrics into an “accompaniment to legitimate rule, a form of consent.”<sup>56</sup> Indeed, processions, panegyrics, and the *adventus* all functioned in a dual role: they allowed the emperor and local elites to visualize and enact their power in a moment of concord at the same time as they wrote hierarchy and difference into the fabric of the city streets.

### Public Masculinity and Gendered Performance

The practices detailed above reveal the connections between gendered performance and the construction of authority in Metz during the Gallo-Roman era. In shaping Messine ceremonies, the inhabitants drew on an additional antique model of performance: the orator.<sup>57</sup> This role encompassed public speaking and similar performances; its participants were exclusively male and embodied masculine ideals. In the classical tradition of oratory, rhetorical performance constructed the elite male performer as a *vir bonus*.<sup>58</sup> The good man and the good performer merged in a display of self-mastery and moral rectitude. Public authority derived from correct practice and vice versa. By drawing on this Roman tradition, civic performance in Metz publicly constructed the elite masculine self and confirmed the

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<sup>54</sup> Sabine G. MacCormack, “Latin Prose Panegyrics,” in *Empire and Aftermath: Silver Latin II*, ed. Thomas A. Dorey (London: Routledge, 1975), 145, 155, 158.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 196 n. 56.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 155, 183.

<sup>57</sup> For a general discussion of the performance aspects of rhetoric and its relation to masculinity, see Erik Gunderson, *Staging Masculinity: The Rhetoric of Performance in the Roman World*, *The Body in Theory* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000).

<sup>58</sup> This category specifically excluded actors, however. *Ibid.*, 7, 87.

authority of the performer. The *virī augustales*, for example, invoked the performance of rhetoric and oratory through their role in public dedications, sacrifices, and the like. Their participation manifested their civic status and power, recreating them as generous patrons in the public arena. The panegyric and the *adventus* functioned in the same way for the men at their center, celebrating the apex of masculine authority in the form of the emperor. They drew on rhetorical traditions of performance to do so, and elevated the panegyrists into the ranks of great orators of the past. To be the celebrated or the celebrator conferred public honor in Metz, defined as essentially male.

Masculinity appeared in more than one form, however. The performance of gladiatorial combat and beast fights in the Metz amphitheater added another dimension to its sense of late Roman masculinity: control of force. The *patronus* sponsored displays of controlled force, enacted in the bodies of gladiators. This mirrored the strong element of soldierly masculinity in the city. Indeed, late Gallo-Roman civic identity in the Moselle region could be highly militarized.<sup>59</sup> The constant presence of soldiers and the nearness of the Eastern front brought out this alternative construction of *romanitas*. Through patronage of violent performance in the Messine games, civic leaders joined military power to the qualities of the *vir bonus*. Elite males in Metz linked ideal masculinity to the practice of authority through public performance based in violence and rhetoric.

Not all performance in Metz was constructed as masculine, however. Other practices reveal more fluid gendering and performances by men and women. Banqueting and its visualization, for example, constructed Roman identity through familial groupings that included women. These figures fit the traditional iconography of the Roman matron,

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<sup>59</sup> See Guy Halsall, "Gender and the End of Empire," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 34, no. 1 (2004): 17-39.

marking them as wives and mothers. Male authority was reinscribed through this and through images of the head of the household as the *pater familias*. Performers at banquets and those who accompanied the civic ceremonies also participated in the ceremonial display of gendered status. Nude female dancers and processing slave boys were conspicuous for the absence of bodily signs of maleness and thus authority. Both were depicted as performing primarily for an outside gaze, their beautiful appearance embodying the whole of their practice. Dancers and slaves were mute, and the presence of musicians was indicated by autonomous instruments, playing without a physical performer. These types of performances were memorialized as voiceless or authorless. These participants were stripped of or reduced to bodies, rendered silent and thus outside the dialogue of male civic authority in Metz. Indeed, the visual characterization of mothers, dancers, and slaves forms a striking contrast to the voiced and violent masculinity of male elites. The absence of “maleness” from other participants reinforced late Gallo-Roman civic performance as the public performance of the masculine, powerful self.

#### Changing Civic Performance and Audience: The Fourth to Sixth Centuries

Starting in the mid-fourth century, Messine performance practices expanded beyond the bounds of traditional pagan and imperial models of civic performance. Like the rest of Gaul, the city underwent considerable change during the late fourth and fifth centuries.<sup>60</sup> The presence of new and newly powerful influences transformed political, social, and cultural structures in Metz. Christianity arrived at the turn of the fourth century, in the form

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<sup>60</sup> See, for example, Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, 200-800* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1997); idem, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire*, The Curti Lectures for 1988 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992); Patrick Geary, *Before France and Germany: The Creation and Transformation of the Merovingian World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Edward James, *The Franks, Peoples of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988).

of a bishop named Clement.<sup>61</sup> From the 330s onward, the church grew as a source of patronage and power in the region, largely due to the influence of the imperial court and provincial governors.<sup>62</sup> The presence of a Christian community in Metz brought a new set of performance practices to the city that coexisted with and borrowed from classical Roman models.

Although no written sources survive to illuminate the city in this period, general developments in Christian performance across Gaul suggest those that took place in Metz. Rogations spread as a penitential rite that embedded a congregation in its urban fabric through processional performance. Introduced by Mamertus of Vienne in the fifth century, rogation practices were extremely popular among the Christian residents of cities.<sup>63</sup> They included prayer, almsgiving, and fasting combined with processions.<sup>64</sup> In addition, the language and structure of the classical *adventus* ceremony were adapted and used to express Christian arrivals into the city.<sup>65</sup> A late-fourth-century *adventus* could visualize the arrival of Christ into the urban setting and accompany the entrance of bishops and saints' relics. During this same period, under pressure from bishops and Christian elites, Christian emperors slowly reorganized and secularized the *ludi* by removing all pagan religious

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<sup>61</sup> A bishop of Metz was created at the same time as that of Trier, before the official recognition of Christianity. Written sources for the early Messine church, however, are close to non-existent. An eighth-century list of bishops is the only surviving documentation for the fourth-century church, aside from the presence of Victor at the 346 pseudo-council of Cologne. See Gauthier, *L'Évangélisation des pays de la Moselle*, 23, 92; idem, *Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule des origines au milieu du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. I: Province ecclésiastique de Trèves (Belgica Prima)* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1986), 11.

<sup>62</sup> Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*, 212.

<sup>63</sup> Jill Harries, citing Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistles* 5.14.2. Jill Harries, "Christianity and the City in Late Roman Gaul," in *The City in Late Antiquity*, ed. John Rich, Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society 3 (London: Routledge, 1992), 90-3.

<sup>64</sup> Bonnie Effros, *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 12-13.

<sup>65</sup> MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, 64.

elements.<sup>66</sup> The games continued, but sacrifice and gladiator fights were eliminated; *venationes* were frequently substituted. Christian officials in the imperial bureaucracy replaced imperial priests as sponsors of the *ludi*. In many ways, but particularly in the context of civic performance, bishops replaced the *virii augustales* of previous centuries in the role of civic patron. As urban Christian audiences grew in number and proportion to overall residents, so did urban Christian performances.

A second new audience materialized in the Metz area in the mid-fourth century, in the form of migrating population groups from the East. As Germanic tribes moved across the eastern frontier into the empire, they settled in the countryside around Metz, joined the army, and became members of the imperial court at Trier.<sup>67</sup> The presence of Germanic peoples at the court and in the armies of the Moselle region indicate that they witnessed and likely participated in both classical and Christian-Roman performance practices. These would have included panegyrics, *adventus* ceremonies, and civic celebrations. The unusually long-lasting prosperity of Metz in the fourth century<sup>68</sup> aided this trend. Although the abandonment of the Rhine frontier in the fifth century increased the flow of migrants into the region, a process of cultural exchange and adaptation had already begun. The mixed population of Metz witnessed classical Roman and Christian performance practices from the mid-fourth century onward, even before the removal of the emperor from Trier. Despite the sudden lessening of direct imperial influence at the start of the fifth century, Gallo-

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<sup>66</sup> For a discussion of the following examples, see French, "Christian Emperors and Pagan Spectacles," ix, 36-7, 66, 71.

<sup>67</sup> Wightman, *Gallia Belgica*, 210-1. The old model of "barbarian" versus "Roman" has shifted to questions of identity and ethnogenesis. For recent approaches, see Guy Halsall, "Movers and Shakers: The Barbarians and the Fall of Rome," *Early Medieval Europe* 8 (1999): 131-45; Ian Wood, ed., *Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period: An Ethnographic Perspective*, Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology 3 (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1998).

<sup>68</sup> Halsall, "Towns, Societies and Ideas," 241.

Roman culture continued to be transmitted in Metz through the church and local elites.

Indeed, one historian characterizes the fifth-century region of Metz as an island of *romanitas*.<sup>69</sup>

Nonetheless, the events of the fourth and fifth centuries transformed Metz. By the late fifth century, the Moselle valley was firmly in the hands of the Franks. Under the rule of the Merovingian dynasty, they controlled Metz and the surrounding region for the next 300 years, borrowing and adapting the inheritance of Gallo-Roman performance for local and contemporary purposes. The first Frankish inhabitants of Metz left little written or physical trace of their activities;<sup>70</sup> not until the mid-sixth century do contemporary sources record the history of the city. From roughly 550CE, the presence of the Merovingian kings led to more visitors in Metz and better records of court activity.<sup>71</sup> Although we cannot know precisely what ceremonies and rituals were practiced during the silent century, with the appearance of descriptive evidence a rich performance culture immediately becomes visible. The writings of Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus, among others, attest to a group of performance practices connected to the life cycle and political ambitions of the Frankish elite. Although the construction of monumental, performance-oriented buildings had ceased in Metz, this does not indicate the end of ceremonial and ritual life for its inhabitants. The absence of new sixth-century civic structures suggests a shift of resources toward display

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<sup>69</sup> Gauthier, *Topographie*, 11. Halsall has challenged the continuity of habitation over the fifth century, positing a reduced, largely transitory population. He accepts the continuity of early Messine religious foundations, however. See Halsall, *Settlement*, 239. For a recent critique of his argument, see Bachrach, "Fifth Century Metz," 363-81. For the purposes of this study, absolute continuity is unnecessary.

<sup>70</sup> Excepting burials. For recent interpretation of archaeological finds from this period, see Guy Halsall, "Burial, Ritual and Merovingian Society," in *The Community, the Family, and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe. Selected Proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 4-7 July 1994, 10-13 July 1995*, ed. Joyce Hill and Mary Swan (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 325-38; idem, *Settlement*.

<sup>71</sup> Gauthier, *L'Évangélisation des pays de la Moselle*, 217-8.

through public performance such as feasting, funerals, and elaborate clothing.<sup>72</sup> The architectural expression of culture and power did not disappear, however; the frequent reuse of Gallo-Roman structures indicates that older spaces continued to lend meaning to contemporary practice. Written sources record specific moments of performance in sixth-century Metz and illuminate a complicated intertwining of Gallo-Roman and Frankish practice. These findings undercut the assumptions of many earlier scholars, who have seen the ceremonial practices of the fifth and sixth centuries as merely parroting stale, empty Roman forms.<sup>73</sup>

### Marriage, Panegyric, and *Adventus*

A Frankish royal wedding provides a window into this hazy, yet dynamic, period of Messine performance history. In the spring of 567, King Sigibert I married Brunhild, a daughter of the king of the Visigoths, in his capital at Metz.<sup>74</sup> One of Sigibert's counselors brought the bride from Spain, and upon her arrival the couple was wed and she converted to Catholicism. Fortunatus composed two performance pieces for the event and Gregory wrote about the occasion in his *Decem libri historiarum*, leaving a rare record of performance practice from two contemporary perspectives. The wedding corresponded to a period of burgeoning power and activity for the once second-rate town. Sigibert had recently made Metz his capital in Austrasia and had settled the territorial disputes that had arisen at the

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<sup>72</sup> Halsall, "Towns, Societies and Ideas," 252.

<sup>73</sup> For example, Michael McCormick argues that ritual forms "remained typically late Roman" under the Merovingian dynasty. After an analysis of Clovis in the context of late Rome, he quickly skips to Frankish practices under the Carolingians. McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 340. Philippe Buc, however, has called attention to the need to view early medieval ritual as self-consciously reforming and adapting earlier traditions. He identifies the eighth-century "renaissance" of ceremony as an increase of writing about ceremony. See Buc, "Political Rituals," 190, 194; Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*.

<sup>74</sup> The political context of the wedding is briefly described in Ryan P. Crisp, "Marriage and Alliance in the Merovingian Kingdoms, 481-639" (Ohio State University, 2003), 154-61.

death of his brother, Charibert I. The city bustled with the presence of the court and the construction of buildings for many new religious establishments (see Maps 4-5). Guests traveled from as far as Provence, another part of the king's far-flung holdings.<sup>75</sup> It was an occasion that brought the powerful men of the kingdom together, from all across Sigibert's lands, to celebrate the king and his bride.

The attraction of this illustrious wedding also drew entertainers like Fortunatus to Metz. After receiving a traditional education in rhetoric at Ravenna, Fortunatus traveled north to seek out fame and patrons.<sup>76</sup> He secured both in Metz and his success was due in part to the positive reception of two poems he composed and recited for Sigibert and Brunhild on the occasion of their wedding: *De domno Sigibertho rege et Brunichilde regina* [On the King, Lord Sigibert, and the Queen, Brunhild] and *De Sigibertho rege et Brunichilde regina* [On King Sigibert and Queen Brunhild].<sup>77</sup> These works have been read by previous scholars as literary texts, despite evidence that the highly Latinate poet declaimed and/or sang his own compositions.<sup>78</sup> An examination of these texts in their original performance context is thus overdue. The poems marked a start to two decades during which Fortunatus wrote panegyrics to Merovingian kings and flourished under the patronage of bishop and lord

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<sup>75</sup> Fortunatus addressed poems to two notables from the region whom he had met at Metz. Venantius Fortunatus, *Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati presbyteri italici opera poetica*, ed. F. Leo, MGH AA, 4.1 (Berlin, 1881), 6.9, 6.10, 7.11. Following references will use the abbreviation *Opera*. Translations are taken from Venantius Fortunatus, *Personal and Political Poems*, trans. Judith W. George, *Translated Texts for Historians* 23 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995). Hereafter *PPP*.

<sup>76</sup> Brian Brennan, "The Image of the Frankish Kings in the Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus," *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984): 1.

<sup>77</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 6.1, 6.1a. Translated in *PPP*, 25-31, 31-3.

<sup>78</sup> George argues for reading Fortunatus in the context of Merovingian court ceremonial, but stops short as examining them in their performance context. Judith W. George, ed., *Venantius Fortunatus: A Latin Poet in Merovingian Gaul* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 34.

alike.<sup>79</sup> Judith George has written of Fortunatus's career that he "developed and adapted various traditional Latin literary genres for the purposes of Merovingian society;"<sup>80</sup> the performance practices of royal and aristocratic life must be added to that list of functions. Fortunatus designed many of his poems for delivery on a specific occasion, in a single session, to an audience of elite listeners.<sup>81</sup> Although they may have been re-read aloud later, much of his work was originally composed for site-specific performance. His writing, such as the poems for the king and queen, exposes the desire of his patrons to maintain Gallo-Roman traditions of public performance, albeit in much changed circumstances. By using Roman forms in the context of the court, Fortunatus made a claim to the practices of antiquity and reveals their continuing value to Frankish cultural identity.

Using these poems as evidence for a specific performance in Metz for a specific audience, rather than as decontextualized literary works, reveals much. Although they may have been declaimed by Fortunatus more than once, the wedding addresses were designed to fit a particular moment of the ceremony, a special space in Metz, and appeal to the king, queen, and court. Basic references to audience and setting within the works must have engaged the historical context for his performance to have been accepted and indeed understandable. Since both *De domno Sigibertho rege et Brunichilde regina* and *De Sigibertho rege et Brunichilde regina* employ some direct address, audience is the easiest performance detail to recover. Most obviously, Sigibert and Brunhild needed to be present at the poems' recitation, since a narrative voice and the figures of Venus and Cupid praise the king and new queen in second person. Furthermore, the Latinity of the poems reflects the presence

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<sup>79</sup> Fortunatus composed a total of four formal panegyrics. Ibid., 35.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>81</sup> Peter Godman, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 11, 13.

of literate bishops and nobles who later became Fortunatus's patrons.<sup>82</sup> Nothing about the poems indicates an audience beyond this elite. The surviving texts compliment Sigibert and Brunhild together and individually, in alternating third person and direct address.<sup>83</sup> These moments can be understood as performance cues,<sup>84</sup> indicating shifts in Fortunatus's delivery from the court as a whole to the king and queen alone. Such cues also suggest complementary gestures and other physical motions. The verbal cues sometimes signal possible action by the audience, as well. For example, *De domno Sigiberctho rege et Brunichilde regina* concludes with an exhortation to the couple to embrace each other and married life.<sup>85</sup> The physical gesture could be entirely metaphorical, but the presence of the king and queen and direct address to them suggest an interesting layer of intended reflexivity between the audience and performer. Fortunatus enlisted the king and queen in his creation of a "true" performance.

Despite their shared, engaged audience, *De domno Sigiberctho rege et Brunichilde regina* and *De Sigiberctho rege et Brunichilde regina* differ slightly in form and in immediate setting within the wedding. The former is an *epithalamium*, a Latin style of public address in honor of a bride and bridegroom adapted from the Greek. This format locates the wedding of Sigibert and Brunhild in the tradition of Roman dynastic marriage on the imperial model.<sup>86</sup> The content

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<sup>82</sup> High levels of Latin literacy among elites at this time created an audience of rulers, magnates, and clerics for Fortunatus's work. Ibid., 12; George, ed., *Venantius Fortunatus*, 12-14.

<sup>83</sup> For examples, see Fortunatus, *Opera*, 6.1a.6-28, 6.1.100-130.

<sup>84</sup> Discussing the eleventh century, Carol Symes has pointed to the necessity for reading for performance within the text when no dramatic apparatus exists. She proposes the idea that narrative passages, usually discarded as extraneous, offer clues about performance practice. For more detail, see Symes, "Performance and Preservation," 29-50.

<sup>85</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 6.1.132-43.

<sup>86</sup> Several scholars have discussed how Fortunatus employs the modes of rhetoric to recreate Sigibert and Brunhild as legitimate rulers in the Roman tradition. See, for example, George, ed., *Venantius Fortunatus*, 137.

of the poem is traditional, opening with imagery of spring and fertility and then enacting a dialogue between Cupid and Venus on the virtues of the couple. Several clues from the text suggest that Fortunatus performed it prior to or during the wedding ceremonies. It characterizes Brunhild as unmarried and untouched, even by Sigibert. Venus addresses Brunhild, calling her a maiden and a virgin: “Incipit inde Venus laudes memorare puellae: ‘o virgo miranda mihi’ [Then Venus began to recount the praises of the maid: ‘O maiden, a marvel to me’].”<sup>87</sup> Brunhild is also described as an unmarried virgin who will please Sigibert with her very first embraces.<sup>88</sup> Cupid says of her, “Quae placet apta toro, maturis nubilis annis, virginitas in flore tumens, complexa marito primitiis placitura suis [She pleases him, ready for marriage, of sufficient years to be married, blooming in the flower of her virginity, she will delight a husband with her first embraces].”<sup>89</sup> Surely such lines as these could not be performed after the marriage had been consummated without producing unwanted laughter in the audience. Given the seriousness of the diplomatic situation, it seems unlikely. Furthermore, a second set of clues suggests an early performance. The poem refers to preparations within the royal palace in the present tense: “Sic modo cuncta favent, dum prosperitate superna regia Caesareo proficit aula iugo [Thus now all is propitious, as with blessing from on high the royal palace prepares for Caesar’s marriage].”<sup>90</sup> The verb tense suggests that the preparations are not yet complete. The performance of the poem thus is set in a time before or during the marriage ceremonies.

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<sup>87</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 6.1.99-100. *PPP*, 30.

<sup>88</sup> The piece describes Sigibert as having virgin passion but remains silent on the number of his embraces. Fortunatus, *Opera*, 6.1.48.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.1.52-4. *PPP*, 28.

<sup>90</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 6.1.15-6. *PPP*, 26.

*De domno Sigibertho rege et Brunichilde regina* also makes its geographical location in Metz clear: the royal palace. The lines cited directly above indicate some activity in preparation for the event, perhaps for ceremonies, perhaps only housing guests. Another passage in the poem reveals a designated performance space in the palace in the form of a special wedding chamber, however. Venus and Cupid conduct their debate within the celebratory space itself, in front of the bride and groom: “Ut venere simul thalamos ornare superbos... nubentibus ambo faventes, et litem fecere piam [As they come together to adorn the glorious wedding chamber... both looking with favor upon the bridal pair, they perform their sacred contest].”<sup>91</sup> Again, the use of the present tense in this narrative passage emphasizes the immediacy of the performance. Fortunatus describes Venus and Cupid as physically present, moments before he takes on their voices to address the audience directly. Although the precise location of the palace cannot be proven, the likeliest site is a Gallo-Roman basilica located on the west side of the forum that survived into the eighteenth century under the name of La Maison Quarrée.<sup>92</sup> Located directly south of the growing cathedral complex, this building commanded views of the Moselle River below and the valley beyond. Fortunatus composed a piece in a traditional Latin genre for performance in the royal palace, formerly a Gallo-Roman basilica. He staged it after Brunhild’s arrival in Metz and before the pair’s sexual union, perhaps designing it for delivery during the ceremony itself. The use of this building in conjunction with Fortunatus’s performance reveals Sigibert’s desire to locate himself and the wedding at the heart of a Frankish, Christian city and its Gallo-Roman traditions.

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<sup>91</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 6.1.63, 65-6. *PPP*, 28.

<sup>92</sup> Recent scholarship agrees on this site. See Carlrichard Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas: Studien zur Profanotopographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis 13. Jahrhundert. Belgica I, beide Germanien und Raetia II*, vol. 2 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1990), 59-61; Gauthier, *L’Évangélisation des pays de la Moselle*, 162 n. 5; Halsall, *Settlement*, 233.

*De Sigiberctho rege et Brunichilde regina* must have been recited after the wedding had taken place, however, and in a slightly different context. It falls into the genre of panegyric, a speech of praise that by this time could be delivered to a king or bishop. The content of the text describes Sigibert as a victorious and virtuous king, merging his recent military accomplishments with dynastic victory.<sup>93</sup> It then praises Brunhild's exemplary qualities as a queen. It employs a single narrative voice within a structure of alternating third-person description and direct address. No internal evidence indicates the geographical setting of Fortunatus's second declamation, although the reuse of the royal palace seems likely. Several internal clues, in conjunction with historical details, point to its being performed near the end of the ceremonies or immediately after. Fortunatus describes Brunhild as a queen, for example, and emphasizes her conversion to Catholicism: "Catholico cultu decorata est optima coniux, ecclesiae crevit te faciente domus. Reginam meritis Brunichildem Christus amore tunc sibi coniunxit [Your excellent wife is graced with Catholic ways, the house of the church grows strong through your doing. Christ then joined the Queen Brunhild to Himself in love]."<sup>94</sup> The direct address of these lines to Sigibert secures the performance to a time after Brunhild's conversion from Arianism. The marriage is described in past tense, and Brunhild as a wife: "Adquaesita bis est quae tibi nupta semel [She is secured twice who married you once]...cara cum coniuge [with your dear wife]."<sup>95</sup> Unlike the first performance, in which Brunhild appeared as an untouched virgin, the second positions Brunhild in her role as queen and wife. The maiden of *De domno Sigiberctho rege et Brunichilde*

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<sup>93</sup> McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 341 and n. 54; Ian Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450-751* (London: Longman, 1994), 89.

<sup>94</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 6.1a.29-32. *PPP*, 33. George argues for this dating of the poem, although she misnumbers the lines being cited. *Ibid.*, 31 n. 37.

<sup>95</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 6.1a.36, 41. *PPP*, 33.

*regina* has been transformed by marriage and conversion in *De Sigiberctho rege et Brunichilde regina*.

Taken together, these two performances provide bookends to the celebration and offer windows into the perceived effects of the wedding ceremonies. In a real sense, Fortunatus's poems themselves brought about Brunhild's change in status and social identity. These declamations made audible and visible the new place she was to hold in the kingdom to an audience of the elites that she and Sigibert would be governing in the coming decades. Fortunatus's performances also reveal the ways in which Gallo-Roman practices had been transformed within a new cultural context. In the classical tradition, rhetorical handbooks gave the option of mentioning the empress or queen in a panegyric to the emperor or king, although it was done infrequently.<sup>96</sup> Brunhild plays a prominent role in these two poems, however, one that contributes to the construction of her new authority within the kingdom.<sup>97</sup> Praise for her fills a third of *De Sigiberctho rege et Brunichilde regina*, unusual for a genre that rarely incorporated women. Her qualities resemble the newly developing model of Christian, Frankish queenship: modest, beautiful, decorous, intelligent, generous, noble, pleasing to God, and Catholic.<sup>98</sup> In *De domno Sigiberctho rege et Brunichilde regina*, Cupid speaks to Venus, Venus to Brunhild, and then Venus to the bridal pair jointly. Although Sigibert receives praise, the description of his virtues is directed at Venus. Since the goddess is internal to the structure of the poem, the king remains a passive member of

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<sup>96</sup> PPP, 33 n. 46.

<sup>97</sup> George argues that Fortunatus's work as a whole portrays Brunhild as an equal to Sigibert and to Childebert II, her son. See George, ed., *Venantius Fortunatus*, 157.

<sup>98</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 6.1a.35-40. For models of Frankish queenship, see Janet L. Nelson, "Medieval Queenship," in *Women in Medieval Western European Culture*, ed. Linda E. Mitchell (New York: Garland, 1999), 179-207; Jo Ann McNamara, "Imitatio Helenae: Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship," in *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. Sandro Sticca (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1996), 51-80.

the audience. The poem draws Brunhild into the performance, however, through repeated direct address. Venus says, “Cur tamen egregii genitoris regna renarrem, quando tuis meritis video crevisse parentes? [Why should I tell again of the lands of your renowned father, when I see that your parents have increased in honor through your merits?]”<sup>99</sup> Lines such as these suggest a scene in which Fortunatus spoke directly to Brunhild, evoking a line of vision that connected audience member to performer and transformed the former into a participant.<sup>100</sup> Gallo-Roman practices in Metz had celebrated masculine authority exclusively through public oratory. Here, however, a panegyric in the classical Latin tradition expands to praise and embody the ideal queen. Through his performances Fortunatus presents female and male models of rule as equally legitimate.

Gregory of Tours, on the other hand, locates the wedding in the larger context of political and religious negotiation. The *Decem libri historiarum* devotes a short passage to describing Sigibert’s decision to marry, the process of obtaining the bride, and the celebration upon her return:

Porro Sigyberthus rex cum videret, quod fratres eius indignas sibimet uxores acciperent et per vilitatem suam etiam ancillas in matrimonio sociarent, legationem in Hispaniam mittit et cum multis muneribus Brunichildem, Athanagilde regis filiam, petiit. Erat enim puella elegans opere, venusta aspectu, honesta moribus atque decora, prudens consilio et blanda colloquio. Quam pater eius non denegans, cum magnis thesauris antedicto rege transmisit. Ille vero, congregatus senioribus secum, praeparatis aepulis, cum inminsa laetitia atque iocunditate eam accepit uxorem. Et quia Arrianae legi subiecta erat, per praedicationem sacerdotum atque ipsius regis commonitionem conversa, beatam in unitate confessa Trinitatem creditur atque chrismata est. Quae in nomine Christi catholica perseverat.

[Moreover, when King Sigibert saw that his brothers accepted wives unworthy of themselves and through baseness even united in marriage with their female slaves, he sent an embassy to Spain with many presents to fetch

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<sup>99</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 6.1.128-9. *PPP*, 31.

<sup>100</sup> One can imagine Brunhild acknowledging such praise through silent gestures such as nodding, bowing, or blushing.

Brunhild, daughter of King Athangild. This girl was refined in her acts, beautiful in appearance, honorable and graceful in character, sensible in counsel, and flattering of speech. Her father did not say no, but sent her to the aforesaid king with great treasure. Assuredly, he took her as wife with vast gladness and also enjoyment, gathering the leading men and having a banquet prepared. And wherefore she had been obedient to the law of the Arians, through the preaching of the priests and the appeal of the king himself she was converted. She confessed and believed in the unity of the blessed Trinity and was baptized. She remains Catholic in the name of Christ.]<sup>101</sup>

Gregory's choice of literary genre reduces the number of performance details, but allows us to put Fortunatus's performances in a larger context. Sigibert sent messengers to the Visigothic king, bearing gifts. His representatives returned to Metz in the spring with Brunhild and a treasure, and a pleasurable feast attended by Sigibert's magnates welcomed her to the city and her new life. She then converted to Catholicism and was baptized.<sup>102</sup> Gregory reveals the political and religious implications of the marriage and provides a flickering outline of the other practices that it incorporated. Following the general practices of Merovingian marriage, the bride is obtained through parental consent and the exchange of gifts.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, the celebrations that incorporated Fortunatus's performances and

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<sup>101</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, ed. W. Arndt, Bruno Krusch, and W. Levison, MGH SSrM, 1 (Hanover, 1885; reprint, 1961), IV.27. Following references will use the abbreviation *DLH*. Translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>102</sup> Gregory provides an example of the less-successful conversion of a royal bride with the story of Ingund, Brunhild's daughter, who refused to convert to Arianism upon her marriage to the Visigothic king Hermangild. In the resulting furor, Ingund was beaten by her grandmother Goiswinth and forcibly baptized by being thrown into the baptismal font. Gregory's inclusion of this incident suggests the perceived importance of the conversion of foreign queens. However, the Visigoths themselves abandoned Arianism in 589, not long after this incident. *Ibid.*, V.38; Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1983), 122; Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000* (London: MacMillan, 1983), 53-8.

<sup>103</sup> Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, 481-751*, Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 126. According to Gregory, Brunhild's sister Galswinth was obtained as a bride from the Visigothic king through a process similar to that between Sigibert and Brunhild. Like Sigibert, Chilperic petitioned for Galswinth, who was sent from Spain by her father with gifts and welcomed with a ceremonial reception, followed by her marriage and baptism into the Catholic faith.

banqueting also included the liturgical rite of baptism. Gregory's description of the embassy to and from her homeland, burdened with wealth, contributes to a sense of spatial progression. We cannot assume the presence of any of the highly formal elements of later medieval royal entries and progresses.<sup>104</sup> However, Gregory gives equal space to the journey and the final celebration, suggesting an atmosphere of triumphal entry.

A reading of Gregory's description in the context of the surviving *epithalamium* and panegyric by Fortunatus strongly suggests that Brunhild was received into Metz with a set of practices modeled on the Christian *adventus*.<sup>105</sup> These included arrival in the city, a joyful banquet, and a religious ceremony. Although Gregory describes the entry of Guntram into Orléans in 585 in greater detail, he characterizes it through these same basic elements.<sup>106</sup> Brunhild's entry also adds the older Roman component of public declamation and panegyric. The context of spring celebration signals another potential layer of complexity to the larger performance ideal. The Council of Orléans in 511 had directed all priests and leading citizens to attend their bishop in his cathedral city for Easter.<sup>107</sup> Although the exact date of the wedding is unknown, it may have overlapped with the holiday season and the gathering of notables for the wedding could have coincided with an influx of visitors to Metz for the

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This matrimonial event was less successful, however, and resulted in Galswinth's eventual murder. *DLH*, IV.28.

<sup>104</sup> For the late classical origins of the royal entry, see H.S. Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry Into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph* (Leiden: Brill, 1970); MacCormack, "Change and Continuity," 721-52; Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *Art Bulletin* 26 (1944): 207-31.

<sup>105</sup> Gregory was certainly familiar with the forms of royal and Christian *adventus*, since Fortunatus composed a panegyric for Gregory's arrival to Tours as its new bishop in 573. Fortunatus, *Opera*, 5.3.

<sup>106</sup> Guntram traveled from Chalon-sur-Saône to Nevers to Orleans, where he was greeted by the inhabitants with songs and banqueting, followed by a mass. See *DLH*, VII.1.

<sup>107</sup> Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 72.

religious occasion. Additionally, the rite of baptism took place only on Easter, in theory.<sup>108</sup>

The final two lines of the passage from Gregory describe Brunhild's ceremonial conversion from Arianism, thus associating the wedding with the Easter liturgy and Christian *adventus*.

The wedding procedure itself did not require a formal ecclesiastical ceremony, but may have included a matrimonial mass or an episcopal benediction.<sup>109</sup> Gregory's version emphasizes the role of clerical authorities in the overall event and his narrative structure of journey, feast, and religious rite casts Brunhild in the role of triumphally arriving ruler, an unusual position for a woman in the classical Roman or Christian tradition.<sup>110</sup> This choice shows recognition on Gregory's part of the importance of performance in the royal sphere and his desire to locate ecclesiastical practice at its center. It also reflects the unusual status and authority accorded to Brunhild as a foreign princess.

The passage also shows the importance of public ceremony to the political and social goals of the king, Sigibert. In choosing a wife of high status from afar, he created an opportunity for performance activity in which his foreign wife was literally integrated into the kingdom—physically, socially, legally, and religiously—through her geographic progress.

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Evidence for Merovingian royal marriage practices provide little evidence for regularized marriage ceremonies. Non-liturgical sources of early fifth- and late sixth-century Gaul attest to the use of religious elements in public nuptial ceremonies that included blessing at the altar by a bishop. More documentation survives for Merovingian matrimonial masses, although the circumstances of their use are unclear. More generally, legitimate marriage in the Merovingian period was identified by consent and the exchange of gifts, accompanied by the process of betrothal and *matrimonium*, or matrimonial celebration, all of which are present in Gregory's account. See Hen, *Culture and Religion*, 128, 132, 136; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 72-3; Stafford, *Queens*, 63; Philip Lyndon Reynolds, *Marriage in the Western Church: The Christianization of Marriage during the Patristic and Early Medieval Periods*, Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 24 (Leiden: Brill, 1994); Kenneth Stevenson, *Nuptial Blessing: A Study of Christian Marriage Rites* (London: SPCK, 1982); Jack Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 34-47, 83-102; J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 403-10.

<sup>110</sup> The few coronation *ordines* that survive for queens from the early Middle Ages coincide with their marriage ceremonies. The earliest formal anointing was of Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, in 856. Stafford, *Queens*, 128-9; Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, 407.

In Gregory's account, Brunhild became a queen and a Frank through her physical entrance into the city, her participation in the celebrations that accompanied it, and her religious conversion, as much as through her marriage. The banquet and her baptism mark Brunhild as a Frank. Marriage was not merely an important social strategy,<sup>111</sup> but also an occasion for transformative public performance. Brunhild's arrival from afar lent itself to models of classical Roman and Christian performance already known in Metz, and fit into well-established literary and performance modes. Thus it could easily draw on imperial and Christian practice to engage and communicate with its elite audience. As Brunhild entered the city with her treasure, she was greeted by reused Gallo-Roman buildings, newly built churches, and the powerful men of the kingdom, all situated within an elaborate performance that redeployed Roman traditions for current purposes. Metz itself became a stage for modeling Sigibert and Brunhild's marriage and joint rule.

### Processions, Poetry, and Banquets

Processional performance appears on two additional occasions in sixth-century Metz. The surviving evidence suggests a group of practices based ultimately in Roman performance such as the *adventus*, yet radically altered within the context of the church and Frankish rule. In Book Eight of the *Decem libri historiarum*, Gregory briefly describes a procession from the city for a saint's feast day in 585: "Factum est autem, ut post dies paucus adesset festivitas beati Remedii, quae in initio mensis octavi caelebratur. Discedentibus autem multis e civitate cum episcopo et praesertim senioris urbis cum duci [Now it happened that after a few days was the feast of blessed Remigius, which is celebrated at the beginning of the month of October. Indeed many people went out from

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<sup>111</sup> Halsall, *Settlement*, 60.

the city with the bishop, and particularly the foremost men of the city with the duke].”<sup>112</sup> These lines give us little information with which to analyze the event, but they suggest an outline of the processional celebrations that accompanied important religious occasions, particularly saints’ days.<sup>113</sup> First, the procession began in Metz and then exited the city. Historians have identified its destination as Saint-Remi, located to the west of the city beyond the Moselle River in the town of Scy-Chazelles.<sup>114</sup> Since Metz still preserved its Gallo-Roman walls, the performance moved between clearly defined urban and non-urban space. Furthermore, the procession maintained internal distinctions based on social and religious status. In the second line, Gregory describes the participants as being divided into two groups. The “people” accompany the bishop, but the leading men of the city go with the duke. Gregory may have spoken to witnesses to the event, since he accompanied Fortunatus on a journey to Metz soon afterwards.<sup>115</sup> Or, he may be describing general Frankish performance practice or habits specific to Tours. Yet, since we have only his evidence to rely upon, and he provides specific details, his description must be taken into account. On a basic level, these lines reveal that the procession grouped lay civic elites with the duke and the urban populace as a whole with the bishop. This duke may not have been responsible for administering the city, however, since the Merovingian *dux* could also

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<sup>112</sup> *DLH*, VII.21.

<sup>113</sup> Although impossible to verify, this may represent a precursor to Metz’s rogation processions in later centuries.

<sup>114</sup> Gauthier, *Topographie*, 53.

<sup>115</sup> Gregory was sidetracked along the way, however, and arrived after Fortunatus. For a discussion of his itinerary, see Wilhelm Meyer, *Der Gelegenheitsdichter Venantius Fortunatus*, *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F. no. 4.5 (Berlin, 1901), 22; Richard Koebner, *Venantius Fortunatus: Seine Persönlichkeit und seine Stellung in der geistigen Kultur des Merowingerreiches*, *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* 22 (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1915), 208-9; George, ed., *Venantius Fortunatus*, 33 and n. 181.

function as a military leader or an ambassador without a geographical base.<sup>116</sup> The procession may distinguish between local and external authority in the form of the bishop and the duke, respectively. It may also express local Messine divisions between ecclesiastical and noble authority. In any case, this performance made visible the distinctions between Metz's overlapping authorities and their allies through spatial divisions. It suggests that the clarifying, defining, and hierarchical nature of later medieval processions was already in place, at least in Gregory's mind.

Fortunatus, on the other hand, composed for and about a form of secular processional practice in Metz that Gregory had touched upon: ceremonial royal travel. Fortunatus voyaged in 587 with Brunhild and her son King Childebert II from Metz to Andernach by boat, writing a poem about the occasion entitled *De navigio suo*.<sup>117</sup> Although his work reflects an earlier poem about the same river by Ausonius entitled *Mosella*,<sup>118</sup> Fortunatus presents a contemporary picture of performance. The poem reveals a set of practices that overlap with those that appear in Gregory's narrative of Brunhild's wedding two decades earlier. In *De navigio suo*, the king and queen travel along the Moselle, entertained by music and singing, and admire the Gallo-Roman remains of Metz and Trier. Their arrival in Andernach is celebrated with the performance of Latin poetry at a formal banquet that incorporates the local inhabitants. As depicted by Fortunatus, the form of this event mirrors the basic model of Brunhild's arrival: royal travel in the company of members of the court, followed by a ritual banquet that ceremonially unifies the newcomers with

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<sup>116</sup> The duke has been identified as Guntram Boso. For further discussion of the administrative role of the *duces*, see Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 61.

<sup>117</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 10.9. *PPP*, 99-102. Sigibert had been murdered by rivals in 575.

<sup>118</sup> For further discussion, see L. Navarra, "A proposito del *De navigio suo* de Venanzio Fortunatio in rapporto alla *Mosella* de Ausonio e agli Itinerari di Ennodio," *Studi Storico-Religiosi* 3, no. 1 (1979): 79-131.

residents. The performance of *De navigio suo* was itself a central element of that final celebratory event.<sup>119</sup> Thus the text contains both a record of the journey and of the Andernach banquet, within the structure of a poem designed to be performed during the latter. *De navigio suo* represents a performance that ends up describing itself.

Fortunatus's description of the first part of the journey emphasizes the continuity of Roman rule in the persons of the king and queen, and highlights the role of performance in the production of this ideal. The poem describes the cities recently seen on the journey—Metz, Trier, Andernach—through their surviving Gallo-Roman architecture. It praises the Gallo-Roman city walls of Metz and Trier and the citadel of Andernach, and evokes the might of Rome evident in the buildings:<sup>120</sup> “Ducimur hinc fluvio per culmina prisca senatus, quo patet indiciis ipsa ruina potens [From here we are carried by the river past the senate's lofty summits of old, where the very ruins give evidence of its power].”<sup>121</sup> The use of the present tense causes the audience to experience the entire voyage within the context of the performance, and clarifies the greater meaning of these monuments in the poem: they localize Roman power and testify to its continuity. As Brunhild and Childebert float past these symbols of political and cultural authority, they claim that heritage for their own kingdom and current location. Furthermore, Fortunatus describes how his own singing along the way created an atmosphere of unity through refined poetic enjoyment. He writes, “Carmina divisas iungunt dulcedine ripas, collibus et fluviis vox erat una tropis. Quo recreet populum, hoc exquirat gratia regum, invenit et semper quo sua cura iuuet [The songs unite

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<sup>119</sup> For an argument supporting the poem's declamation at the Andernach banquet, see Meyer, *Der Gelegenheitsdichter Venantius Fortunatus*, 72-3.

<sup>120</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 10.9.1, 21, 45, 63. George discusses this theme of Roman strength: *PPP*, 99 n. 9.

<sup>121</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 10.9.23-4. *PPP*, 100. The building was likely the palace of Pfalz, however, which had no official function in the Roman period. See *PPP*, 100 n. 10.

the sundered banks with their sweetness, and there was a single voice of song in hill and river. The kings' grace demands this to refresh their people; he discovers always the means whereby his care gives pleasure]."<sup>122</sup> Through this performance, Fortunatus recreates a moment of idealized harmony in the hall. He portrays his Latin songs as joining separate lands in a single voice. The text suggests that just as rulers demand a unifying performance for the pleasure of their courtly audience, the care of the king and queen unites the kingdom.<sup>123</sup> The poem emphasizes the necessity of the poet to the *romanitas* of the progress.<sup>124</sup> Fortunatus depicts himself, and the Latin performance culture that he replicates and produces, as integral to the representation and creation of legitimate rule. Its strength, he suggests, lies not only in how it connects inhabitants of one region to each other and to the land itself, but also in the power of performance to create ties between the present and the past through shared recreations of past experience. The images of unity and legitimacy would have been especially meaningful to Childebert and Brunhild, who settled several long-lasting disputes over territory and succession with the Treaty of Andelot that same year.<sup>125</sup>

The conclusion of the progress, which was celebrated with a royal banquet, reveals the desired effect of this performance. Near the end of *De navigio suo*, Fortunatus writes, "Denique dum praesunt reges in sedibus aulae ac mensae officio prandia festa colunt [The royal couple preside on their thrones in the court and enjoy a festive banquet as a formal occasion]."<sup>126</sup> The term *officio* indicates that the concluding event was conceived of in

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<sup>122</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 10.9.59-62. *PPP*, 101.

<sup>123</sup> Michael Roberts, "Depiction of Landscape in the Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus: The Moselle Poems," *Traditio* 49 (1994): 17.

<sup>124</sup> George, ed., *Venantius Fortunatus*, 184.

<sup>125</sup> The lands under contention were those acquired by Sigibert in 567, the year of his wedding. For details on territorial holdings, see Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 57.

<sup>126</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 10.9.69-70. *PPP*, 101.

ceremonial terms, and not simply as a pause for refreshment after a long journey. Childebert and Brunhild participate in their royal capacity, presiding from the thrones that symbolize their authority over the gathering, the city of Andernach, and the kingdom. The poet adds, “Praesentatur item mensae Rheni advena civis, turbaque quo residens gratificatur edens [The stranger to the Rhine is welcomed to the feast as a citizen, and the people who live there enjoy themselves banqueting].”<sup>127</sup> The theme of uniting separate peoples recurs once more, here in the specific political context of the Rhine. The cultural forms of banqueting and welcome—and their political and social implications—are linked through a ceremonial event centered on the presence of Brunhild and Childebert. Indeed, the last lines locate the performance of the poem at a formal feast itself: “Ista diu dominus dominis spectacula praestet, et populis dulces detis habere dies: vultibus ex placidis tribuatis gaudia cunctis, vester et ex vestris laetificetur apex [May the Lord long grant the lords such a sight, and may you grant that the people have such pleasant days; with your peaceful countenance may you give joy to all, and may your eminences be made joyful by your people].”<sup>128</sup> The banqueting scene marks a shift in the poem from third-person narrative and first-person plural to second person.<sup>129</sup> The final lines address the king and queen directly, shifting from the undifferentiated audience of the earlier narrative description. This change locates the poem’s delivery to a similar context. It could indicate the poem’s reading at a later occasion,<sup>130</sup> but it may reveal a performance text carefully constructed to fit a particular moment in the progress. Indeed, Michael Roberts has identified elements of panegyric in the second half of

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<sup>127</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 10.9.77-8. PPP, 101.

<sup>128</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 10.9.79-82. PPP, 101-2.

<sup>129</sup> Meyer, *Der Gelegensdichter Venantius Fortunatus*, 73; George, ed., *Venantius Fortunatus*, 184.

<sup>130</sup> George locates the poem’s performance at a later date, suggesting that it reports the earlier reading. See George, ed., *Venantius Fortunatus*, 184.

the poem.<sup>131</sup> The panegyric often concluded an entry or *adventus*, welcoming a ruler to a city.<sup>132</sup> Twenty years earlier, Fortunatus crowned Brunhild's progress to Metz with formal poetic greetings that had been choreographed to fit an overall program of performance. The evidence of *De navigio suo* suggests that he did the same for her progress from Metz with her son twenty years later. Brunhild appears, once again, as an equal partner in ceremony and rule.<sup>133</sup> On the two occasions, the performance of formal Latin poetry was set into a context of processional practice that concluded with a ceremonial banquet. The timing of these events corresponded to periods of political consolidation, first by Sigibert and then by his son, Childebert. They produced an image of the kingdom, united in a hierarchy that elevated both the kings and the queen.

### Banqueting and Friendship

Messine banquets under the Merovingians incorporated a set of performance practices that emphasized the hospitality and patronage of the host. Like the event that concluded the trip from Metz to Andernach, these feasts used a combination of poetic declamation and music to create an atmosphere of friendship, modeled on late antique models of the same. Feasting practices elevated the host's status among regional aristocrats.<sup>134</sup> This adaptation and extension of Roman banqueting culture allowed Sigibert and Childebert, Brunhild, the magnates, and Bishop Vilicus of Metz to create a stage for

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<sup>131</sup> Roberts, "Depiction of Landscape," 19.

<sup>132</sup> George, ed., *Venantius Fortunatus*, 37-8.

<sup>133</sup> Historians agree that Brunhild was among the most influential figures at Childebert's court in 587. See Janet L. Nelson, "Queens as Jezebels: Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History," in *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), 12-14; Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 98, 129.

<sup>134</sup> McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 333 n. 17.

interaction with local elites. Among his compositions for Bishop Vilicus, Fortunatus designed a series of short verses for performance after a meal.<sup>135</sup> A representative selection reveals their appropriateness for entertainment while dining: “Sic avidos reddis convivas nectare lactis, ut scutella levet quod cocleare solet [You make your guests so eager for the nectar of your milk, that a bowl must refresh them instead of the usual spoon].”<sup>136</sup> These lines emphasize the bishop’s hospitality in the Roman tradition, using tropes of praise from classical Roman poetry.<sup>137</sup> As one scholar has written, the language of sustenance “recreate[d] the atmosphere of an ancient literary symposium...intended to conjure up an idealized classical setting.”<sup>138</sup> In another poem composed during his first sojourn in Metz, Fortunatus praises the “truly Roman magnificence of the conversation and the food,” and bemoans that his poem provides inadequate entertainment for the guests.<sup>139</sup> His mealtime entertainment consciously locates elite Frankish banqueting within the traditions of Roman performance.

The content of the poems may be classicizing, but their performance context reveals an altered landscape. The importance of friendship networks and patronage remained high, so much so that one scholar describes the literary trope of friendship as being “worked overtime” in the sixth century.<sup>140</sup> The construction of royal friendship through public ceremony required the participation of the Frankish elites and not just passive presence. In Gregory’s description of the 567 wedding, his choice of the term *congregatus* suggests how the

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<sup>135</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 3.13.a-d. *PPP*, 3.

<sup>136</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 3.13.a. *PPP*, 3.

<sup>137</sup> George explores the classical references and context further. See *PPP*, 3 n. 9-10.

<sup>138</sup> Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, 16-19.

<sup>139</sup> George, ed., *Venantius Fortunatus*, 139.

<sup>140</sup> Peter Brown, “Introduction,” in *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. Ian Wood and Kathleen Mitchell, *Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions: Medieval and Early Modern Peoples* 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 22.

concluding banquet both gathered and united Sigibert's magnates. His choice of bride may have been divisive, but the narrative elides all dissenting voices with the silent presence of the leading men alongside the joyful king. Their presence condoned and reaffirmed Sigibert's authority as well as that of the new queen. In a contemporary poem addressed to Gogo, the administrator of the king's palace in Metz and a trusted subordinate, Fortunatus describes Gogo's role in the proceedings: "Nuper ab Hispanis per multa pericula terris egregio regi gaudia summa vehis [Newly come from Spain through many hazardous lands, you carry the highest joys for the honorable king]."<sup>141</sup> Gogo himself brought the queen-to-be, treasure, and marriage alliance—the king's joys—back to Metz and his participation was soon celebrated in another public forum. Written for oral performance during a meal, these lines reveal the aristocratic nature of the endeavor and Sigibert's reliance on his "friends."<sup>142</sup> Without his court, the king lacked an audience and players in the spectacle of royal marriage.

Yet the male aristocracy of Metz no longer held exclusive sway over performance practice as they had in the Gallo-Roman era. The rites of hospitality had expanded to include women and clerics such as Brunhild and Vilicus as patrons and participants.<sup>143</sup> Fortunatus composed a number of other poems for performance at meals, revealing the transformed audience of the sixth century. One of the lyrics hints at the music that accompanied his recital: "Let each in the song he best can sing your praise; let the Roman applaud you with his lute, the barbarian with the harp, the Greek with the epic lyre, the

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<sup>141</sup> Fortunatus, *Opera*, 7.1.41-2. *PPP*, 58.

<sup>142</sup> Brunhild appointed Gogo as Childebert's *nutricius* after Sigibert's murder. *DLH*, V.46.

<sup>143</sup> For a general examination of the role of feasting in the Merovingian era, see Effros, *Creating Community*.

Briton with the crowd.”<sup>144</sup> A single voice accompanied by an instrument forms Fortunatus’s model of banqueting performance, whether in the Roman tradition or not. This staging of his compositions reflects the intimacy of these scenes and the sense of overlap between the subject and audience. Roman banqueting practices had always played to a smaller crowd than the circus, it is true. But the removal of panegyric and other formal poetic forms to court settings under the Merovingians indicates the greater intimacy of performance during this period. These events incorporated and transformed a heritage of Gallo-Roman familial and civic elements. As seen in the wedding celebrations of Sigibert and Brunhild, or the praise of Childebert and Brunhild, the line between performer and audience became more fluid. Evidence from Gallo-Roman Metz suggests a limited role for women as hosts; Brunhild is depicted as an equal to her husband and son, and herself crossed into the realm of the performer. Her role reflects a shift in this period to more restricted audiences, limited to the court and elite. When the emergence of the church in Gaul brought clerics and women to the forefront of patronage, it also positioned them as part of the elite that was the focus of and audience for Merovingian performance in Metz.<sup>145</sup> The social context for performance thus simultaneously broadened and contracted in this period.

### A Beast Fight

A beast fight provides further evidence for the changing conditions for Gallo-Roman-style performance in the sixth century. Under their Merovingian rulers, the

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<sup>144</sup> Other mealtime poems include, 7.14, 11.22, 11.23a. See George, ed., *Venantius Fortunatus*, 139 n. 43. Fortunatus, *Opera*, 7.8.62-4. *PPP*, 64. A *crowd* was a stringed instrument and a *crowder* one who played upon it.

<sup>145</sup> Brunhild’s role in Messine practice reflects the increased political influence of certain noble women under the early Franks. See, for example, Nelson, “Medieval Queenship”; idem, “Queens as Jezebels.”

inhabitants of Metz continued to enjoy amphitheater entertainments in a modified form.<sup>146</sup>

The small theater at Metz had survived the previous two centuries largely intact, having escaped dilapidation like that of the amphitheater. This remnant of the Gallo-Roman physical landscape continued to shape Messine practice. Gregory writes that in 585:

Igitur apud Childeburtum regem Magnovaldus causis occultis ex iussu regis interficitur hoc modo. Stante infra Mettensis urbis palatium rege et ludum spectatante, qualiter animal caterva canum circumdatum fatigabatur, Magnovaldus arcessitur. Quo veniente et nesciente quae actura erant, cum reliquis dissolutus riso, prospicere pecudem coepit. At his cui iussum fuerat, cum viderit eum spectaculum intentum, librata secure caput eius inlisit. Qui cecidit et mortuus est ac, per fenestram domus proiectus, a suis sepultus est.

[Then Magnovald was killed in this way for hidden reasons at the court of King Childebert by order of the king. While Childebert was standing within the palace of the city of Metz and watching an entertainment, in which an animal was being tormented by a pack of dogs, Magnovald was summoned by the king. He came, since he was unaware of the things that had been put in motion, and with uncontrolled laughter with the others, he began to observe the beast. But meanwhile there had been the order to one, who when he saw Magnovald intent on the spectacle, swinging with his ax he struck Magnovald's head. Whereupon he fell down dead and, flung through the window of the palace, was buried by his men.]<sup>147</sup>

Although the thrust of the Gregory's story lies in the murder, it reveals the continued use of the theater as a performance space. Like the performances of Fortunatus, the site specificity of this episode is highly revealing. The details of topographical description, along with the author's familiarity with the city, make this a reliable piece of evidence for Messine practice. The passage describes a beast fight that took place in 585, in a spot visible from the interior of the royal palace. This detail suggests a viewing location that was elevated above the site of the actual fight. As discussed above, the interior of the theater was visible from the forum area since it stood at the base of the western side of the city. Historians' identification

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<sup>146</sup> The practice was not unique to Metz. Gregory describes Chilperic as building circuses in Paris and Soissons in 577 so he could offer spectacles to his people, for example. *DLH*, V.17.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII.36.

of the royal palace with La Maison Quarrée, the basilical structure on the west edge of the forum, further confirms the visibility of performances in the theater's arena from the palace. From the topography and Gregory's description, it seems likely that Childebert and Magnovald stood in La Maison Quarrée, looking down into the theater on the bank of the Moselle.

Since the interior space of the theater was intended for mixed use, *venationes* could have been easily practiced within the arena. The scene of a single domesticated animal, under attack by dogs, represents a vast diminishment of scale from earlier Gallo-Roman practice. The audience has shifted, too, from the larger body of inhabitants to a select group of men from Childebert's court.<sup>148</sup> Despite its limited conditions, however, the beast fight reveals Childebert's desire to renew and continue older performance practices in a self-consciously Roman context. The reuse of Gallo-Roman buildings and the re-creation of Gallo-Roman sight lines indicates another way in which Merovingian kings in Metz drew upon earlier performance traditions of the city to create links between themselves and the still-present Gallo-Roman past. In offering beast fights to his men, Childebert used performance to depict himself as a royal patron in the tradition of honored and generous civic benefactor. By reproducing Gallo-Roman sight lines, the king located himself in the seat and thus role of the civic patron of previous centuries.

Magnovald's killing provides another layer to the sediment of re-use and change of Roman performance practice in sixth-century Metz. Although the execution takes place outside of the space of the small theater, Gregory's narrative links his death to the *venationes* within. Magnovald's behavior as a spectator and its repercussions suggest the perceived

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<sup>148</sup> Philippe Buc notes the aristocratic audience for hunts under Charlemagne. See Buc, "Political Rituals," 190.

dangers of watching too intently. He fails to take care, joining the other men in excessive laughter.<sup>149</sup> His loss of control allows the killer an opportunity to strike, so that the spectacle in the theater is mirrored by the violence in the palace. For Childebert and the rest of the audience, the unfolding of the pre-arranged execution provides another entertainment that overlaps the beast fight. One can imagine Childebert's eyes flitting from the beasts to Magnovald and back again, the king playing the part of fellow spectator while waiting in eager anticipation for both violent conclusions. In this passage, Frankish performance reveals a slippery line between audience member and performer. Magnovald may be the innocent animal, torn apart by the dogs of the court, or he may be a foolish and careless criminal, unaware of the punitive aspect of public spectacle. As in previous centuries the good, masculine performer—the king—displays self-control and claims authority in the process.

The context of murder moves this performance outside the simple outlines of late antique *venationes*. The violence surrounding the spectacle suggests other Roman models, including martyrdom and the *damnatio ad bestias*. Indeed, sixth-century cultural context lends a possible hagiographic aspect to the interpretation of events. The participants, readers, and Gregory himself would have all been steeped in this genre of Christian narrative, in which

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<sup>149</sup> Recent work in the history of emotions has noted that the description of extreme emotional reactions in medieval literature often signals specific meanings to the reader, functioning as “public and dramatic gestures.” See Barbara Rosenwein, “Writing and Emotions in Gregory of Tours,” in *Vom Nutzen des Schreibens: Soziales Gedächtnis, Herrschaft und Besitz im Mittelalter*, ed. Walter Pohl and Paul A. Herold, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 5 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002), 24; idem, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Daniel Smail, *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity, and Legal Culture in Marseille, 1264-1423* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003); Daniel Baraz, *Medieval Cruelty: Changing Perceptions, Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003); Barbara Rosenwein, ed., *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998). See also the foundational articles by Catherine Cubitt, Barbara Rosenwein, Stuart Airlie, Mary Garrison, and Caroline Larrington introduced in Catherine Cubitt, “The History of Emotions: A Debate,” *Early Medieval Europe* 10, no. 2 (2001): 225-7.

godly innocents went to their deaths in front of the emperor and audience in the amphitheater.<sup>150</sup> The basic setting of the Metz killing corresponds nicely with that of the early martyrs: death in the amphitheater, a victim in conflict with the king or emperor. A reading of the performance through this model could cast the events in an interesting light. Rather than an unwise, justly punished dupe, Magnovald would take on the role of martyred saint. Childebert, on the other hand, would become the cruel and despotic emperor. Although this interpretation of events is appealing, given the greater religious context in which Gregory wrote, the details of his description seem to deny this potential meaning to the reader and to the contemporary audience. Magnovald's laughter and improper behavior set him apart from hagiographic models, as do the final lines of the chapter, in which Gregory attributes the punishment to Magnovald's murder of his own wife and subsequent sexual intercourse with his brother's widow.<sup>151</sup> Thus, although the seeds of a hagiographic martyrdom may lie dormant in the beast fight and murder, the narrative is careful to make distinctions about possible interpretive strategies that exclude that possibility.

The Roman practices of *munera* and *damnatio ad bestias* offer a more fruitful lens through which to view the performance. Although there is no evidence for *damnatio ad bestias* ever being performed at Metz, gladiator fights are indicated. The death of Magnovald could have been seen as a gladiatorial spectacle, accompanying the *venationes*. His ignorance of the true situation, passivity, and laughter do not suggest a traditional one-on-one fight, however. Instead, the order for the execution during a public spectacle suggests the model of *damnatio ad bestias*. As discussed above, it offered authorities a way to inflict punishment

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<sup>150</sup> For sample *vitae* of the early martyrs in translation, see Chapter One of Mary-Ann Stouck, ed., *Medieval Saints: A Reader*, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures 4 (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1999), 1-53.

<sup>151</sup> *DLH*, VIII.36.

on criminals in a public context. This scene strongly resonates with the execution of men in the amphitheater; it is reinforced by the final violent gesture of throwing the dead body out the window. Given the location of the palace, the corpse could have fallen down the steep slope to the west, landing outside the theater. This disrespectful gesture imagines Magnovald as no better than the animal killed on the other side of the theater wall. Indeed, Roman associations with this form of punishment provide a background for the larger social implications of the act. Death in this way served to humiliate the condemned and alienate them from social context.<sup>152</sup> Furthermore, punishments in amphitheaters were linked to the prestige of the spectacle and the sponsor, and were seen as gaining the favor of the populace.<sup>153</sup> Even the relative danger of animals in the *venationes* could accrue honor to the patron. Although these associations may have faded by the sixth century, they nonetheless offer a hint of what meaning this spectacle was intended to convey. Magnovald played the role of the condemned man, humiliated through his un-masculine death before an audience of his king and peers. The scene parallels Childebert with the generous donor of the past, a patron who offered two scenes of ‘hunting’ for his guests’ viewing pleasure. In the traditional Roman sense, this spectacle exalted the donor and diminished the dead man. It used performance based in violence to construct a masculine authority rooted in earlier Messine gender models. The conflation of an animal fight in the theater with a public execution served to connect Childebert, like his father, with imperial might and civic authority through Roman performance traditions.

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<sup>152</sup> K.M. Coleman, “Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990): 46-7.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, 50-1.

### Death and Treasure Display

Burial forms a final area of performance practice that is attested to by evidence from Metz.<sup>154</sup> In this category, archaeological remains make up most of what survives and has been excavated from the Merovingian period, alongside a very small number of texts. From these sources, a hazy picture emerges of funeral performance in the city that included the placement of grave goods and graveside feasting. The *Chronicle* of Fredegar, for example, mentions that Sigibert III received Dagobert's treasure at Metz upon the latter's death in 640.<sup>155</sup> The main textual source is Gregory's *Decem libri historiarum*, however, which intertwines the following story of grave-robbing with the aforementioned procession out from the city for the feast of St. Remigius:

Ante paucus autem dies mortua propinqua uxoris eius sine filiis, in basilicam urbis Metinsis sepulta est cum grandibus ornamentis et multo auro...venerunt pueri Bosonis Guntchramni ad basilica, in qua mulier erat sepulta. Et ingressi, conclusis super se osteis, detexerunt sepulchrum, tollentes omnio ornamenta corporis defuncti, quae reperire potuerant.

[Moreover, a few days before a near relative of (Guntram Boso's) wife died without children, and was buried in a church of the city of Metz with grand trappings and much gold...the sons/servants of Guntram Boso went to the basilica, in which the woman had been buried. And entering, they shut the doors above them (and) robbed the grave, removing all the ornaments of the corpse that they were able to find.]<sup>156</sup>

In essence, Gregory describes the looting of a tomb of a high-status woman in 585. Within these few lines it is possible to discern some of the practices surrounding her burial and perhaps those of her contemporaries. Although unnamed by the text, she was wealthy and powerful enough to be interred with gold and many ornaments. Thus her childlessness did

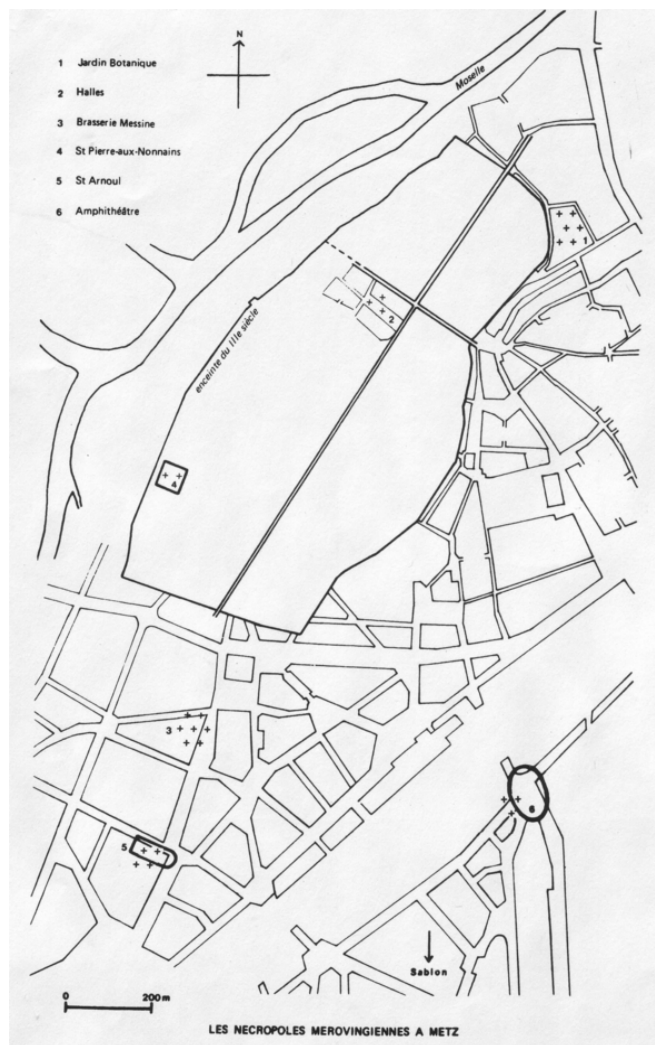
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<sup>154</sup> Since it is outside the scope of this dissertation to investigate the archaeological evidence in depth, this section will make suggestions about Messine burial practices in the sixth and seventh centuries and point to current scholarship in the field.

<sup>155</sup> Fredegar, *Fredegarii chronicon. Fredegarii et aliorum Chronica. Vitae sanctorum*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SSrM, 2 (Hanover, 1888; reprint, 1956), 4.85.

<sup>156</sup> *DLH*, VIII.21.

not impinge upon the quality and quantity of her grave goods.<sup>157</sup> The text also notes that the woman was buried within the city and inside the walls of a church. This institution seems to have been located in a fairly high-traffic region, because the narrative explains that the men entered the church only after the bishop, citizens, duke, and his men had left Metz in procession.



**Map 5: Merovingian Burials in Metz**

(Image from Clermont-Joly, *Metz à l'époque mérovingienne*, 69.)

<sup>157</sup> Halsall explores the connection between female status and grave goods in Guy Halsall, “Female Status and Power in Early Merovingian Central Austrasia: The Burial Evidence,” *Early Medieval Europe* 5 (1996): 1-24. On page 20, he argues that since the woman was childless, she had not yet had a chance to pass on her jewelry to her daughters.

Indeed, the tomb itself might have been located inside the church, perhaps on a lower level, since the robbers entered it and shut the doors above them. The present state of research suggests that Merovingian burials in Metz were centered on a few main areas (see Map 5, above): St-Pierre-aux-Arènes (next to the amphitheater), St-Arnoul and the Brasserie Messine (south of the city walls), the Jardin Botanique (northeast of the city walls), St-Pierre-aux-Nonnains (southwest quadrant of the city), and Les Halles (the forum and cathedral area).<sup>158</sup> Based on these findings, it seems likely that the woman was interred at St-Pierre-aux-Nonnains or in the cathedral complex, since they are the only cemeteries that have been located within the city proper. The incomplete state of excavations in Metz, however, do not permit firm conclusions. Nonetheless, a general picture of lavish grave goods connected to status and Christian sites emerges.

The role of Guntram Boso in the procession for Saint Remigius and the simultaneous grave robbing is an interesting one. Gregory relates the whole event in the context of a case brought against Boso in front of Childebert.<sup>159</sup> His sentences alternate between Boso, who planned the robbery but did not participate, and a duke, who accompanied the bishop out of the city. At that date Boso served as *dux* under Childebert.<sup>160</sup> Indeed, the duke of the procession has been widely understood to be Boso himself. If this is the case, then performance appears once again as a context for deception leading to violence and/or crime. As in the killing of Magnovald during the beast fight, a figure of authority uses the opportunity presented by a performance to mask his true intentions. Boso and

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<sup>158</sup> Some locations are named after later institutions. Magdaleine Clermont-Joly, "Metz à l'époque mérovingienne. État des découvertes archéologiques," in *Patrimoine et culture en lorraine*, ed. François-Yves Le Moigne (Metz: Serpenoise, 1980), 69. See also Gauthier, *Topographie*.

<sup>159</sup> *DLH*, VIII.21.

<sup>160</sup> Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 95.

Childebert are both presented as making special arrangements with their men ahead of time and then playing out their part in the larger ceremony or entertainment to mislead others about their “real” plans.<sup>161</sup> This episode is revealing of Gregory’s attitude toward the potential duality of performance but tells us little beyond the basic circumstances of a single Messine burial.

Studies of the Metz region and funeral practice in greater Gaul enrich the picture. Funerary feasting remained popular among Christians until the seventh century, part of a collection of funerary rites that expressed status and wealth.<sup>162</sup> Families used grave sites and goods to “promote an idealized image of the status, identity, and religious affiliation of the deceased.”<sup>163</sup> Based on archeological evidence from Metz, Guy Halsall argues for elaborate funeral rituals that included graveside feasting and display of grave goods. From the 560s, lavish graves suggest competition in burial displays amongst urban elites.<sup>164</sup> Halsall outlines the main elements of such rituals, and his list is informative since it emphasizes the deliberation in each step.<sup>165</sup> First, the dead body was dressed and a grave site selected. The corpse was moved to the tomb and interred. Grave goods were positioned around the body. A feast was prepared and eaten at the site. Finally, the grave was filled in or closed. Each

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<sup>161</sup> This is a curious moment: who originally provided the grave goods? In other words, from whom was Guntram Boso ultimately stealing? If the woman was married, it might have been her husband’s family. If not, it could have been her family, Boso’s wife, or even Boso himself. Perhaps Boso sought to reclaim an over-generous contribution, an act that put him in conflict with the church.

<sup>162</sup> Effros, *Creating Community*, 91; idem, *Caring for Body and Soul: Burial and Afterlife in the Merovingian World* (University Park, Pa.: Penn State University Press, 2002), 1-2.

<sup>163</sup> The liturgical commemoration of the dead and land donations popular in the eighth century had not yet taken hold. Effros, *Caring*, 10-11.

<sup>164</sup> Halsall, “Towns, Societies and Ideas,” 253.

<sup>165</sup> The following list relies on Halsall’s description, yet omits his interpretive strategy. See Halsall, “Burial, Ritual and Merovingian Society,” 326-7. Overall, this article approaches funerals as “symbolic text[s],” relying upon a linguistic interpretation that analogizes material culture with ritual language (328). Halsall also argues for the necessity of a “performative” approach, linking it with ritual theory through older performance theory such as S.J. Tambiah, “A Performative Approach to Ritual,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 65 (1979): 113-69.

stage encompassed a range of choices and variables that could express different cultural meanings. In the context of the other performance practices in Metz, these hints of elaborate funeral rituals are tantalizing and highly suggestive. Although it is not possible to specify what ceremonies occurred during burial with any precision, their near-total absence from the written record serves to emphasize the many other types of performance that have been lost. It is a reminder, as this study moves into better-documented centuries, that the kinds of evidence that survive do not necessarily reflect the culture of the past as it was experienced by its peoples.

### Chapter Conclusions

Metz enjoyed a rich performance culture from the second to seventh centuries. The surviving evidence points to the emergence and continued use of traditional Roman forms in this period and their frequent innovation for contemporary cultural, social, and political needs. The adaptation of the classical and late-Roman practices of panegyric, *adventus*, *ventiones*, and banqueting were particularly important in sixth-century Metz. Like its Gallo-Roman inhabitants, the Franks used performance to authorize and legitimize their rule through connections to the idea of Rome. They did so at historically specific moments, responding to immediate and practical needs. Merovingian performance drew on earlier ideas about oratory and public honor, but transformed the relationship between gender and patronage in the process. Brunhild, in particular, entered the formerly male world of formal Latin poetic address and ceremony. Connections between masculine authority and violent performance remained strong, however. Entries, banqueting, and reduced games replaced the civic games, and audiences became smaller and more limited to the Frankish elite. The boundaries between performer and audience were porous in such intimate settings.

Although Sigibert, Childebert, and Brunhild may not have sponsored full-length Latin dramas, they did witness pieces that included narrative description and dialogue.

Fortunatus's historically specific creations suggest the power and importance of performance to the cultural, social, and political goals of the rulers of Metz. It confirmed the city in its role as a cultural center, drawing people from the countryside and elsewhere. The picture that has emerged offers a counterpoint to the murderous mayhem of the *Decem libri historiarum* and the stasis seen by earlier scholars; the refined and complex performances of the sixth century reveal subtlety and depth in its cultural practices.

## Chapter Two: Performance Culture and *Renovatio* in Early Carolingian Metz

The long drought of documentation for performance in Metz comes to an end in the eighth century with the rise of Carolingian rule. Sources survive from mid-century onward that create a rich sense of the city as a center for and focus of performance. Selecting from many surviving examples, this chapter and the next examine the performance practices of three archbishops of Metz as a means by which these men shaped cultural activity in the name of episcopal authority. They did so through the development of local practices that included a Roman-style stationary liturgy, the reform of liturgical ceremony through financial controls, and a model ceremony for church dedications. The sudden wealth of documentation for this period appears to suggest a “renaissance” in ceremony and ritual. Yet, as shown in the previous chapter, the performance practices of the era did not coalesce out of a misty or empty past. Specific performance continuities may be difficult to trace, but the performances examined in the next two chapters respond to the cultural inheritance laid out in the previous chapter. Although the Carolingian period provides more and better-documented examples in which the Messine urban space served as a staging ground for performance, the findings of Chapter One remain a caution and point of reference for analysis of the eighth, ninth, and later centuries. This second chapter first situates the role of stationary liturgy, the Messine song school, and local architecture within the performance context of the archbishopric of Chrodegang of Metz and the Carolingian *renovatio*. It next

examines the social meaning of reform through analysis of a financial plan for liturgical performance authored by archbishop Angilram of Metz, Chrodegang's successor. As a financial record, this document has been isolated from the sources that survive for liturgical performance under Chrodegang and Angilram. Using the category of performance, this chapter positions an economic reform within the context of earlier practice and demonstrates that Angilram's plan of payments connects with earlier and contemporary performance culture. The interweaving of different strands of evidence, in connection with the religious, cultural, and social history of Metz during the Carolingian era, demonstrates the ways that the city's archbishops employed performance as a tool in the ongoing process of implementing episcopal control.

#### The Reform of Performance Places and Spaces: Archbishop Chrodegang of Metz

Metz's strategic and symbolic importance within the Frankish kingdoms ensured that the city participated in and influenced the larger performance practices of the region during the Carolingian period. Its central geographic location lent it a perceived value that lasted throughout the era of Carolingian rule. Histories and saints' lives also promoted a vision of Metz as the holy city of St. Arnoul and the birthplace of the Carolingian dynasty. It served as a major center for liturgical reform, especially through its introduction of Roman-style chant to Frankish liturgical traditions. From the mid-eighth to mid-ninth centuries, a series of Messine archbishops asserted their influence through partnerships with the Carolingian kings, including Pippin III, Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and Lothar I. Beginning with Chrodegang, the bishops of Metz employed patronage and political leverage on behalf of their diocesan city, shaping and reforming the city's performance culture to suit the current climate and their religious, political, and cultural needs.

The physical geography of Metz is well-understood from the mid-eighth century onward and thus provides an unambiguous context to the performances of the Carolingian period. Metz incorporated and built upon—literally—its Roman and Merovingian foundations during the Carolingian era. Although the layout of the city remained largely the same, people and institutions are documented in increasing numbers both in and outside the still-useful city walls.<sup>1</sup> New architecture contributed the main changes to the landscape through the accretion of religious buildings over time, as archbishops Chrodegang, Angilram, and Drogo reshaped the sizable legacy of the Merovingian era through reconstruction. The city supported more than forty churches by the year 800, many established long before but either newly visible in written sources or recently renovated.<sup>2</sup> Religious institutions and their inhabitants physically dominated the urban environment during this period.

The presence and activities of laypeople in Metz are more obscure, since contemporary texts and archaeological findings reveal little about residence patterns for lay inhabitants and royal visitors.<sup>3</sup> Records of visits by the Carolingians to Metz have survived only in small numbers, and the Merovingian royal palace may have been converted to another use, since it disappears entirely from the sources.<sup>4</sup> Small suburbs sprouted around the extramural monasteries and along the main trade roads, however, which attests to the regrowth of population, the importance of certain institutions, and the increase of

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<sup>1</sup> The bishop Robert of Metz renewed and extended the city walls in the late ninth century. See Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 48.

<sup>2</sup> Gauthier, *Topographie*.

<sup>3</sup> For a list of all known visits and possible reasons for the low numbers, see Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 44-5.

<sup>4</sup> If the identified location of the Merovingian royal palace is correct (discussed in Chapter One) then it is likely that the building was converted for use as the bishop's palace in the eighth century or shortly thereafter.

commerce. Despite the relative obscurity of the secular populace in the surviving evidence, Metz's central location and its powerful religious institutions held real importance in the eyes of lay authorities in the larger Frankish realm.

Metz's bishops came to dominate the city in the eighth and ninth centuries and Messine performance practice during this period is thus shaped most visibly by episcopal efforts. Unlike the Merovingian era, Carolingian Metz preserves a wider scope of contemporary evidence, due in part to the increased functioning of episcopal authority and episcopal-centered performance in the city. The dynasty established new residences at Aachen and elsewhere, which probably resulted in fewer of the feasts and entertainments that were performed for the Merovingian kings that are documented in the previous chapter. Nonetheless, it is clear that a number of religious institutions had arisen by the mid-eighth century, prior to Chrodegang's reforms. The cathedral complex had developed a cluster of churches and buildings that centered on the older cathedral of St-Étienne, for example. Performance continuity—of the liturgy, at the least—must have been provided by this grouping and by the well-established monasteries that dotted the city and its immediate environs. The widespread evidence for performance in Metz from the mid-eighth through ninth centuries indicates the continued value of the city and its performance practices to Carolingian kings and their bishops. Through its powerful ecclesiastical leaders, Metz claimed a central role in the performance life of the Carolingian empire.

Chrodegang played a pivotal part in the perceived reform and revitalization of performance in Metz and the larger realm. His personal history and participation in the Carolingian *renovatio* allied him, and thus the city, with the newly ascendant Carolingian dynasty. Chrodegang was born around 712, into a family that was closely connected to the

Pippinids and paralleled their rise.<sup>5</sup> He received an education at the monastery of St-Trond and then at the Metz cathedral school, or at the palace of Charles Martel.<sup>6</sup> More certain, however, is that Chrodegang was serving as *referendarius* for Charles Martel by 741 and became bishop of Metz around 742.<sup>7</sup> This combination of chancery and ecclesiastical responsibilities meant that Chrodegang was one of the most powerful men in the kingdom by the time Pippin III was anointed king in 751. Over the next two decades, Chrodegang and Pippin enjoyed a working relationship that has been compared to that of Alcuin and Charlemagne.<sup>8</sup> The bishop traveled to Rome with the court on Pippin's orders in the autumn of 753,<sup>9</sup> where he gained direct experience with Roman liturgy. Chrodegang took a leading role in the synods of this period, such as Ver (755), Verberie (756), Compiègne (757), and Attigny (762), which discussed episcopal rights and ecclesiastical discipline.<sup>10</sup> More generally, he was a key figure in shaping the early decades of Carolingian reform, which turned its attention to liturgical and biblical texts, monastic and clerical discipline, and education. Chrodegang was well-positioned to implement the ideals of *renovatio* in his see and knowledge of Rome and dedication to the expansion of local episcopal control informed much of his liturgical activity.

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<sup>5</sup> Some scholars have suggested that Chrodegang's family were relations of the nascent Carolingian dynasty. See M.A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula canonorum in the Eighth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series 61 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 21 n. 10-11.

<sup>6</sup> Writing as a near contemporary, Paul the Deacon records the latter, while the later tenth-century *Vita* written at Gorze reports the former. For a full discussion of the texts and likelihood of each, see *Ibid.*, 23-4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 25, 27.

<sup>8</sup> Carol Heitz, "Metz et son groupe épiscopal à l'époque pré-carolingienne et carolingienne," in *Eglises de Metz dans le haut moyen-âge*, ed. Carol Heitz and François Héber-Suffrin, Centre de recherches sur l'antiquité tardive et le haut moyen-âge 4 (Paris, 1982), 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Pippini Capitularia*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit., 1 (Hanover, 1886), 32-41; *Concilia aevi Karolini*, ed. Albert Werminghoff, MGH Conc., 2.1 (Hanover, 1906), 55-73.

When elevated to the archbishopric in 754, Chrodegang introduced a program of ecclesiastical *renovatio* to Metz that influenced religious practice throughout the Frankish kingdoms. These changes aimed to transform Metz into a symbolic Rome and a symbol of urban and ecclesiastical harmony.<sup>11</sup> Chrodegang's contributions included the rebuilding of existing churches, the introduction of a new *Rule* and new liturgy for the cathedral canons of Metz, and the creation or regularization of a stationary liturgy for the city. Such "reform" allowed bishops to assert control over local communities as they implemented the regulations of royal capitularies and ecclesiastical councils.<sup>12</sup> Although it is beyond the scope of this study to examine all of Chrodegang's modifications in detail, they provide valuable background to performance in Metz over the following generations.<sup>13</sup> Like the larger *renovatio*, Chrodegang's contributions to Messine practice assumed a rhetorical stance that appealed to Roman origins and models. Contemporaries adopted the symbolism of "new Rome" for centers such as Aachen, and promoted Roman over Gallican chant.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> As M.A. Claussen has recently argued. Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, 286-8. It has also been argued that Metz was "a pioneer in developing cults to the holy Roman martyrs" under Chrodegang, with churches in the Messine bishopric being allowed Roman relics. Damien Kempf, "Creating a Carolingian Capital: Paul the Deacon's *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* and the Rise of Metz, 751-791" (Johns Hopkins University, 2007), 68-9.

<sup>12</sup> The theoretical model of church reform is currently being problematized. For new approaches from the bishop's perspective, see the essays and the postscript in John Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones, *The Bishop Reformed: Studies in Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages* (London: Ashgate, 2007).

<sup>13</sup> For texts from and recent bibliography on Chrodegang's reforms, see Jerome Bertram, ed., *The Chrodegang Rules: The Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Claussen.

<sup>14</sup> For a general introduction to the symbolic role of Rome in the Carolingian *renovatio*, see Giles Brown, "Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamund McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1-51; G.W. Trompf, "The Concept of the Carolingian Renaissance," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 34, no. 1 (1973): 3-26; William Hammer, "The Concept of the New or Second Rome in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 19, no. 1 (1944): 50-62. For the state of study regarding the introduction of Roman chant, see below and James Grier, "Adémar de Chabannes, Carolingian Musical Practices, and 'Nota Romana,'" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 1 (2003): 43-98. Like other areas of Carolingian *renovatio*, the history of "Roman" chant in Metz is in some ways an ideological construction.

Carolingian writers produced a significant amount of Rome-oriented historiography, as well.<sup>15</sup> Rome was thus a real and imagined source of new traditions during this era.

Chrodegang's efforts highlight the continued significance of Metz and its cultural practices in the Frankish realm and allow its regional customs to be understood within the context of the greater cultural *renovatio*.

### Symbolic Geography: Roman Chant and the Stational Liturgy

As evidenced by the surviving local documentation, *renovatio* was implemented in Metz during the mid-century through Rome-influenced measures. Chrodegang presided over an intense period of architectural transformation, one that radically redefined the city's liturgical spaces, particularly those of the cathedral complex. According to Paul the Deacon, Chrodegang renovated the interiors of the cathedral of St-Étienne and the nearby chapel of St-Pierre-aux-Images as part of the program of reform endorsed and funded by Pippin.<sup>16</sup> The text mentions several additions and changes to the cathedral, including a *presbiterium* [choir], a *rebum* [canopy over the altar or tomb], the *altare* [altar], *cancellos* [chancel or chancel railings], and the *arcus per girum* [arcades through the area].<sup>17</sup> St-Pierre-aux-Images received the same modifications, but also gained an *ambonem auro argentoque decoratum* [pulpit decorated

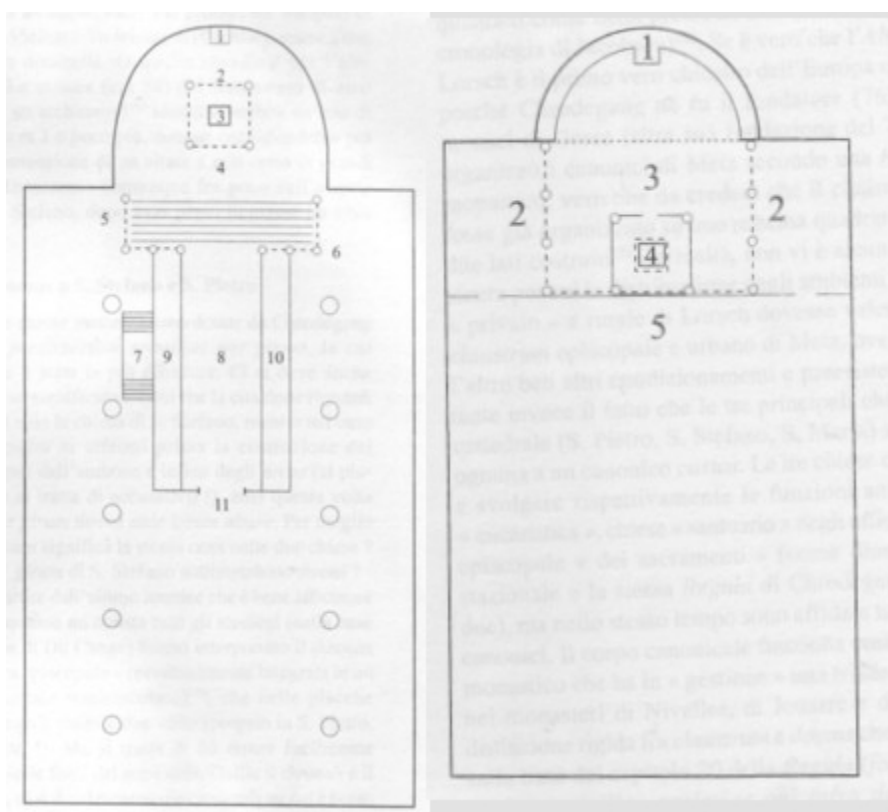
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<sup>15</sup> See the chapter on "The Franks and Rome," in Rosamund McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 35-61.

<sup>16</sup> The later name of St-Pierre-aux-Images evolved from St-Pierre-l'Imagier, St-Pierre-li-Majeur, and Sanctus Petrus Major in reverse succession. Goéric, bishop of Metz (629-643), is credited with its original construction. See Heitz, "Metz et son groupe," 9. (This church should not be confused with St-Pierre-aux-Nonnains, a nearby building that dates to the Gallo-Roman period.) The reform also included the founding of Gorze, a monastery located to the southeast of Metz. Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, 2 (Hanover, 1829; reprint, 1963), 268.10-20.

<sup>17</sup> *Gyrus* carries the older meaning of a rounded circuit, particularly for horses, but Niermeyer notes a near-contemporary use of the term in the Gorze *Cartulary* to describe the "environs" of Metz. See J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 469.

in gold and silver] and the *arcos per gyrum throni ante ipsum altare* [arcades through the area of the throne in front of the altar itself].<sup>18</sup> The alteration of the same crucial elements in the two buildings suggests a shared liturgical goal behind the renovations, which benefited the Metz cathedral canons in their main places of worship. Most scholars conclude that Chrodegang's architectural efforts rendered the physical spaces of the cathedral complex better suited to the practices of his new *Rule*—entitled the *Regula canonicorum*—and to the performance of the Roman liturgy.



**Figure 10: Hypothetical Layout of St-Pierre-aux-Images and St-Étienne, late Eighth Century.** Left Image: St-Pierre-aux-Images. 1, episcopal seat; 2, *ciborum*; 3, altar; 4, altar podium (*thronus*); 5, *arcus per gyrum throni*; 6, steps; 7, *ambonem*; 8, path to the altar, or *presbyterium*; 9-10, choirs; 11, *ostium chori*. Right Image: St-Étienne. 1, episcopal seat; 2, *arcus per gyrum*; 3, sanctuary; 4, altar; 5, arches toward the nave

(Images from Piva, “Metz: Un gruppo episcopale,” 256, 261.)

<sup>18</sup> This throne may have been the so-called Throne of St. Clement, a large stone seat dating to this period that has been preserved in the current Gothic cathedral. See Heitz, “Metz et son groupe,” 9.

Using comparative contemporary material from Rome and liturgical and visual sources from a later period, Paolo Piva has mapped the interiors of the two buildings (see Figure 10, above).<sup>19</sup> Each structure has been divided into multiple, clearly defined spaces that contain specific objects and architectural features necessary to the new liturgy. Both make visual reference to churches that Chrodegang may have seen during his visit to Rome.<sup>20</sup> Because many of Piva's textual and visual sources post-date the era of Chrodegang by several decades or more and the archaeological dating is imprecise, these models may not represent the buildings exactly as they stood in the 750s or 760s. However, the visual reconstructions remain useful because they show St-Étienne and St-Pierre-aux-Images as they existed by the end of the eighth century.<sup>21</sup> Along with the additions to the cathedral of St-Étienne and St-Pierre-aux-Images, the lesser churches of the complex—Ste-Marie/Notre-Dame-la-Ronde, St-Gorgon, St-Pierre-le-Vieux, St-Paul, and the baptistery of St-Jean (see Figure 11, below)—also contributed to the sense of a unified group throughout the Carolingian era.<sup>22</sup>

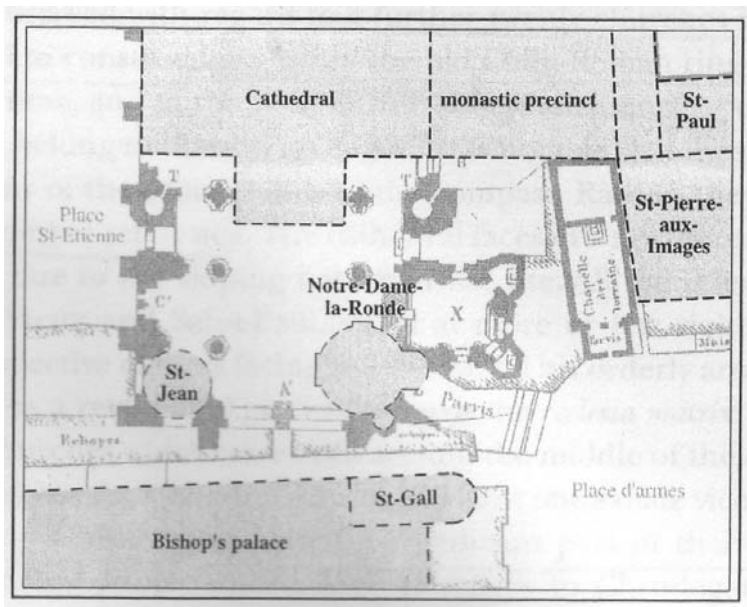
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<sup>19</sup> Paolo Piva, "Metz: Un gruppo episcopale al svolta dei tempi (secoli IV-IX)," *Antiquité Tardive* 8 (2000): 237-64.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. Piva's conclusions cleave closely to other recent scholarship about the reforms and linkage of Metz to Rome. Claussen, for example, argues that Chrodegang wished to remake Metz itself in the image of Rome through the *Regula canonicorum* and liturgical and architectural changes in the city. See Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, 248-89.

<sup>21</sup> In this project, the usual imperative to determine the structure of the churches during the episcopacy of Chrodegang is less pressing because the performances discussed later in this chapter postdate his reforms by several decades.

<sup>22</sup> The date of construction for St-Gorgon is uncertain, but may be attributable to either of the bishops that succeeded Chrodegang: Angilram (768-91) or Drogo (823-55). See Gauthier, *Topographie*, 53. For the grouping of the complex, see Christoph Brachmann, "Tradition and Innovation: Archbishop Chrodegang (742-66) and the Thirteenth-Century Family of Churches at Metz," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63 (2000): 30-1. Brachmann argues on the basis of archaeological evidence and architectural analysis that Chrodegang's changes represent "part of an effort to translate his *Rule* into practice."



**Figure 11: Layout of the Cathedral Complex Prior to Gothic Reconstruction**

(Image from Brachmann, “Tradition and Innovation,” 31.)

Not all the changes in the landscape of Metz should be assigned to the period of Chrodegang’s episcopacy, yet it is clear from the evidence of Paul the Deacon that practical matters of liturgical performance lay behind the renovations. This suggests that a new impulse for construction inspired by episcopal reform resulted in new kinds of performance spaces during the last half of the eighth century.

Chrodegang also contributed to local performance tradition through his introduction of Roman chant to Metz.<sup>23</sup> The school of Metz became a center for the diffusion of Roman

<sup>23</sup> A full musical analysis of the changes introduced by Chrodegang is beyond the scope of this project. For an introduction to the Messine school and its role in the diffusion of Roman chant, see: Philippe Bernard, *Du Chant romain au chant grégorien (IV<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris: Cerf, 1996); Christian-Jacques Demollière, *Quand le chant grégorien s’appelait chant messin* (Thionville: n.d.); Fr.-J. Hourlier, “La Notation messine, son aire d’expansion,” in *Les Origines du christianisme dans l’ancien évêché de Metz du IV<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Gérard Collot (Metz: Ed. Musées de Metz, 1966), 29-32; Michel Huglo, *Les Sources du plain-chant et de la musique médiévale*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 800 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Centre d’études grégoriennes de Metz et Médiathèque du Pontiffroy Metz, “Le Chant des manuscrits messins” (Dossier documentaire, 1996); Susan Rankin, “Carolingian Music,” in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamund McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 274-316; Jacques Viret, “La Réforme liturgique carolingienne et les deux traditions du chant roman,”

musical practice throughout the Frankish realm.<sup>24</sup> Almost nothing survives from the pre-eighth-century liturgical tradition of Metz, but the musical reforms appear in accounts that date to slightly later. For example, Paul the Deacon describes Chrodegang's activities in the

*Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*:

Ipsumque clerum abundanter lege divina Romanaque imbutum cantilena, morem atque ordinem Romanae ecclesiae servare praecepit, quod usque ad id tempus in Mettensi ecclesia factum minime fuit.

[And he directed the clergy itself, steeped fully in divine law and old Roman song, to observe the manner and *ordo* of the Roman Church, which up to that time had been done very little in the Messine Church.]<sup>25</sup>

Although Paul the Deacon wrote nearly three decades after Chrodegang brought Roman chant to Metz, his familiarity with the city and its clergy suggests that there is some truth to this account. The text dismisses the prior presence of Roman liturgy in Metz yet plays up the contemporary expertise of the cathedral canons.<sup>26</sup> This may be intended as praise for the quality of performance under archbishop Angilram, who was Chrodegang's successor and patron of the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*. Nonetheless, the passage reveals the perceived connection between proper observance of divine law and the music, manner, and practices

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in *Actes du colloque 'Autour d'Hildegarde'*, ed. Pierre Riché, Carol Heitz, and François Héber-Suffrin, Cahier 5, Centre de recherches sur l'antiquité tardive et le haut moyen-âge and Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisations de l'Université de Metz (Paris: CRATHMA, 1987), 117-27.

<sup>24</sup> Pelt, *La Liturgie I*, 129, 130.

<sup>25</sup> Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, 268.8-10. M.A. Claussen argues that *cantilena* refers to “the whole way liturgy was celebrated” and thus *cantilena Romana* to “the whole Roman style of performing liturgy.” See Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, 271-2. This broader interpretation of *cantilena* seems unnecessary, given Paul's reference to *morem* and *ordinem*, which themselves reference the whole practice of the liturgy. The more usual meaning—an old or traditional song—gives a nicely specific image of Roman melodies preserved and transplanted within the context of the liturgy.

Due to the many and varied meanings of the term, I have kept *ordo* and *ordines* in the translations. Possible translations might include: order, manner, rank, rite, ceremony, the Mass, and church law. See Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, 745-7.

<sup>26</sup> The early evidence for a stationary liturgy in Metz may contradict the first part of this claim. See the discussion of stationary liturgy below.

of Rome. This motif resonated with writers long after Paul the Deacon as Carolingian reforms sought liturgical uniformity.<sup>27</sup>

The song school had a lasting impact on performance in Metz and on the perceived authority of religious practices that originated there. Metz is constructed in the sources as a preferred school for chant, perhaps evidenced by students such as Sigulf Vetulus during the years 760-70.<sup>28</sup> A late ninth-century *Vita* of Gregory the Great describes how Charlemagne, noting the “barbarism” of Gallican chant in comparison to the Roman style, had two clerics sent from Rome to Metz.<sup>29</sup> Their goal was to “reestablish” the Roman roots of song in Metz and spread it through Frankish lands from the Messine school. Like the *Vita*, many other Latin sources of the ninth century sought to establish the legitimacy and contemporary superiority of Messine chant by emphasizing ties to Rome.<sup>30</sup> Whatever the accuracy of the more outlandish claims, Metz saw itself and was seen by its contemporaries as a locus for musical training and performance. For more than a century, the Messine chant school remained at the center of the Frankish musical world and formed a core element within the narrative of the Carolingian *renovatio* of liturgical texts and practices. Situated in the cathedral complex, this school must have lent an aspect of study and proficiency to the city’s performances and ensured that musical practice was a major aspect of performance culture. It also reinforced connections between episcopal and royal authority, claiming a Roman basis for Chrodegang’s reform.

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<sup>27</sup> For the ongoing diversity of liturgy in the late Frankish church, see Rosamund McKitterick, “Unity and Diversity in the Carolingian Church,” in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

<sup>28</sup> Sigulf was a pupil of Alcuin and his successor as abbot of Ferrières. See Pelt, *La Liturgie I*, 129.

<sup>29</sup> The *Vita* was written by Johannes Hymonides, a monk of Monte Cassino also known as John the Deacon. For the text, see *ibid.*, 129-30.

<sup>30</sup> For other primary source examples, see the selections in *ibid.*, 129-37.

Chrodegang is also credited with the introduction of Roman-style stational liturgy to Metz, an aspect of *renovatio* with further implications for local performance practice. This aspect of the city's performance life has received considerable attention; in the late 1920s, an eighth-century leaf was identified within a later manuscript, Paris BNF lat. 268.<sup>31</sup> The text on this folio has been identified as a list of churches in Metz in which the principal mass of each day of the quadragesimal period should be celebrated. In other words, the parchment contains a number of *stationes* that follow the Roman processional model of stational liturgy for Lent and Easter week.<sup>32</sup> Its dating and Roman-influenced practices have led scholars to identify Chrodegang as the author. As discussed above in Chapter One, processional liturgy was not unknown in Metz during the Merovingian period. Gregory of Tours's description of a procession of townspeople, bishop, and duke to St-Remi in the town of Scy-Chazelles hints at what may have been a common performance practice. Nonetheless, this document provides the first evidence of a regularized stational liturgy in the Frankish lands and is unique to the period.<sup>33</sup> Although rogation litanies had their origins in fifth-century Gaul, the Metz list follows a contemporary Roman stational model.<sup>34</sup> Whether stational processions

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<sup>31</sup> Klauser and Bour, "Un document du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle," 1-145/497-641; Klauser, "Eine Stationsliste," 162-93. Claussen offers a brief summary of the state of scholarship. See Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, 276-80.

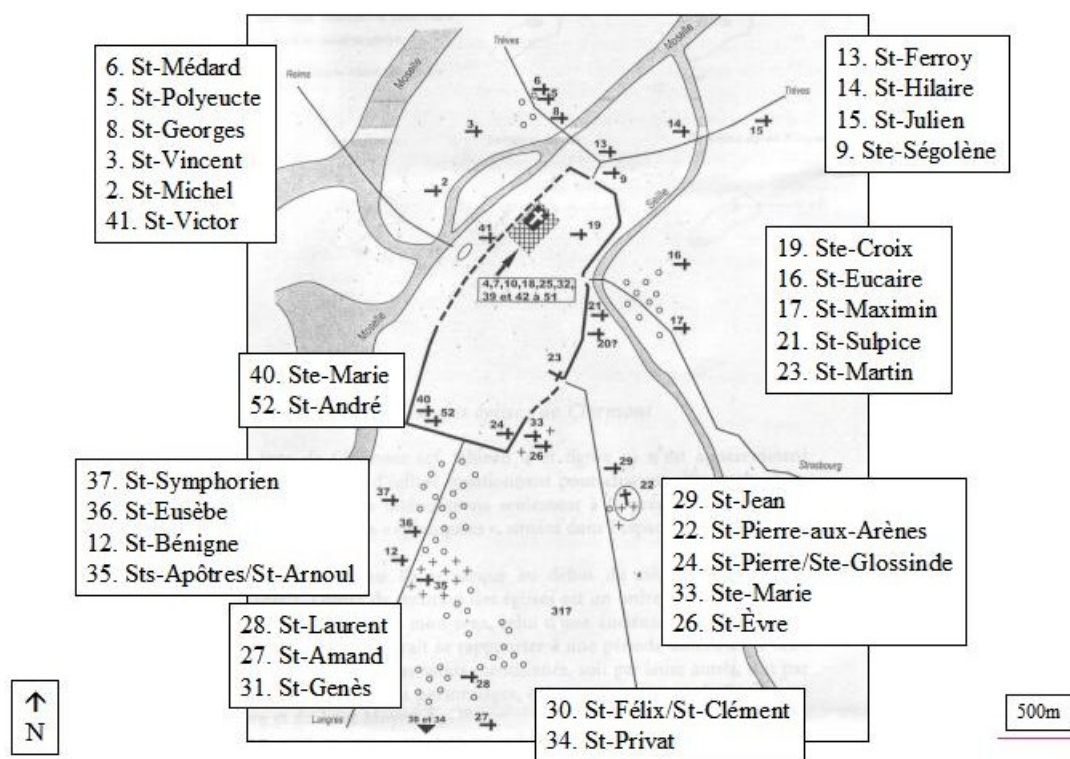
<sup>32</sup> Carol Heitz, "Architecture et liturgie processionelle à l'époque préromane," *Revue de l'art* 24 (1974): 34. Due to the normative nature of this document, it might be understood better as a prescriptive model rather than as a record of practice.

<sup>33</sup> For the origins and development of the medieval stational liturgy more generally, see Gaillard, "La Présence épiscopale dans la ville," 123-40; Geoffrey G. Willis, *A History of the Early Roman Liturgy to the Death of Pope Gregory the Great* (London: Boydell and Brewer, 1994); John Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of the Stational Liturgy*, *Orientalia christiana analecta* 228 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987); Angelus A. Häußling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier*, *Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen* 58 (Münster, 1973); R. Zerfass, "Die Idee der römischen Stationsfeier und ihr Fortleben," *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1958): 218-29; U. Berlière, "Les Stations liturgiques dans les anciens villes épiscopales," *Revue liturgique et monastique* 5 (1919/20): 213-48.

<sup>34</sup> Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 140, 249.

were entirely new to Metz or adaptations of a native Messine tradition, changes to this aspect of the liturgy sought to infuse Messine performance with Roman flavor.

Processional performance took a distinctive shape in Metz, one that altered the geographic and cultural landscape and claimed a special status for the city and its bishop. The daily processions incorporate nearly all the known religious institutions of Metz, both in and outside the city walls (see Map 6).<sup>35</sup> The movement of bodies in prescribed patterns through the city and its suburbs created webs of association and meaning among the participating churches, mapping out institutional relationships in the process.

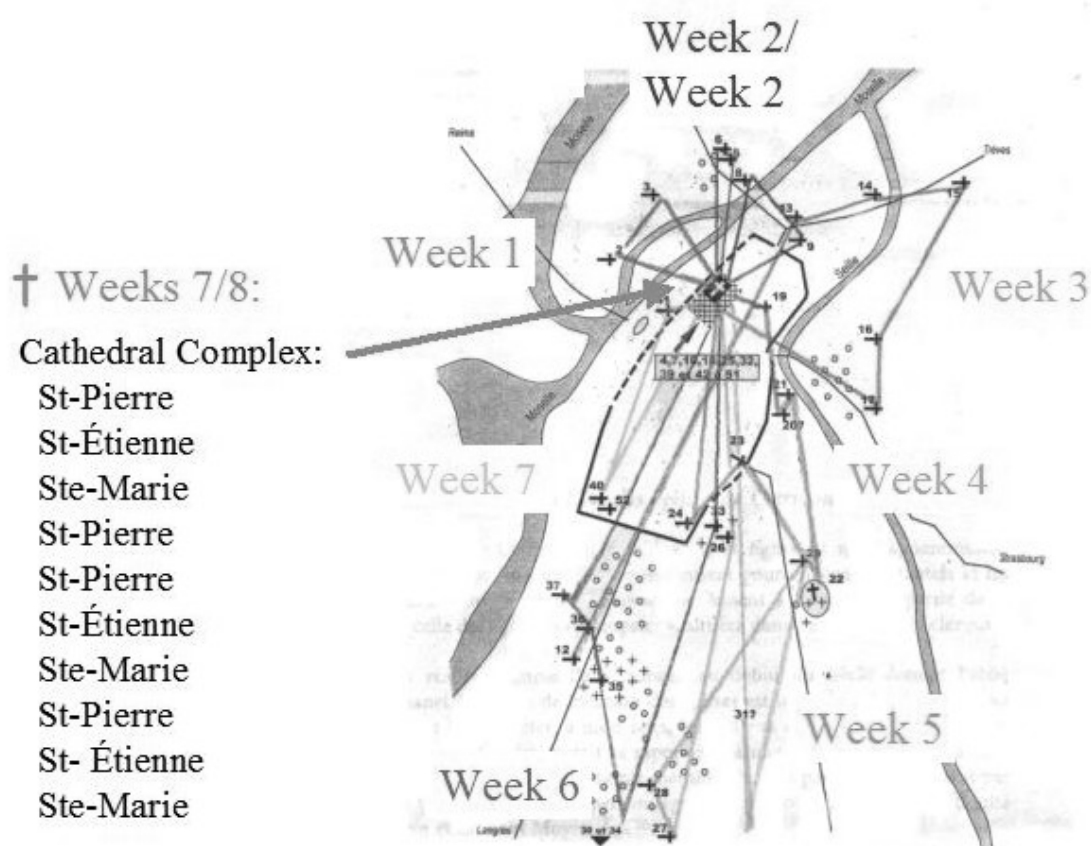


**Map 6: Stational Churches Outside the Cathedral Complex, based on information in BNF lat. 268**

(Original image from Gauthier, *Topographie*, 35; additions by S. Crowder.)

<sup>35</sup> The known locations omitted from the list are both female monastic institutions.

The stational list indicates that a series of daily masses was performed around the city. As the weeks of Lent progress, the processional destinations increasingly center on the churches of the cathedral complex, particularly the cathedral of St-Étienne, the cathedral chapter's main chapel of St-Pierre-aux-Images, and Ste-Marie/Notre-Dame-la-Ronde. The locations of the stational masses have been organized into geographic circuits that proceed through the city, week by week (see Map 7).



**Map 7: Stational Circuits of Metz Organized by Week, Based on Paris BNF lat. 268**

(Original image from Gauthier, *Topographie*, 35; additions by S. Crowder.)

Each seven-day circuit begins with a procession to a church of the cathedral complex, makes two or six processions to churches outside this group, and then concludes with a procession to another church of the complex. In this way, performance joins the disparate religious

communities through physical action. On a basic level, processional performance remaps the urban landscape and its many religious communities into distinct, interrelated districts. Yet the processions and masses performed during the weeks following Palm Sunday and Easter are celebrated almost entirely within the cathedral complex. St-Pierre-aux-Images appears nine times as an episcopal station, while St-Étienne and Ste-Marie/Notre-Dame-la-Ronde appear four and five times, respectively.<sup>36</sup> The stational list gives priority to St-Pierre-aux-Images, one of the two churches remodeled by Chrodegang for new liturgical practice.<sup>37</sup> In the context of performance, this suggests that Chrodegang's regulation of the stational liturgy in Metz was directed at the goal of religious reform and unity *through* performance, as were the construction program and the song school. The recurring masses in the episcopal buildings during the holy season reinforce a sense of affiliation among them, and also express the power of the bishop and his canons within the ecclesiastical precinct as well as episcopal preeminence over the many other religious communities both in and outside the walls of Metz.<sup>38</sup>

This manuscript evidence for stations in Metz suggests how the city could be revisualized through processional performance. Since the cathedral complex is located at the peak of a hill that drops off in all directions, the repeated patterns of movement through the city bring out the topographic elevation of the episcopal group. Each procession of canons must physically descend for the principal mass of the day and then ascend to the heights of the cathedral afterwards. The daily process of descent and ascent reaffirms the centrality of the cathedral chapter to the greater Messine community through a publicly visible practice.

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<sup>36</sup> Heitz, "Architecture et liturgie," 35.

<sup>37</sup> Heitz, "Metz et son groupe," 12.

<sup>38</sup> Carol Heitz suggests the idea of relationships built through liturgical practice. Claussen develops it in greater detail, however. Heitz, "Architecture et liturgie," 35; Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, 278-84.

The churches of the cathedral complex dominate the list through sheer numbers and physical geography, yet non-episcopal institutions such as Ste-Ségoène, located just to the north of the city walls, also contribute to the city's image on important liturgical occasions. The earliest known Palm Sunday procession in continental Europe, for example, is described in the list as originating at Ste-Ségoène and then moving through Metz to St-Pierre-aux-Images.<sup>39</sup> Through a variety of performance elements, the stational liturgy symbolically identified Metz with Rome and/or with Jerusalem.<sup>40</sup> These cities played an important symbolic role in Carolingian *renovatio*, as symbols of Christian empire and of celestial holiness, respectively.<sup>41</sup> The practice of processional liturgy could declare the city to be a new Rome and elevate it to the status of an imperial capital such as Aachen or as a primatial see, such as Reims would become, through representations derived from practices that were identified with other holy cities. Locally, performance transformed the cathedral complex into the religious and geographic heart of the city, while simultaneously reaching out to enwrap and incorporate the larger religious community. In drawing on the processional conventions of Rome, Chrodegang invented a Messine tradition that claimed a Gallo-Roman past. Performance inscribed the history of Christian Rome onto an episcopal city, mediated through Frankish practice by the reforms introduced by its bishop.

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<sup>39</sup> Heitz, "Metz et son groupe," 13.

<sup>40</sup> Claussen argues that Chrodegang based the processions on practices seen while in Rome. See Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, 279-80. For a discussion of the symbolic invocation of Jerusalem in stational liturgy, see Baldovin, *Urban Character*.

<sup>41</sup> Many citations of Rome by the Carolingian dynasty drew upon the imagery of Constantine and the Lateran; the Aachen palace imitated it, for example. Richard Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," *Art Bulletin* 24 (1942): 203-55; John Moreland and Robert Van de Noort, "Integration and Social Reproduction in the Carolingian Empire," *World Archaeology* 23, no. 3 (1992): 329. For imagery of Jerusalem, see Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent'," 207-31.

Renovatio and the Economics of Performance: Archbishop Angilram of Metz

Chrodegang's successor, the archbishop Angilram, continued the promotion of site- and institutionally specific performance practices in Metz. Under his guidance, aspects of performance culture introduced to the city in the early Carolingian era were taken up and adapted for contemporary purposes and goals. Angilram's career situated him in a position to bridge local and broader cultural concerns, and evidence for his activities provides valuable insights into episcopal implementation of the Carolingian *renovatio*. Little is known of his early life before he was appointed bishop of the city in 768, two years after Chrodegang's death. He served in a series of increasingly powerful capacities under Charlemagne, and by the time of his death in 791, Angilram had gained the titles of archbishop and archchaplain of the court.<sup>42</sup> Like Chrodegang, he contributed significantly to the ongoing reorganization of the Frankish church, its clergy, and the liturgy through participation in the reforming synods and in the production at Metz of a new, corrected bible.<sup>43</sup> Yet despite holding a position in the kingdom that allowed him great influence outside his see, surviving documentation shows Angilram to have focused his energies on promoting Metz as a religious and political center that was firmly under the guidance of its bishop.

Angilram's written legacy emphasizes the city and clergy of Metz as key players in the larger empire. As Barbara Rosenwein notes, "everything that Angilramnus commissioned or

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<sup>42</sup> Pelt, *La Liturgie I*, 37.

<sup>43</sup> Chrodegang participated in both councils and in the production of texts, as well. The main centers for biblical reform in the late 780s and early 790s were Corbie, Metz, Orleans, and Tours. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill describes the Metz bible as "the earliest known Carolingian pandect," and notes the poor quality of the text with its bad corrections and orthography. Brown, "Introduction," 23; Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, 214.

wrote celebrated Metz.”<sup>44</sup> He commissioned Paul the Deacon’s *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* and a *Vita* of St. Trudo.<sup>45</sup> The *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* deliberately enhances the role of Metz in the Frankish realm by designating the city as the source both of the Carolingian dynasty and of liturgical reform.<sup>46</sup> Angilram’s own writings also center on Metz, such as his additions Chrodegang’s *Rule*, which continued to regulate the Metz cathedral canons, and his poem about the bishops of Metz entitled *Versus de episcopis Mettensis*.<sup>47</sup> Less well-known, however, is Angilram’s contribution to liturgical practice in Metz itself through his development of a system of payments to the Metz cathedral clergy for important liturgical performances. Within the larger sphere of political participation and religious reform, Angilram used the regulation of performance practice to demonstrate the power of the bishop and to implement desired changes.

The financial controls on liturgical performance that were produced during the episcopacy of Angilram, viewed alongside his other activities, force a re-evaluation of the standard picture of the relationship between late eighth-century religious practice and Carolingian *renovatio*. Angilram developed a system of payments for the performers of the station masses and of other important liturgical practices that reveals the function of performance as a mode of reform within the economic and social context of the cathedral canons. Like contemporary collections of *capitula episcoporum*, these guidelines express the

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<sup>44</sup> Barbara Rosenwein, “Association through Exemption: St. Denis, Salornnes, and Metz,” in *Vom Kloster zum Klosterverband. Das Werkzeug der Schriftlichkeit*, ed. H. Keller and F. Neiske (Munich: Fink Verlag, 1997), 76.

<sup>45</sup> The *Vita* describes St. Trudo’s journey to Metz and St-Étienne to fulfill a vow. See *ibid.*, 81.

<sup>46</sup> Damien Kempf, “Paul the Deacon’s *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* and the role of Metz in the Carolingian realm,” *Journal of Medieval History* 30, no. 3 (2004): 279-99; *idem*, “Creating a Carolingian Capital.”

<sup>47</sup> Angilram’s additions to Chrodegang’s *Rule* are preserved in Vatican Library Pal. Lat. 555 and Leiden Bibliothèque Publique Lat. 81. The manuscript tradition of the text is discussed in Bertram, *ed.*, 24-6. For a summary of all known texts connected to Angilram, their editions and bibliography, see Rosenwein, “Association through Exemption,” 75-7 and nn. 23-32.

direct episcopal regulation of a local community.<sup>48</sup> The *capitula* standardize and record numerous directives, often concerning clerical discipline. Among other things, they claim jurisdiction over religious celebration and over the economics of clerical stipends.<sup>49</sup> Yet contemporary disciplinary boundaries have relegated the evidence for Angilram's activity to the sidelines, since it takes the form of a financial document that details payments made to specific liturgical performers. Although its form parallels an itemization of alms added by Angilram to the cathedral chapter's *Rule*, its overlap of liturgy and finance has excluded it from studies of both.<sup>50</sup> Recent work has called for deeper investigation into the economic processes that underlie medieval religious music, and has addressed the economic controls such as immunities and *tonlieux* that were important factors in the expansion of episcopal authority in the Carolingian era.<sup>51</sup> The economic features of the Carolingian *renovatio* must therefore be considered with regard to the liturgy. The evidence for Angilram's fiscal shaping of local liturgical practice must be studied in the context of Metz, incorporating documentation that crosses the line between liturgy and economic history.

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<sup>48</sup> None survive from Metz, however. Peter Brommer, *Capitula episcoporum: Die bischöflichen Kapitularien des 9 und 10 Jahrhunderts*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 43 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985); *Capitula episcoporum*, ed. Peter Brommer and Rudolf Pokorny, 4 vols., MGH Capit. episc. (Hanover, 1984-2005). The so-called *Capitula Angilramni* are falsely attributed and date to the mid- to late ninth century. Horst Fuhrmann, *Einfluss und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen: Von ihrem Auftauchen bis in d. neuere Zeit*, 3 vols., Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 24 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1972-4); Schafer Williams, *Codices Pseudo-Isidoriani: A Paleographico-Historical Study*, Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series C, Subsidia 3 (New York: Fordham University Press, 1971); Karl-Georg Schon, *Die Capitula Angilramni: Eine prozessrechtliche Fälschung Pseudoisidors*, MGH Studien und Texte, 39 (Hanover: 2006).

<sup>49</sup> For examples, see *Capitula episcoporum*, 1.191-2, 2.87, 2.233.

<sup>50</sup> For the text of this passage and its translation, see Bertram, ed., *The Chrodegang Rules*, 50-1, 82-3.

<sup>51</sup> Barbara Hagg, "Foundations or Institutions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music," *Acta Musicologica* 68, no. 2 (1996): 99; Jean Heuclin, *Hommes de Dieu et fonctionnaires du roi: En Gaule du Nord du V<sup>e</sup> au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Septentrion, 1998), 294-5, 332; Jean Imbert, *Les Temps carolingiens (741-891)*, 2 vols., Histoire du droit et des institutions de l'Église en Occident 5 (Paris: Editions Cujas, 1994-6), 106-10.

Angilram's system of payments provides evidence for the social, cultural, and religious framework of Messine performance at this time, yet since its original publication in a 1930 article and the article's reprint in 1937, the document has received only passing notice and no serious analysis.<sup>52</sup> Angilram's prescription for payments survives in a single manuscript, British Library Add. 15222, folios 70v—73r.<sup>53</sup> Although the date of composition for the list itself has been narrowed to 787 or 791, the manuscript was copied around the year 1000 in Besançon and contains other liturgical materials and *ordines* dating to the first years of the ninth century. It is likely that the list was brought to Besançon from Metz along with the roughly contemporary liturgical collection.<sup>54</sup> Angilram's financial program appears immediately after the final *ordo* of the manuscript, without title and in long-paragraph form.<sup>55</sup> It begins with a preface in which Angilram justifies his introduction of the new economic system to the cathedral community. The remainder of the document lists specific payments that should be made for individual roles, organized roughly according to the cycle of the church year and occasion of performance. The survival of this plan of financial subsidies for precise categories of performers preserves unique documentation for liturgical practice in Metz as envisioned by its bishop and the community.

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<sup>52</sup> See Michel Andrieu, "Règlement d'Angilramne de Metz (768-791) fixant les honoraires de quelques fonctions liturgiques," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 10 (1930): 349-69, hereafter *RA*; Pelt, *La Liturgie I*, 37-43. Recent works that briefly mention the document include Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*; Piva, "Metz"; Rosenwein, "Association through Exemption." The full text and my translation appear in Appendix One.

<sup>53</sup> *RA*, 349.

<sup>54</sup> Angilram's payment system may thus have influenced practice outside of Metz.

<sup>55</sup> *RA*, 349-50.

Contemporary *Renovatio* and Episcopal Dominance

The possible reasons for the production of the financial program are complex, relating both to local and larger *renovatio*. Angilram might have sought to reinforce Chrodegang's earlier reforms of the liturgy, for example, thus acting on immediate and narrow concerns. Generally speaking, the financial program continues down the path of Romanization, since it keeps to Roman sources of liturgical practice. It bolsters the new Roman "tradition" in Metz through reference to so-called Roman chants and practices, such as the use of a gospel book and reliquary in the Lenten processions. Reading the evidence directly against the reform of three decades earlier, M.A. Claussen suggests that Angilram's payments function as a bribe aimed at creating compliance with Chrodegang's liturgical reforms.<sup>56</sup> Thus the document might conceal resistance among the cathedral clergy to the new practices of recent decades, or it might reveal Angilram's perception of poor singing and decayed performance practices due to lack of enthusiasm. In Claussen's model, Chrodegang's reforms were a failure over the long term and Angilram sought to reverse this decline by promising financial rewards. According to this reading, the reforms of the 750s continued to dominate Messine performance awareness nearly three decades later.

The text itself provides another answer, situating Angilram's desire to improve the psalmody of the clergy in the context of contemporary, late-ninth-century *renovatio* and the expansion of episcopal control. As the only explanatory passage of the document, the preface is vital to understanding the work that the program seeks to accomplish. It begins in the first person, with Angilram describing why payments to the Metz clergy are necessary:

Anchilramnus presul <dum summum conscendit honorem> cathedramque  
presidens ecclesiae sancti stephani protomartyris ciuitatis mediomatrice coepi

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<sup>56</sup> Given his specialization in the Chrodegang reforms, it is no surprise that Claussen reads the later evidence in the context of the earlier reform. Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, 273.

inspirante divina gratia animo percunctari qualiter studia in ecclesia psallentium clericorum in melius proueherem atque exercitia illorum accendi ad utiliora potuissem iuxta euangelicam consolationem in qua dicitur Dignus est operarius mercede sua. Ita tamen ut hoc cum summa uigilantia radicitus ab omnibus amputetur nequod pro studio religionis in melius augmentauimus cupiditatis morbo aliquis hoc adgrederi uideatur.

[I, Bishop Angilram, inspired in the mind with divine grace while watching over the bishop's seat of the church of St-Étienne Protomartyr in the city of Metz, began to investigate how I might promote greater zeal for psalm-singing among the clergy of the church and how I might kindle the pious exercises of those (clergy) to better purpose, according to the consolation of the Gospels in which it is said, "The laborer is worthy of his reward."<sup>57</sup> Consequently, in order that this place should be pruned to the roots through the highest vigilance of all the clergy, we greatly increased zeal for the religious life, so that no one with the affliction of greed should be seen to approach this place.]

This passage offers an interesting justification for and contextualization of paid performance. Using the first person, it describes how, in his role as protector of the cathedral, Angilram sought to improve the psalmody and redirect the pious exercises of the clergy. The text assigns his desire for change to the inspiration of divine grace and offers an implicit criticism of previous performance practice by stating that the community must be pruned to the roots. This emphasis on a return to the alleged original source replicates a common trope of so-called reform texts, and the gardening metaphor suggests the growth of over-elaborate liturgical practices over time. Angilram speaks of carrying forward and kindling the current state of zeal, yet the high reputation of the cathedral song school is praised in contemporary histories.<sup>58</sup> Distinctions between types of "bad" psalmody—poor or unenthusiastic singing versus incorrect singing—are generally blurred in the sources. Instead of responding to a lackadaisical clergy or failed reform, Angilram's financial program may criticize

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<sup>57</sup> 1 Timothy 5:18.

<sup>58</sup> Following Chrodegang's episcopacy, Metz "became the most famous Carolingian centre for the cultivation of Roman music." Rankin, "Carolingian Music," 276, 281.

contemporary practice and recall the “roots” of reform as part of a literary strategy that provides a justification for his implementation of new standards. This interpretation would read the document as an attempt to redirect clerical zeal towards certain kinds of performance, and not simply to increase overall enthusiasm. In this instance, Angilram’s improvement of the psalm-singing and pious exercises of the Metz cathedral clergy would represent a new stage of *renovatio* that implemented liturgical change through the introduction and affirmation of “better” texts, melodies, and performance models purportedly based on the Roman tradition.

Attention to corrected texts and more “authentic” Roman practice corresponds with the general trends of the Carolingian *renovatio*, and the date and content of Angilram’s document resonate with contemporary efforts of the late 780s and early 790s. Liturgical “improvement” was ongoing in the later eighth century and often focused on the production and introduction of better, more “accurate” texts and practices. The *Admonitio generalis* (789), for example, governs the behavior and functions of the clergy and their bishops, including the performance of the liturgy.<sup>59</sup> Chapter 80 makes specific reference to ideals that correspond with those expressed in Angilram’s financial program:

Omni clero: Ut cantum Romanum pleniter discant, et ordinabiliter per nocturnale vel graduale officium peragatur, secundum quod beatae memoriae genitor noster Pippinus rex decertavit ut fieret, quando Gallicanum tulit ob unanimitatem apostolicae sedis et sanctae dei aeclesiae pacificam concordiam.

[To all the clergy. That they are to learn the Roman chant thoroughly and that it is to be employed throughout the office, night and day, in the correct form, in conformity with what our father of blessed memory, king Pippin, strove to bring to pass when he abolished the Gallican chant for the sake of unanimity with the apostolic see and the peaceful harmony of God’s holy church.]<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, 259-60.

<sup>60</sup> *Admonitio generalis*, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH Capit., 1.20 (Hanover, 1886), 47-51, ch. 80; P.D. King, ed., *Charlemagne: Translated Sources* (Lambrigg, Kendal, Cumbria, 1987), 218.

This article emphasizes the overarching goal of correct form in the performance of the liturgy, identifying correct chant with Roman-style chant and the apostolic see. It refers back to Chrodegang and Pippin III's introduction of the *cantilena romana* as a source of authority and identifies bad singing with incorrect form, here Gallican chant. The passage does not passively echo earlier reforms, but like Angilram's preface, cites them as a basis for ongoing change. In addition to sharing narrative strategies with Angilram's financial program, the *Admonitio generalis* also expresses reforming ideals that align with the stated goals of Angilram's preface. It addresses the duties of priests to employ proper form when preaching, celebrating mass, and performing baptisms, and specifically mentions the correct singing of the Psalms.<sup>61</sup> Among the *Admonitio generalis*'s many modifications of performance practice, Angilram's preface shares this precisely stated goal of improved psalmody. The payments in the body of the document emphasize the proper celebration of certain aspects of the Mass, showing the perceived importance of particular forms in practice.<sup>62</sup> They also single out the reading of the names of the baptized on Easter Saturday for special compensation. The *Admonitio generalis* was issued by Charlemagne, but needed to be implemented by his bishops.<sup>63</sup> Without further evidence the regulations in the Messine document cannot be interpreted as a direct response to the promptings of the royal regulations, yet the overlapping ideas about reform expressed in Angilram's preface and payments and in individual details of the broader Frankish ecclesiastical legislation suggest how performance changes might have been brought into practice at the local level.

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<sup>61</sup> *Admonitio generalis*, ch. 70; Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, 260; Brown, "Introduction," 18.

<sup>62</sup> See below for a discussion of the specifics of performance practice in Angilram's financial program.

<sup>63</sup> Rosamund McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977).

Angilram's program implements the ecclesiastical reforms of the era in other, more subtle ways, as well. The larger Carolingian *renovatio* governed the financial activities of bishops with regard to their clergy, forbidding the purchase of higher rank, requiring the endowment of churches for their proper functioning, and separating the funds of the bishop from those of his canons, for example.<sup>64</sup> The monastic or canonical *stipendium* was increasingly regulated, as is documented by the *capitula episcoporum*.<sup>65</sup> Fundamentally, Angilram's document functions to bring liturgical performance under the authority of the bishop; this is done through the regulation and systemization of a financial practice. The program envisions the honoraria as being paid out on a uniform basis, *in circulo anni* [in the cycle of the year], so that the proposed organizational system mirrors the shape of the church year itself. The prescriptive nature of the document follows the ideas introduced by Angilram's preface, in which he introduces a reform to be followed in the future.<sup>66</sup> The preface also reinforces episcopal primacy in more obvious terms, however. It employs the first person, ascribing all action to Angilram and positioning him as the prime innovator and source of the reform. This emphasis on episcopal authority aligns with the goal of the *Rule* of Chrodegang to transfer the governance of the cathedral clergy from the bishop and community to the bishop alone.<sup>67</sup>

A reforming practice lies at the heart of the document, but it is unclear what precisely Angilram introduced. The payment scheme could represent an entirely new

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<sup>64</sup> *Capitula episcoporum*, 3.51-3; Heuclin, *Hommes de Dieu*, 298; J. Emmanuel des Graviers, "Messeigneurs du chapitre' de l'église de Paris à l'époque de la guerre de cent ans," in *Huitième centenaire de Notre-Dame de Paris* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1967), 186.

<sup>65</sup> *Capitula episcoporum*, 2.87, 2.233, 3.383; Heuclin, *Hommes de Dieu*, 294-5.

<sup>66</sup> The verb tenses of individual payments describe future guidelines, rather than instances of past practice. The periodic "summaries" in the text, however, total up the payments for the season and note them in present indicative tense; such variations could be the result of copying.

<sup>67</sup> Bertram, ed., *The Chrodegang Rules*, 21.

system, developed from scratch to address present ideals of *renovatio*, or it could seek to establish episcopal control over already-existing financial practices linked to the liturgy. Due to their pastoral responsibilities, the clergy of the episcopal complex had regular contact with the lay population of Metz and the city's political importance meant the presence of the Pippinids and other great magnates on important liturgical occasions such as Easter. Perhaps gratuities were given to performers by high-ranking visitors. Chapter 32 of Chrodegang's *Rule* provides that lay donations to the clergy could be kept when given to an individual and not the general community.<sup>68</sup> Or, laypersons aside, the unusual economic independence of some cathedral canons under the *Rule* could have led to intra-community gifting. According to Chapter 31, certain members of the Metz cathedral community were allowed to retain control over the income from their property and to live in semi-private residences within the cathedral complex.<sup>69</sup> Angilram's plan might thus represent the formalization of a practice of gift-giving to exceptional performers with the goal of bringing a paraliturgical activity under the control of the bishop.

The theory of a previous practice of gifting is supported by Angilram's justification of the system in the preface. He expresses his wish to institute the changes in order to screen out *cupiditatis* [greed] from the cathedral community. The addition of regular payments to liturgical performances would only ward off cupidity if they somehow reduced previous immoderation. Angilram may be implying that his honoraria are more modest and reasonable than the excess of an earlier era, and will be unsatisfying to the overly acquisitive performer. Since the existence of the song school would have ensured the presence and participation of talented clerics, eager to make names for themselves, Angilram could have

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 48-9, 79.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 46-8, 76-9. For a fuller discussion of the economic circumstances of the Metz cathedral canons in the context of Chrodegang's *Rule*, see Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, 94-100.

sought to reign in “star” performers in the community who had shifted the basis of liturgical practice from devotion and glorification of God to their own exceptional abilities and/or profit. The “better purpose” for which Angilram institutes the system might be the improvement of focus and propriety as well as the introduction of reformed liturgical practice.

The payment system could also have been intended to remedy an undesirable shift in relative power between canons and bishop brought about by talented psalm-singers who participated in a gift-exchange network outside the control of the bishop. If we consider these payments within the Carolingian culture of gift-giving, they suggest a web of patronage connected to the expression of unequal relationships of power.<sup>70</sup> Gifts could express the political and social dominance of the giver, so control over this exchange would have been desirable among Frankish elites. Indeed, the Carolingian kings regularized the practice of gift-giving into a yearly process.<sup>71</sup> Angilram may have sought to implement a similar, regularized system in the cathedral chapter that would reinforce his authority. Liturgical “gifts” from the archbishop might have heightened the sense of episcopal power in Metz, perhaps at the expense of the chapter or external interests. Like Angilram’s addition of a week of Pentecostal feasting to the *Rule*, partly at the bishop’s expense, these specialized stipends forged reciprocal relationships.<sup>72</sup> They also linked the officeholder to the prestige of the reformed liturgy being produced for the greater Carolingian realm. Whether these payments represent a new practice of honoraria or the re-ordering of old habits, this

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<sup>70</sup> For gift giving as a language of “power relations,” see Timothy Reuter, “Plunder and Tribute in the Carolingian Empire,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 35 (1985): 85.

<sup>71</sup> For the regularization of Carolingian gifting, see Florin Curta, “Merovingian and Carolingian Gift-Giving,” *Speculum* 81 (2006): 698.

<sup>72</sup> Bertram, ed., *The Chrodegang Rules*, 39, 67.

document gathers the power to regulate performance into the hands of Angilram and future bishops of Metz.

The emphasis on episcopal control that is visible in the evidence for Angilram's activity in Metz parallels the priority of the bishop in the general Carolingian reform. The document's use of performance to claim regulatory authority for the bishop of Metz is consistent with the wide-ranging assertion of episcopal supremacy in the Frankish kingdoms during this period. Ecclesiastical reforms of the late eighth century address questions of hierarchy and authority on a general level, just as Angilram's program does for a specific instance. This period saw the development of cohesive ideas about episcopal primacy and the creation of ecclesiastical legislation designed to establish episcopal control over religious practice within the diocese.<sup>73</sup> Secular clergy, in particular, were subjected to new controls under the guidance of their bishop.<sup>74</sup> The Capitulary of Herstal (779), for example, clarified ecclesiastical discipline, authority, and obedience, and specified the responsibility of the bishop for clerics in his see.<sup>75</sup> The general trend of *renovatio* during Angilram's episcopacy established ecclesiastical hierarchies with particular emphasis on the authority of the bishop.

Angilram's document illustrates, however, that the reforming ideal of episcopal dominance could result in compromise in the practical context of specific communities. A few clues reveal that, although the bishop may situate himself as the main author and administrator of the plan, it functions through group effort. First, the formulaic verb with which Angilram describes the first payment appears in first person plural, in the perfect tense: *censuimus* [we assessed]. This represents a sudden change from the first person

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<sup>73</sup> Roger E. Reynolds, "The Organization, Law, and Liturgy of the Western Church, 700-900," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, II, c. 700-900*, ed. Rosamund McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 587, 601.

<sup>74</sup> Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, 171.

<sup>75</sup> Brown, "Introduction," 17.

singular of the previous lines of the preface, suggesting that other parties may be involved. The meaning of this verb, too, raises questions about the source of the funds. *Censere* can mean to estimate or give an opinion, or it can indicate the more literal gathering of funds through taxation or assessments. Angilram may simply mean that he and unnamed others have decided on this course of payments after some thought on the matter. The term *census*, however, is used in contemporary capitularies to refer to the collection of tithes on property by the church.<sup>76</sup> The language of the text elsewhere also suggests a more specific financial interpretation. The source of the money is described as deriving *de cubiculo atque sacello pontificis* [from the chapel inside the church and also the treasury of the bishop]. This line indicates that the payments should originate from dual sources: the bishop and the *cubiculum*. The latter probably represents the treasury of the Metz cathedral clergy, which was administered separately from that of the bishop.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, the document concludes with the statement that the total sums *colliguntur...sicut constitutum est* [are collected...just as it was agreed]. In this line, the undercurrent of group consensus again appears, alongside a verb that suggests an assessment flowing in, rather than payments going out. This term may reflect the summary nature of the line in the text; it totals the amounts for the season. Yet Angilram's description of Ascension Day also points to a collection scheme: "In crastinum uero de diaconis et subdiaconis sicut et in pascha accipiendum statiuimus [On Ascension Day we instituted receiving for the deacons and subdeacons just as on Easter]." Taken in total, these clues indicate that the bishop worked in conjunction with another party, likely the

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<sup>76</sup> *Census* is used in Chapter 25 of the Synod of Frankfurt (794), for example.

<sup>77</sup> The Council of Cologne (867) divides the income of the church between the bishop and the chapter, for example. Gravier, "Messeigneurs du chapitre," 186; Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Nôtre-Dame of Paris, 500-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 18. *Cubiculo* could also indicate the bishop's chamber, however, which would suggest that the bishop alone is responsible for the funds.

cathedral canons themselves. According to Angilram's system, funds are to be regularly collected and then distributed, with financial responsibility shared between the bishop's treasury and the community.<sup>78</sup> Thus, although the document initially frames the improvement of performance as a top-down activity, it functioned in practice through consensus grounded in fiscal redistribution.

### “Reformed” Performance: Uniformity and Hierarchy

In addition to illuminating the implementation of the late-eighth century reforms, the payments delineated by Angilram for various liturgical functions offer a specific picture of Messine performance. Different types of processional practice become visible from among the many aspects of performance culture. For example, the system rewards those who perform the litany or a procession through the churches of Metz for Rogations: “*Illi uero qui illa letania per illas ecclesias in triduo ieiunio faciunt unusquisque solidum I accipiat* [Those who make the litany through the churches for the three days of fasting should each individually receive one *solidus*].”<sup>79</sup> This could represent a Gallo-Roman rogation liturgy or a practice imported from Rome, like the stationary liturgy. Although the particulars for this entry are slim, it suggests that a variety of urban liturgical performances took place in Metz. The rogation processions provide a more detailed picture of local practice than that provided by the simple geographic contours of Chrodegang's stationary liturgy. Specific performers

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<sup>78</sup> The ultimate source of the funds is unidentifiable, although the term *censere* suggests that it may be connected to tithes.

<sup>79</sup> The unspecificity of location in this line—and in the whole document—combines with the detailed recording of individual performances to create a sense of tacitly understood local traditions and overlapping sets of instructions in varying manuscript format, such as in tonaries, sacramentaries, and so forth.

from the cathedral clergy populated the spaces of Metz through embodied practice and motion on multiple religious occasions.

The payment system also sheds light on the system of stational liturgy and its functioning in the decades since its institutionalization by Chrodegang. In a long passage, the text describes fifteen individuals who serve a variety of functions during the Lenten stations:

Stationarii namque XV qui per totam quadragesimam stationes suas suas [sic] iuxta consuetudinem sedis apostolice custodiunt constituimus ut pro eo quod illis ipsam religionem melius secundum deum observare delectet ut illi presbiteri duo qui totam quadragesimam ipsas stationes custodiunt et missam celebrant completa ad ultimum stationes suas denarios VI iussu pontificis accipiant. Diaconi similiter. Subdiaconi duo unusquisque denarios IIII. Cantores II. Similiter acolytus qui illum evangelium cum capsula defert denarios III. Reliqui omnes unusquisque denarios II. Colligitur in totum ad illos stationarios unciarum II et denarii XI.

[Indeed, we firmly establish the fifteen processional performers who observe their stations all through Lent according to the custom of the apostolic see, because through these (stations) each one delights to better observe that religious life of following God. By order of the bishop, the two priests who keep all the Lenten stations and celebrate the Mass at the furthest of their stations by Compline should receive six *denarii*. The deacons similarly. The two subdeacons, each one individually, four *denarii*. Singers, two. Similarly, the acolyte who carries the Gospels with the reliquary, three *denarii*. All remaining, each individually, two *denarii*. That makes a total of two twelfth-weights of gold (*unciae*) and eleven *denarii* for the processional performers.]

Two priests are tasked with celebrating the Mass at each of the stations with deacons and subdeacons who perform unspecified functions along the way. They are joined by two singers and some unnamed participants in unknown roles. In a burst of information, the document indicates that an acolyte should carry a Gospel book and reliquary, a practice noted above that follows Roman usage.<sup>80</sup> The specificity of this payment suggests attention to the identifiably Roman elements of the performance by the creator of the text.

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<sup>80</sup> RA, 356 n. 4.

Furthermore, the passage describes the stational payments as firmly establishing the performers so that they may observe the stations according to the traditions of the *sedes apostolica*, or the papal see. The text directly cites the authority and tradition of stational masses in Rome, linking the observation of this particular rite with a better approach to God. It then references the directives of the bishop that reaffirm papal practice, asserting episcopal authority once again through past and present performance traditions. Angilram's program confirms Chrodegang's institution of the stational liturgy in Metz and regrounds it in Roman origins.<sup>81</sup> Its evocation of episcopal precedent references both Messine and Roman practice while establishing current performance norms through financial means.

Angilram's financial program also elucidates a hierarchy of spaces as envisioned by the bishop and the chapter. As discussed above, Chrodegang's stational list divides Metz into distinct districts with the cathedral complex at its core. A comparison of the locations of the performances and their amounts in Angilram's system with the earlier list, however, suggests that scholarly focus on stational performance as the primary element of performance culture in Metz relies too heavily on the evidence of Chrodegang's list, and does not take contemporary perspective into account. In the overlap of performances between the two texts, Angilram's system adds a distinct financial emphasis on the stational locations within the cathedral precinct. It lumps the locations outside this group together and offers relatively lower amounts to the priests and clergy who perform the stational masses in greater Metz. For example, the payment to the priests who perform outside the complex consists of six *denarii* apiece for duties that lasted through all of Lent. However, the sums paid for performances at the cathedral churches of St-Pierre and St-Marie for Palm

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<sup>81</sup> Angilram makes an addition to Chapter 33 of the *Rule* that provides penalties for canons who fail to return for chapter after the stations, confirming their contemporary performance. Bertram, ed., *The Chrodegang Rules*, 49, 80.

Sunday, Wednesday of Holy Week, Good Friday, Holy Saturday, and Easter are much larger and average about twice the amount given to the highest-paid performers outside the complex. Furthermore, individuals are paid for focused and specific performance elements such as a single chant or reading from the Gospels. This reinforces the trend seen in the geography of Chrodegang's original stations, in which liturgical practice centered on the canons and their community. In Angilram's system, the financial importance of performances at the stations in the cathedral district indicate that the cathedral's relative status dwarfs that of other Messine institutions.

Furthermore, the financial system creates distinctions among the episcopal buildings and even within them. Angilram's financial program provides a valuation of performance in the churches of the cathedral complex that privileges St-Pierre-aux-Images, the chapter's main church and the site of its regular offices. A majority of the performance practices that are singled out for payment take place in this chapel. Rewarded performances in St-Pierre-aux-Images include the *Domine exaudi* chant for Wednesday of Holy Week and all the practices mentioned for Palm Sunday, Easter Saturday, and Easter, which include varied readings and singing. The selection of the cathedral community's church as the site for the celebration of the major holidays of the church year is not unexpected. However, recognition of the use of financial stipends to reinforce and elevate certain spaces denaturalizes the nature of hierarchy in the Messine episcopal complex, revealing it as a construct.

Angilram's system makes valuative spatial distinctions within a single building, as well. For example, it hints at architectural context when it rewards performances from the pulpit. A singer regularly performs from this space for *Benedictus es Domine*, the antiphon for

the Benedicite canticle performed for Saturday Lauds<sup>82</sup>: “Nam per illa quatuor tempora anni qui illam benedictionem in ambone cantat solidum I accipiat [Through the Ember Days of the year when he sings the benediction in the pulpit, he should receive one *solidus*].” This performance may have taken place in St-Pierre-aux-Images, where the daily round of the liturgy would have been observed. The setting of the second chant that is described as being delivered from the pulpit is more secure, however. *Qui habitat* is specified twice by the program, but the location is noted only once: “Et cantor qui in ambone initio quadragesime tractum *Qui habitat* cantat solidum I accipiat [And the singer who sings the chant *Qui habitat* in the pulpit for the beginning of Quadragesima should receive one *solidus*].” The two occasions for the chant in the text are the beginning of Quadragesima, or the first Sunday of Lent, and Good Friday. Services for the former were celebrated in St-Pierre-aux-Images, unlike the latter, which was celebrated in Ste-Marie. So this particular performance of *Qui habitat* took place in the pulpit of St-Pierre-aux-Images.<sup>83</sup> Thanks to Paul the Deacon’s narration of Chrodegang’s architectural reforms in the cathedral complex, discussed above, some description of the St-Pierre pulpit survives. As noted above, Paul depicts one of the additions as an *ambonem auro argentoque decoratum* [pulpit decorated in gold and silver]. Whether or not this matches the liturgical space of Chrodegang’s era, it likely correlates with the state of the interior during the period of the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*’s composition, circa 784. Thus it seems safe to conclude that the singer of the *Qui habitat* on the first Sunday of Lent performed from a pulpit richly decorated with gold and silver. Such materials would create a luxurious performance space, visually prominent through reflective surfaces and precious decorations designed to draw the eye. Furthermore, Piva’s

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<sup>82</sup> RA, 355 n. 3.

<sup>83</sup> Andrieu briefly suggests this location. Ibid., 358-9 n. 1.

reconstruction of St-Pierre-aux-Images depicts the pulpit in a location that towers over the choir (Figure 10, above.) Like the geographic symbolism of the stationary liturgy, the location of this performance in the pulpit literally elevates it above the surrounding architectural elements of St-Pierre-aux-Images and the community of performers in the choir. Paul records no such pulpit for St-Étienne or Ste-Marie, nor does Angilram's financial program record the interior location of their performances. This suggests a hierarchy of ceremonial space grounded in decorative elements, architectural location, and distinctions between the episcopal churches.

Angilram's system of payments also reveals the presence of hierarchies connected to performance conditions within the community of performers, since it incorporates ecclesiastical status into its valuation of specific performance practices. Individuals who belonged to particular subgroups of the community might expect a standard amount for their participation based on ecclesiastical status, and performers could be paid according to their rank in the cathedral clergy. Deacons receive more than subdeacons, subdeacons more than general chorists, and so on. Of the eight subdeacons that appear in the list, six receive one *solidus* for their efforts, which suggests a correspondence between rank and payment. On the other hand, the subdeacons perform similar functions on each of these occasions: one reads the Epistle on Palm Sunday, one reads the Epistle on Easter Sunday, and two fulfill unspecified tasks on Christmas and Pentecost, seemingly of the same nature. So subdeacons could expect a standard amount of one *solidus* for their efforts, usually for performances of roughly equivalent placement within the liturgy. In the same manner, the deacons who recite the Passion on Palm Sunday and the Gospels on Christmas could each expect two *solidi*, as could the deacon who reads the Passion on Easter. Once again, the same level of functionary performs an equivalent task for an equal reward. Deacons always

read from the Passion and subdeacons from the Epistles on these holidays, and they receive parallel amounts of one or two *solidi* for the different events. To some extent, this ranking of performance by ecclesiastical status is unavoidable, since the chapter's *Rule* defines who is to do what within the community and the liturgy demands more experienced performers for difficult roles. Yet the payments reinforce a correspondence between rank, performance, and pay and underline the presence of paired uniformity and hierarchy in this document.

The system introduced by Angilram incorporates both localized social status and the difficulty or importance of the individual performance into its valuation of specific performance practices, yet also introduces a level of distinction apart from the clerical orders. Rank was not absolutely determinative of payment amount, since the importance of a specific event to the liturgical calendar also shows its influence. For example, payments to deacons show some variation. Both the deacon and subdeacon who celebrate the Pentecost Mass receive one *solidus*, which is less than the usual payment to deacons but on par with the subdeacon rate. Total and individual choir amounts vary based on occasion, too. The singers in the choir for Easter are paid by rank with the *primus scole* [first of the choir] getting one *solidus* and the second to fourth singers receiving eight, six, and four *denarii* respectively: “Primus scole accipiat ipsa die solidum I. Secundus uero denarios VIII. Tertius autem denarios VI. Quartus denarios IIII [The first in the choir should receive the same day one *solidus*, the second, eight *denarii*, the third, six *denarii*, moreover the fourth, four *denarii*].” For this celebration, the *primus scolae* is paid fifty percent more than the next-ranking performer, while the remaining roles are distinguished by the equal amounts of two *denarii*. The payment scheme for the choir is slightly different for an unspecified performance, perhaps the whole of Easter Week: “Primus scole accipiat denarios VIII. Secundus denarios VII. Tertius et quartus denarios IIII [The first of the choir should receive eight *denarii*, the second

seven *denarii*. 'The third and fourth, four *denarii*].” On this occasion, the *primus scolae* is given only eight *denarii*, an amount equal to the payment for the *secundus* on Easter and only one *denarius* more than the *secundus* for the same day. This time, too, the *tertius* and *quartus* are paid equally, despite their unequal rank within the chapter. The difference in absolute amount between Easter and the second, unnamed occasion indicates an awareness of the heightened role of the choir in Easter Sunday celebrations and the prominence of the holiday in the church calendar.<sup>84</sup> The changes in individual payments also reveal some flexibility among the ecclesiastical orders in regard to relative valuation. Overall, this suggests some compromise and overlap in the financial program between religious season and clerical status.

The correspondence between rank, performance, and pay in Angilram’s document underlines contemporary concern for uniformity and hierarchy, resulting here in a financially based gradation of the Metz cathedral community. Both the Capitulary of Herstal and the *Admonitio generalis* regularize the clerical orders and their duties.<sup>85</sup> Chrodegang’s *Rule* demonstrates similar, if earlier, attention to rank by introducing new ecclesiastical orders to the chapter that included *cantores* [singers], the *primus scolae* [first of the choir], *notarii* [clerks], and *stationarii* [processional performers].<sup>86</sup> Angilram’s payment system refers to each of these orders by name in reference to their role in the general liturgical celebrations of the community. Chrodegang’s new titles are distinguished in the financial document by their

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<sup>84</sup> On this scale, the stationary liturgy falls far below. The performance of the stations, as a whole, is assigned a lower level of payment than other seasons of performance. This may be due to the large numbers of performers, however, which resulted in a large overall expenditure for the event. The two priests who celebrated the stationary masses and their deacons receive six *denarii*, with the remaining participants paid less according to rank and task.

<sup>85</sup> See Brown, “Introduction,” 18; Reynolds, “Organization, Law, and Liturgy,” 616; idem, *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages: Duties and Ordination*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate, 1999).

<sup>86</sup> Reynolds, “Organization, Law, and Liturgy,” 606.

connection to important performance elements. The role of *primus scolae*, the person who was in charge of the choir and/or song school, has been discussed above. The presence of the category of *cantores* suggests attention to correct chant-style and its proper performance. The perceived importance of the stationary liturgy comes out through the designation of some canons as *stationarii*, literally called after their function in the performance of the stations. A *notarius* appears in Angilram's program, too, as a figure who reads the names of the baptized on the evening of Easter Saturday. Not all of the orders mentioned by the text date to the era of Chrodegang, however. The general importance of the role of the *lectores* who appear in Angilram's document is highlighted by a letter to Abbot Baugulf of Fulda from the 790s, the *Epistola de litteris colendis*.<sup>87</sup> This document addresses the newly corrected versions of the Old and New Testaments and the *lectores*, who performed the necessary biblical readings during the liturgy.<sup>88</sup> A new bible was produced at Metz under Angilram's tenure, so a corresponding attention to the implementation of the new text in performance seems logical. The payments to *lectores* in the financial program might reinforce a clerical order that was seen within the community as being particularly important to the performance aspect of the local goal of biblical reform. This reform in Metz might connect to the greater trend described by the *Epistola*, just as other Messine performance practices correspond to different reform ideas in the *Admonitio generalis*. More generally, the definition of the ecclesiastical orders and their performance responsibilities in the Metz cathedral chapter can be linked to the larger reform efforts of the mid- to late-eighth century.

Angilram's payment scheme also highlights the importance of certain singers, chants, and locations within the greater performance that made up the liturgy, suggesting an

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<sup>87</sup> *Admonitio generalis*, 78; Luitpold Wallach, "Charlemagne's *De litteris colendis* and Alcuin: A Diplomatic-Historical Study," *Speculum* 26, no. 2 (1951): 288-305.

<sup>88</sup> Roger Collins, *Charlemagne* (London: MacMillan, 1998), 118.

additional performance hierarchy based on skill or talent. The text singles out several chants for special attention:

Cantor qui illum tractum cantat Deus Deus meus solidum I.... Et qui ipsa die illo tracto Qui habitat cantat solidum I accipiat.... Qui uero tractum [L]audate dominum omnes gentes cantat similiter accipiat.... Et cantor qui in ambone initio quadragesime tractum Qui habitat cantat solidum I accipiat.

[The singer who sings the chant *Deus Deus meus*, one *solidus*.... And he who sings the chant *Qui habitat* on that day should receive one *solidus*.... He who sings the chant *Laudate dominum omnes gentes* should receive similarly.... And the singer who sings the chant *Qui habitat* in the pulpit for the beginning of Quadragesima should receive one *solidus*.]

These chants are performed on Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter Saturday, and the first Sunday of Lent, respectively. From the many songs that fill this portion of the holiday season, one or two are emphasized for each particularly important day through financial bonuses. The singling out of particular chants for reward emphasizes the perceived pre-eminence of these chants in the overall service. Each is labeled as a *tractus*, which can refer to solo chant sung in one long stretch, without refrain or responses, and often embellished by melisma.<sup>89</sup> This indicates a high valuation of solo performance and the individual voice by Angilram and the community. The style and mode of singing thus also shape the perceived importance of performance elements within the Messine liturgy since individual singers rank very highly with regard to payment amounts.

This hierarchy of chant incorporates lower levels of perceived importance, too. The linguistic context of the music could be demanding, as in the Psalms sung on Easter Saturday in Greek and Latin: “Illi uero octo cantores qui in sabbato sancto cantica greca

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<sup>89</sup> Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, 1036; Rankin, “Carolingian Music,” 294. See also Emma Hornby, *Gregorian and Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts: A Case Study in the Transmission of Western Chant* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002); Edward Nowacki, “Text Declamation as a Determinant of Melodic Form in the Old Roman Eighth-Mode Tracts,” *Early Music History* 6 (1986): 193-226. The spatially elevated position of the *Qui habitat* singer within the pulpit also reflects the positioning of his music within Angilram’s performance hierarchy.

quam et latina dixerint unusquisque accipiat denarios VI. Et hoc colligit ad illos VIII cantores sol[idos] IIII [The eight singers who on Holy Saturday will have spoken the Psalms in Greek as in Latin should each individually receive six *denarii*. And this totals for the eight singers four *solidi*].”<sup>90</sup> Yet the eight performers receive only six *denarii* apiece, suggesting that no great value is placed on language skill. As discussed above, the top four members of the choir on Easter and during Easter week are paid only middling amounts in comparison with other singers. The payment system also creates a sub-category of chant that is valued at only four *denarii*, and includes the *Domine exaudi* on Wednesday of Easter Week and the *Alleluia* and *Laudate dominum omnes gentes* on Easter Saturday. As a responsory gradual, the *Domine exaudi* features a melismatic solo, but in combination with the choir. The *Alleluia* also takes this form, alternating a soloist using melisma with a choir. Unlike the *tractus* singers, these performers share the stage with the choir, which may account for the smaller payments they receive. This suggests that no particular prestige attaches to group performances. Thus vocal embellishment through melisma, linguistic skill, and setting all contribute to the scheme of differentiation. Taken overall, these payments suggest the priority of both skill and the type of chant for the sung performances of individual canons.

Despite its elaborate valuation of singing, Angilram’s financial program does not rank chant at the top of the performance scale since its complex assessment of different aspects of liturgical practice rewards reading as the highest kind of performance. It describes the recitation of the Passion of Matthew on Palm Sunday, another Passion on Easter, and a portion of the Gospels on Christmas:

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<sup>90</sup> Andrieu briefly discusses the contemporary evidence for Greek and Latin repetitions of the same psalm in the Frankish realm. *RA*, 353 n. 1. For Metz BM ms 351, which preserves a *Laudes regiae* in Greek and Latin, see Chapter Four below.

Censuimus namque ut in circulo anni diaconus qui illam passionem maiorem in palmas legit accipiat de cubiculo atque sacello pontificis aut uno mancuso aut solidos II.... Diaconus sicut superius de illa passione domini in palmis aut I mancuso aut solidos II accipiat.... Et diaconus qui in natali domini euangelium legit similiter solidos II accipiat.

[For indeed we determined that in the cycle of the year the deacon who recites the Major Passion on Palm Sunday should receive from the chapel inside the church and also the treasury of the bishop either one *mancusus* or two *solidi*.... Just as before, for the Passion of the Lord on Palm Sunday, the deacon should receive one *mancusus* or two *solidi*.... And the deacon who reads the Gospels for the Nativity similarly should receive two *solidi*.]

Each of these performers receive two *solidi*, double the amount of any other payment.

Judging from Angilram's monetary valuation, these readings rank as the most important performances of the year for the Metz cathedral clergy. Matthew's description of the Passion is the longest, and the payment may reflect the unusual duration.<sup>91</sup> Yet the inclusion of the other readings, at similar liturgical high points, suggests instead a special appreciation of the role of the reader at calendrically specific moments in giving voice to the sacred past. We cannot know if the deacons elaborated on their performances through gestures or vocal embellishments, but we should assume a careful, full-voiced, and compelling orator, given the focus on vocal accomplishment and the reform of the *lectores* in Metz. Angilram also highlights the recitation of the epistles for the same occasions: "Subdiaconus autem qui ipso die epistolam legit solidum I.... In dominica uero sancta que est dies magne resurrectionis domini subdiaconus qui ipso die epistolam legit solidum I accipiat [Moreover, the subdeacon who on that day recites the Epistle, one *solidus*.... On Holy Sunday, which is the great day of the resurrection of the Lord, the subdeacon who reads the Epistle that same day should receive one *solidus*]." These lesser readers earn a reward equal to the top singers. The high valuation of reading throughout the document suggests a culture that valued multiple forms

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<sup>91</sup> The Major Passion, or Passion of Matthew, was prescribed for Palm Sunday reading in texts circulating in the Frankish realm at this time. *Ibid.*, 351 n. 4.

of oral delivery, but placed a premium on spoken performances drawn directly from biblical texts.

In addition to singing and reading, physical performance could also be generously compensated. Such payments could reward a physically demanding task, similar to a long song or textual passage. For example, two subdeacons are each paid a *solidus* for carrying a candelabrum before the bishop during Easter week: “Subdiaconi uero II qui per totam ebodomadam in albis ante pontificem cereostata deferunt sol[idus] II [The two subdeacons who carry the candelabra in front of the bishop through the whole week of Easter, two *solidi*].”<sup>92</sup> This line may refer to a daily procession of the bishop and neophytes to the baptistery during vespers of Easter week.<sup>93</sup> A week’s worth of processions, carrying candelabra heavy with wax candles, surely required strength and endurance. Yet other tasks of manual labor fail to appear in Angilram’s payments. Instead, the two subdeacons may earn their reward for carrying out a ceremonial performance, perhaps silent, but nonetheless requiring a presence and mien appropriate to the circumstances. The importance of this type of symbolic physical performance is also acknowledged in Angilram’s payments to an acolyte for carrying the Gospel book and reliquary for the stational liturgy: “Similiter acolytus qui illum evangelium cum capsula defert denarios III [Similarly, the acolyte who carries the Gospels with the reliquary, three *denarii*].” As mentioned above, the use of the book and reliquary in the stational liturgy replicates Roman practice. Balancing and displaying a large book and ornate reliquary while walking demands a certain dexterity, yet

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<sup>92</sup> At this time, the term *alba* could refer to the white liturgical garment of recently baptized neophytes or to Easter week as a whole. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, 32. Since baptism ceremonies were traditionally celebrated in the evening of Easter Saturday, this may have led to the expanded meaning of the term. Given the date and manuscript context, both meanings seem possible here: the subdeacons may wear white garments or it may further specify the week as Easter.

<sup>93</sup> Non-Messine liturgical books also contain a procession to the baptismal font during the night of Easter Saturday, in which the bishop is preceded by clerics carrying two candles. *RA*, 354 n. 1.

again the emphasis seems to rest on the use of a ceremonial object. Both the entries for the candelabra and the Gospel book center on the special employment of items from the material culture of the liturgy during performance, so we might categorize the physical performances on the list as being object-based.<sup>94</sup> These payments may be intended to add value to what was seen as a significant aspect of performance and to reinforce the proper symbolic use of certain material objects through correct performance practice.

A final example from Angilram's program of payments emphasizes how the interrelation of status, performance type, and financial valuation could be manipulated for a specific reform goal. As a point of comparison with the many other performers, the clerk who reads the names of the baptized is highly rewarded: "Notarius uero qui nomina baptizatorum recitat solidum I [The clerk who reads out the names of the baptized, one *solidus*]." The reading of the list plays no great symbolic role in the Easter liturgy. Of limited expressive possibility, this performance seems to leave less room for the virtuostic practice embraced above and demands no particular musical skill or lengthy effort. The participant holds no great place in the canonical hierarchy and yet is rewarded generously. The payment amount fails to mirror the low status of the reader or the ease and apparent unimportance of the task, yet it carries a heavy performance weight by the measure of its reward. The *solidus* may instead represent a deliberate valuation of an element of performance that included the names of laypersons, in an attempt to reinforce the pastoral duties of the clergy. Through financial controls on performance, Angilram could bring out the duty of the cathedral canons to the city of Metz as a whole. Pastoral care, including ministration of the sacrament of baptism, was an important aspect of Chrodegang's *Rule*.<sup>95</sup> The *Admonitio generalis* also

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<sup>94</sup> As opposed to performances based on gesture or mimicry alone, say.

<sup>95</sup> Bertram, ed., *The Chrodegang Rules*, 16.

regulated the function of priests in lay communities with regard to baptism.<sup>96</sup> Like those to the *lectores*, the generous gift to the *notarius* could represent the implementation of reform through performance practice shaped by financial consideration.

The larger religious and liturgical context of these performances reveals the flexible and practical effects of the payment system and its categories of valuation. Overlapping hierarchies are created and expressed through a financial program that employs practice to promote various reforms. Rank within the clergy, the type of role, and monetary reward are closely connected, through performance, to Messine liturgical ideas and greater Frankish religious *renovatio*. Angilram's payments to the Metz cathedral clergy demonstrate the interaction of ecclesiastical status and religious ideals with bodily practice to produce cultural change on the local level. They also show how liturgical traditions in Metz resonated with the interests of an archbishop who worked with other powerful ecclesiastics to implement reform in the Frankish realms at large.

Taken overall, Angilram's payment system describes liturgical performances that are linked to *renovatio* in ways that are quite different from what has been assumed and reveals performance circumstances that link material gain with genuine religious interest. The consideration of this new evidence in the greater context of performance necessitates a re-envisioning of the nature of episcopal implementation and clerical participation in the liturgy of Metz and thus in the greater Frankish world and reforms of the late-eighth century. Studies of high- and late-medieval cathedral communities have revealed the regular practice of paying canons to attend services from the fourteenth century onward.<sup>97</sup> Yet the stipends

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<sup>96</sup> Brown, "Introduction," 18; Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*, 260.

<sup>97</sup> Like benefices for the upper clergy, these provided a regular source of income for the *pauperes clerici*, the unbenedicted and daily performers in the choir of the cathedral chapters. For the example of the canons of Nôtre-Dame of Paris, see Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, 19-24.

of early medieval liturgical performers are simply categorized as living expenses, with no exploration of their larger significance. The near-absence of the use of the term “performer” to refer to practitioners of the liturgy in older and current historiography conveys a general discomfort with the overlap between liturgy and its economics.<sup>98</sup> A lack of contradictory material has led to an unspoken argument, made from silence, that unconsciously incorporates a modern perception of the separation of “true” faith from any sort of financial interest during a more “primitive” era of Christian belief. Other areas of medieval studies, such as hagiography or the study of charters and donations, have accepted the overlap of economic consideration with genuine faith among laypersons. The absence of financial information from liturgical books and the lack of financial records with regard to the liturgy of this period has led to tacit acceptance of the “devoted performance” model for religious communities in the early Middle Ages, however.

A consideration of Angilram’s list complicates matters considerably, forcing new elements of professionalism, competition, and social hierarchy into the understanding of Messine performance. This evidence does not negate an awareness of performance as a truly devotional practice, but rather situates it as a mode of sincere reform, expanding the range of possibilities that motivate regulation and performance by an individual or community. Angilram’s program offers rare evidence for individual performance payments, rather than the better-documented practice of stipends for all participants. At a basic level, these expenditures create a comparative valuation of the elements of liturgical performance since they divide the liturgy into a series of smaller performances, each defined in absolute,

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<sup>98</sup> As well as a discomfort with the modern separation between actor and role. The main area of exception is among musicologists, who seem to be comfortable terming singers as “performers.” Theater historians sometimes use the language of performance to describe liturgical plays, as part of an attempt to define “actors” in the anachronistic search for the origins of drama. See the Introduction, above.

monetary terms. Angilram's choice of certain roles for reward suggests a piecework situation, in which particular performers were called upon to emphasize special elements of the liturgy. The document introduces the possibility of rivalry between performers for the best-paid or most prestigious roles. Although competition and designated parts must have existed prior to Angilram's reform, his system of payments makes the functioning of the performing clergy uniquely visible at the same time that it reaffirms or inscribes a clearly defined hierarchy. Since the document does not record the names of individuals, and Angilram states his intention to transform the pious exercises of the clergy, this record can be understood as a model for future practice with interchangeable participants. Perhaps the payments functioned both as threat and reward, inspiring better or more appropriate activity at the same time as it threatened to exclude those canons who did not perform well or conform to episcopal reforming ideals. In the end, this document provides a valuable window into the ways that the larger Carolingian *renovatio* and episcopal control might be implemented within a particular community, thus necessitating a certain responsiveness to local conditions.

Members of the Metz cathedral clergy experienced overlapping motivations—whether complementary or competing—as a cyclical part of their religious life and performances. Metz-centered practices that made reference to Rome, introduced by Chrodegang, were adapted by Angilram through a regularized system of payments in response to the specific circumstances of the clerical community of Metz as a part of ongoing Carolingian reform. Angilram's assignment of clearly defined amounts to specific chants and roles in the major holidays indicates that some elements of performance were seen as particularly important to the success of liturgical reform in Metz. Among other things, these included newly corrected Roman psalm-singing, the affirmation of ecclesiastical

hierarchy dominated by the bishop, attention to liturgical readings from the Bible, and proper attitudes toward pastoral care. The conjunction of payment with performance in the episcopal complex resulted in the mapping of multiple hierarchies onto the landscape and performers of Metz through sacred practice. The cathedral chapter and certain of its spaces and members were deliberately elevated by this program. Angilram's economic valuation of the liturgy shows how financial considerations could operate in the context of liturgical performance and thus negotiate the cultural geography of Metz on the local and broader level.

### Chapter Conclusions

The category of performance is essential to an understanding of the history of Metz in the early Carolingian period. Chapter Two has revealed that specific ceremonies were employed in the second half of the eighth century to reshape and re-imagine Metz, obscuring its Merovingian past. This transformation of the physical and mental geography of the city was brought about through ceremonial practices that adapted Romano-Christian performance models to fit the local context. The first part of Chapter Two has shown how Chrodegang's introduction of a stationary liturgy strengthened associations between Metz and Rome and elevated the geographic and religious importance of the bishop and cathedral canons at the expense of other religious institutions both within and outside the walls of Metz. The second section of the chapter has revealed that Angilram's program of financial rewards also promoted the status of the cathedral complex through liturgical performance, and has demonstrated that the financial system additionally responded to the greater Carolingian reforms of the late-eighth century. An examination of this document has exposed how the liturgy both shaped and was a product of social and performance roles

within the community. Performance clarified and reified the social and spatial relationships among the canons of the Metz cathedral and their bishop, yet also established the comparative status of other aspects of liturgical performance, including space, text, music, and objects. The archbishops of Metz employed multiple techniques, such as the renovation of architectural spaces, the adaptation of Roman-based processions and music, and a financial system of performance regulation, to introduce and reaffirm reform and episcopal control. The result was a regionally specific liturgy that expressed the objectives of Chrodegang and Angilram and envisioned Metz as the religious and political center of the Frankish realm. Performance reordered the city according to the beliefs and needs of its bishops. Through *renovatio* and related ceremonies, Metz could be newly unified in civic and ecclesiastical accord under the guidance of an archbishop and his cathedral canons.

### Chapter Three: Episcopal Sanctity and Performance Practice in Late-Carolingian Metz

Chapter Three moves to the mid-ninth century, another era in which a high-status archbishop used Carolingian royal connections and performance to shape the communal fabric of Metz and its satellites. Like Chrodegang and Angilram, the archbishop Drogo of Metz introduced performance models to the city that supported episcopal authority and established hierarchical relations among communities attached to the Messine bishopric. These and other analogous, tangible effects of performance practice in this period can be most clearly seen in Drogo's sponsorship of the production of a luxurious performance manuscript for his personal use, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 9428, known as the Drogo Sacramentary. This chapter studies the manuscript's prescriptive text for a church dedication ceremony alongside its elaborate *mise-en-page* and carved ivory cover, all within the circumstances of its creation and use in Metz. As was the case in Chapters One and Two, the performances in the Sacramentary and its related practices were recorded and preserved in different formats, thus isolating them from other sources and disciplines in the modern era. This chapter uses the category of performance to reunite multiple varieties of evidence, documenting a single tradition from the local liturgical culture that responded to contemporary trends and historical events. Through performance, this church dedication ceremony allowed the bishop of Metz to model and create sacred relationships that linked the saints first to himself and then to the community. Its use outside of Metz could result in

the export of episcopal-centered performance practices that formed secondary, external foci for a cult of Messine saintly bishops. Drogo's activities and his familial ties, viewed against the backdrop of contemporary political instability, suggest circumstances that could have motivated or necessitated such practices. The layering of multiple kinds of evidence over time, within the context of the social, cultural, religious, and political history of the city, produces an integrated picture of the complex performance culture of Metz during the late-Carolingian era.

Archbishop Drogo of Metz and the History of his *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae*

An examination of Messine performance culture in the half-century after Angilram's episcopacy reveals yet another neglected source for local performance practice. Following in the footsteps of previous office-holders, Archbishop Drogo of Metz drew on local traditions of liturgical practice to create a performance model for the dedication of churches, an *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae* preserved in the manuscript known as the Drogo Sacramentary. Designed for the use of the bishop of Metz, this ceremony engaged both local and broader regional interests. Disciplinary boundaries have restricted previous understandings of this *Ordo*, which has never been analyzed either in the context of the Sacramentary or of its production in Metz. Within the discipline of theater studies, scholars have categorized a portion of it as a liturgical drama that represents the Harrowing of Hell. The interpretation of this excerpt in isolation has fostered an incorrect idea about the goals and symbolism of the church dedication as a whole. When situated within manuscript and historical circumstance, however, the *Ordo* visibly participates in the cultural context of the ninth century, in which bishops leveraged saintly presence on behalf of episcopal authority. For Drogo, a close relative of the Carolingian rulers, urban performance culture expressed a personal influence

that encompassed the religious, political, and artistic realms. Like Chrodegang and Angilram, Drogo showed special attention to the city that formed his ecclesiastical base. This conjunction of archbishop, manuscript, and city is especially valuable because it demonstrates how patronage in the arts and performance could mesh with historical circumstance to create contextually specific symbolism and effective action within a culture of performance.

Prior analysis of the *Ordo* has been largely restricted to two disciplinary fields and a dialogue between bishop and hidden cleric provides the initial point of interest for both.<sup>1</sup> Liturgists have situated the Metz *Ordo* within the early textual evolution of the liturgy and its manuscript families.<sup>2</sup> Their attention to the ceremony stems from the *Ordo*'s relationship to traditions of church dedication within the Roman liturgy. Specifically, the Drogo Sacramentary preserves the earliest extant example of a dedication ceremony that contains a dialogue based on Psalm 23.<sup>3</sup> This feature later became widespread, entering the Roman Pontifical in the twelfth century. Yet no scholar has attempted to understand the initial version within the circumstances of its production at Metz. Liturgical scholarship provides

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<sup>1</sup> The *Ordo* is mentioned in passing by the art historians who wrote the general guides to the Sacramentary. Its text and folios are not of the highest interest to this group, since they lack illuminations. Analysis of the ivory ends with the identification of the image with its text and a listing of shared material elements. For examples of this type of approach, see below. The *Ordo* has also gained brief mention by musicologists who study later chant traditions, but the absence of musical notation in the manuscript has relegated the Drogo Sacramentary to the margins of chant analysis. See Thomas Davies Kozachek, "The Repertory of Chant for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages: Music, Liturgy, & Ritual" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1995); Kenneth Levy, "Tollite portas: An Ante-Evangelium Reclaimed?," in *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and its Music*, ed. Sean Gallagher, et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 231-41.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. IV, *Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense* (Louvain, 1956-65), 316ff; André Rose, "'Attollite portas, principes, vestras': aperçus sur la lecture chrétienne du Ps. 24 (23)," in *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di Sua Eminenza il Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro, arcivescovo di Bologna* (Rome: Desclée, 1966), 453-78.

<sup>3</sup> Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani*, 318. I use the Vulgate numbering of the Psalms throughout.

comparative textual background, yet is ultimately uninterested in analyzing the ceremony as performance or in studying it within its local, social, and political contexts.

Theater historians have taken an entirely different approach. The dialogue portion of the *Ordo* text has been linked to the origins of liturgical drama within the evolutionary history of the medieval theater. In this model, the dialogue is understood as an early example of “actors” engaging in “mimesis” or “impersonation.” This approach to the *Ordo* was framed by Louis Duchesne and Karl Young in the early part of the twentieth century. This tradition of distinguishing and separating dramatic elements from the “true” liturgy in order to identify liturgical drama has come under attack in the past decade.<sup>4</sup> Yet David Bevington relies on Duchesne and Young when reproducing a small excerpt of the *Ordo*’s dialogue in his widely used textbook on medieval drama.<sup>5</sup> Bevington’s edition has had a devastating effect on interpretation of the *Ordo*. Despite revisions of the evolutionary model, excerpted editions of the *Ordo* in which the lines exist in isolation from the manuscript and the liturgy continue to be used and to influence newer scholarship. Perhaps because this forlorn scrap of text presents so little of substance, no deep analysis of the *Ordo* has taken place in the discipline of theater. The field disdains the larger ceremony due to its

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<sup>4</sup> Scholars such as Michal Kobińska and Nils Holger Petersen stress the interdependency of varying liturgical practices and the importance of religious and social context to medieval conceptions of representation. It is beyond the scope of this study to reexamine problems with the evolutionary model, a task already well-served by the following works, among others: Hughes, “Liturgical Drama”; Kobińska, *This is My Body*; Nils Holger Petersen, “Representation in European Devotional Rituals: The Question of the Origin of Medieval Drama in Medieval Liturgy,” in *The Origins of Theatre in Ancient Greece and Beyond: From Ritual to Drama*, ed. Eric Csapo and Margaret C. Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 329-60; idem et al., eds., *The Appearances of Medieval Rituals: The Play of Construction and Modification*, Disputatio 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004); idem, “Composition and Local Planning of Liturgical Chant in the Middle Ages,” *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 39, no. 2 (1998): 259-66; idem, “Liturgical Drama: New Approaches.”

<sup>5</sup> See David Bevington, *Medieval Drama* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), 4-7, 12-13; Louis Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien: Étude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne*, 5th ed. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1920); Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, I, 103.

liturgical context, concluding merely that it contains an interpolated liturgical drama that mimes the Harrowing of Hell.

If the earlier model is discarded, then the *Ordo* need no longer be interpreted solely as a text. In addition to performance possibilities and their meanings in Metz, the manuscript also creates a lived experience for the reader. Reading functions to activate and create memory, as does performance.<sup>6</sup> The participant in or reader of the *Ordo* shares current experience and memory, relives Christian history, and/or (re)enacts a performative office that changes contemporary material conditions. This new perspective on the liturgy, combined with my definition of performance, allows a richer understanding of the full text of the *Ordo* within its manuscript and local historical context.<sup>7</sup>

#### Drogo as Patron and the Production of the Drogo Sacramentary

The production of the *Ordo* emerged directly from the resources of Drogo, a member of the Carolingian family whose official authority emanated from the bishopric of Metz. An illegitimate son of Charlemagne and the concubine Regina, Drogo was born in 801 or 802 and raised in the court at Aachen. He was educated at one or more monasteries and was seemingly never in the running for the royal inheritance.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, his family connections catapulted him to power in the ecclesiastical sphere at an early age. The office of bishop of Metz sat empty and under Charlemagne's direct control after the death of

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<sup>6</sup> Carruthers, "Rhetorical *Ductus*," 99-117.

<sup>7</sup> My approach to manuscript culture is inspired by the move to new philology, laid out in the introduction to the 1990 *Speculum* issue on the subject: Nichols, "Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture," 1-10.

<sup>8</sup> Sophie Glansdorff, "L'Évêque de Metz et archichapelain Drogon (801/802-855)," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 81, no. 4 (2003): 948-9.

Angilram in 791, remaining so through the first two decades of the ninth century.<sup>9</sup> A candidate named Gundulf filled the position in 818, four years after Charlemagne's death, but the new bishop's own death in 822 left the office vacant once again. These events occurred during the first rebellion against Louis the Pious, when the new emperor was eager to establish loyal men in positions around the kingdom. His half-brother may have seemed a safe option, and Drogo became priest and bishop in 823 with his election to the see of Metz. The choice of the emperor's underage sibling firmly relinked the fortunes of the city with that of the royal dynasty, and also built on earlier Carolingian claims to saintly ancestry in Metz.

Drogo's influence in the larger realm originated in his birth, but was reinforced by his devotion to a series of Carolingian emperors. From this time forward, documentary, literary, and material sources present Drogo as a valued patron and the staunch supporter of Louis the Pious and Lothar I, Louis's designated heir for the imperial title. Drogo steadfastly served as advisor to and ambassador for the Frankish emperors through the turmoil of the following decades, acting as chancellor for Louis and counselor to Lothar.<sup>10</sup> He must have demonstrated constancy and ability, since he gained the title of archchaplain in 834. Although little of his own writing survives, Drogo's political and artistic influence is readily apparent in contemporary histories and in his commissions.<sup>11</sup> The *Annals of St-Bertin* and the *Vita Hludowicii Pii* both bring out his direct support for the emperors and his standing with

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<sup>9</sup> Metz, Bibliothèque-Médiathèque de la Ville and Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Metz, enluminée: Autour de la bible de Charles le Chauve: Trésors manuscrits des églises messines* (Metz: Serpenoise, 1989), 14-15.

<sup>10</sup> His precise role in the events of the mid-ninth century and their significance to performance in Metz are discussed in detail below.

<sup>11</sup> Glansdorff has recently reexamined Drogo's political participation in the larger realm, concluding that he has been unjustly ignored by historians. See Glansdorff, "Drogon," 945-1015.

them.<sup>12</sup> This translated into real cultural and financial capital and by the early 830s, Drogo directed the resources that would make him one of “the greatest patrons of the era.”<sup>13</sup> His largess extended to multiple creative media in addition to performance. In literature, Walafrid Strabo and Engelmod of Soissons dedicated poems to Drogo.<sup>14</sup> Drogo established Metz as a major artistic center for the carving of ivory and manuscript illumination.<sup>15</sup> Numerous manuscripts connected to Drogo have survived, among them some of the most luxurious of the Carolingian era.<sup>16</sup>

One of the greatest treasures of Drogo’s patronage is Paris BNF lat. 9428, known as the Drogo Sacramentary. The Sacramentary is beautifully made, with careful attention to detail on the decorative ivory cover, in the many painted images, and in the page design, with its clear and well-spaced lettering. The manuscript is formed of 130 vellum folios, measuring 264 x 214 mm. The mise-en-page leaves a significant amount of blank parchment around the edges and averages twenty lines to the page, employing quadrata, capitalis rustica, uncial, and Carolingian minuscule scripts.<sup>17</sup> This manuscript, designed for use in liturgical

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<sup>12</sup> Astronomer, *Vita Hludovici Pii*, ed. Ernst Tremp, MGH SSrG, 64 (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1995); *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, 1 (Hanover, 1826; reprint, 1963).

<sup>13</sup> My translation of Eric Palazzo. In Metz, *Metz enluminee*, 23.

<sup>14</sup> Glansdorff, “Drogon,” 984; Walafrid Strabon, *Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Poetae, 2 (Berlin, 1884), 353-5; Engelmod of Soissons, *Engelmodi Carmina. Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Poetae, 3 (Berlin, 1886), 59-61.

<sup>15</sup> The Metz schools of the mid-ninth century are widely acknowledged as highly important centers of production within the realm and as exerting artistic influence even beyond Frankish borders. See Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800-1200*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 32, 35; C.R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West: 800-1200* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 107.

<sup>16</sup> These include Madrid Biblioteca Nacional cod. 3307, Paris BNF lat. 9383, 9388, and 9428, the Drogo Sacramentary.

<sup>17</sup> Robert G. Calkins, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 295.

performance, was produced in Metz for its archbishop sometime between 844 and 855.<sup>18</sup> Its dating and identification with Drogo rest on the style of the ivory carvings on the cover and the historiated initials within, the provenance of the manuscript, and a chronological list of the bishops of Metz recorded on fols. 127-8. The words *Drogo Archiepiscopus VI Id. Decembris*, in gold uncials two lines high, conclude the names written in the original hand of the list.<sup>19</sup> The visual emphasis on Drogo's name, his title, and depictions in the manuscript's illuminated initials of an archbishop wearing the pallium have narrowed the dating to the years of his archiepiscopacy.<sup>20</sup>

The manuscript images emerge from a Messine artistic context. The front and back covers are each made up of nine small ivory plaques, each approximately 50 x 65 mm, that depict scenes from Christ's life, pontifical ceremonies, and the Mass (see Figure 12). Unfortunately, the sequence of the plaques was confused in the eighteenth century during a replacement of the original framework.<sup>21</sup> The carving is done in the style of the mid-ninth

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<sup>18</sup> General and foundational studies of the Drogo Sacramentary include: *Drogo-Sakramentar: Manuscrit latin 9428, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris*, ed. Florentine Mutherich, 2 vols., *Codices selecti phototypice impressi* 49 (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1974); Wilhelm Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen: Die Gruppe des Wiener Krönungs-Evangeliars und die Metzzer Handschriften*, vol. 3.2 (Berlin, 1960); Franz Unterkircher, *Zur Ikonographie und Liturgie des Drogo-Sakramentars (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Lat. 9428)*, *Interpretationes ad codices* 1 (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1977); Victor Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris: Mâcon, Protat frères, 1924); Jean Baptiste Pelt, *Le Sacramentaire de Drogon* (Metz: Imp. du Journal Le Lorrain, 1936); L. Weber, *Einbanddecken, Elfenbeintafeln, Miniaturen, Schriftproben aus Metzzer Liturgischen Handschriften* (Metz, 1912). For a concise, recent survey, see Christian-Jacques Demollière, "Le Sacramentaire de Drogon," in *L'Art du chantre carolingien: Découvrir l'esthétique première du chant grégorien*, ed. Christian-Jacques Demollière (Metz: Serpenoise, 2004), 49-62. Specific studies will be cited below as necessary.

<sup>19</sup> The rest of the original list is written in black miniscule, a single line high. The names of the later bishops Adventius, Vuala (Walon), and Ruotpertus were added by a second hand, after 883. The text of the manuscript is reproduced in Pelt, *La Liturgie I*, 51-112; Unterkircher, *Zur Ikonographie und Liturgie*. Citations of Paris BNF lat. 9428 come from the Pelt edition, checked against Unterkircher and the manuscript reproduction in Mutherich's *Drogo-Sakramentar*.

<sup>20</sup> No evidence remains outside the Sacramentary for his having received the pallium, however. See Glansdorff, "Drogon," 958.

<sup>21</sup> Metz, *Metz enluminée*, 24.

century Metz school, which features flat and broad figures in low relief.<sup>22</sup> The plaques are pierced to allow a background to show through and may have once been mounted on gold.



**Figure 12: Drogo Sacramentary, Front and Back Covers**

(Images from Lasko, *Ars Sacra*, 34 and Calkins, *Illuminated Books*, 176.)

The interior of the manuscript also arises from a local stylistic context, as it contains thirty-eight historiated initials that have been identified with the Metz school of painting. Its design elements appear in the manuscript in the form of decorative vine scrolls and the incorporation of visual ideas drawn from late antique sources.<sup>23</sup> In addition to the historiated initials, painting is used in the architecture that frames the text and in decorated capitals. The color palette consists of black and gold lettering, with black, brown, gold, and light blue paint predominating in the historiated initials. The illumination of the later folios

<sup>22</sup> Lasko, *Ars Sacra*, 35-6.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 36-7.

remains incomplete.<sup>24</sup> Stylistically, the scenes depicted by the ivories and illuminations share flattened, wide figures, oft-identical scenic perspective, and decorative details.<sup>25</sup> Overarching similarities suggest a program of images designed specifically for this manuscript in which ivories and illuminations were carefully coordinated.<sup>26</sup>

The text and iconography of the Sacramentary display similar cohesion through content. Its texts contain instructions and prayers for a variety of liturgical ceremonies that should be personally performed by a bishop in his diocese. It opens with *ordines* for specific occasions, mostly ordinations, which include those of acolytes, subdeacons, deacons, presbyters, and bishops.<sup>27</sup> The texts continue with the canon of the Mass, followed by the Temporale and Sanctorale. The latter two intermingle with other event-specific performances, most often situated near the calendrically appropriate ceremony from the Temporale or Sanctorale. The *Oratio ad infantes consignandos* [*Ordo* for confirming children]

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<sup>24</sup> Scholars have speculated that Drogo's death in 855 brought work on the manuscript to a halt.

<sup>25</sup> The rectangular plaques and varying letter shapes of the initials lead to differing external frames.

<sup>26</sup> Although no expert would disagree with this argument, few have bothered to make it. Early scholarship on the Drogo Sacramentary viewed the elements of the manuscript in relative isolation. The ivory plaques were studied for evidence about contemporary church decoration and liturgical sequence during the Carolingian era, for example. Recent decades have seen more attention to the contextual implications of the ivories and text together, yet specific examinations of the interaction of illumination, ivory, and text remain quite rare. For examples, see Weber, *Einbanddecken*; P.Theodor Bogler, "Österliche Szenen auf dem Elfenbeindeckel des Drogo-Sakramentares," in *Paschatis Sollemnia (Festschrift J.A. Jungmann)*, ed. B. Fischer (Basel: Herder, 1959), 108-19; Koehler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*; Sonia Simon, "Studies on the Drogo Sacramentary: Eschatology and the Priest-King" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University, 1975); Roger E. Reynolds, "Image and Text: A Carolingian Illustration of Modifications in the Early Roman Eucharistic Orders," *Viator* 14 (1983): 59-75; Robert G. Calkins, "Liturgical Sequence and Decorative Crescendo in the Drogo Sacramentary," *Gesta* 25, no. 1 (1986): 17-23; Carol Heitz, "The Iconography of Architectural Form," in *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers in History, Architecture and Archaeology in Honor of Dr. H.M. Taylor*, ed. L.A.S. Butler and R.K. Morris, Research Reports 60 (London, 1986), 90-100; idem, "Eucharistie, synaxe et espace liturgique," in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro, 1987), 609-38, 611-17; François Héber-Suffrin and Eric Palazzo, "Introduction aux dispositifs liturgiques du haut moyen âge en Lorraine (VIII-IX<sup>e</sup> s.): Sources archaéologiques et liturgiques," *Cahiers Lorrains* 2 (1988): 199-204.

<sup>27</sup> Pelt, *La Liturgie I*, 54-6.

appears directly before the service on the evening of Easter Saturday, for example, the traditional time for the confirmation or catechism ceremony in Metz and elsewhere.<sup>28</sup> The texts conclude with the *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae*, various short prayers and benedictions, and the aforementioned list of Messine bishops. Some tenth-century prayers have been added to the final folios.<sup>29</sup> The text describes the prescribed actions and words of the celebrant in varying degrees of detail, with instructions for physical movement sometimes provided.

On a basic level, the visual ideas of the Sacramentary correspond to its textual ideas. Paintings and ivories depict scenes that may be identified with portions of the text.



**Figure 13: Drogo Sacramentary, Fol. 56r, Appearance of Angel to Marys at the Tomb**  
(Image from *Drogo-Sakramentar.*)

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 73-4. See above for a discussion of performances on the evening of Easter Saturday.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 104-5.

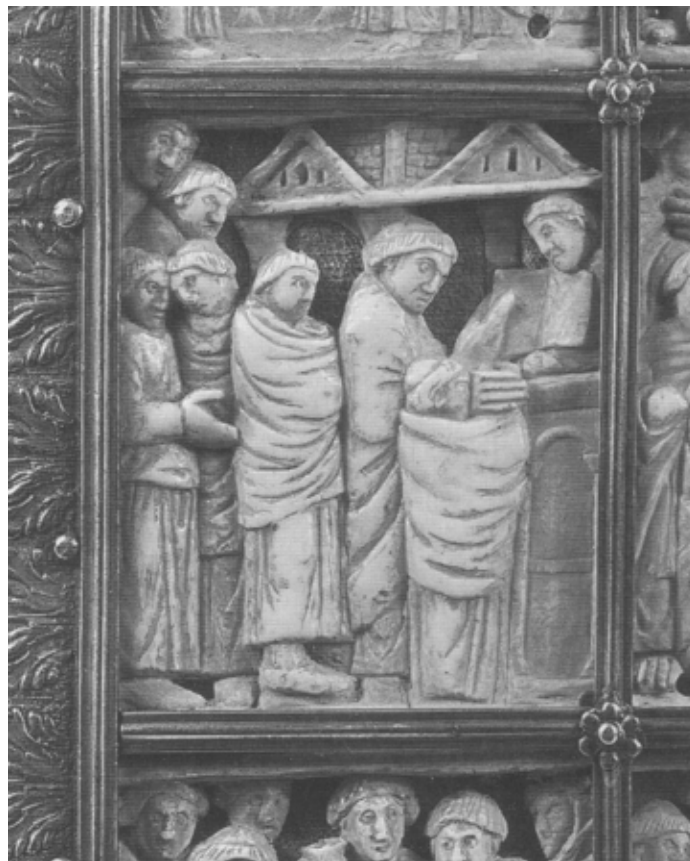
Iconography connects to the Mass, to ceremonies specific to the liturgical year, and to other ceremonies. However, visual representation and text interact in at least two ways. Some depictions present the same narrative imagery as that evoked by the performance itself. They draw on biblical events or moments from Christian history, such as the appearance of the angel to the three Marys at the empty tomb of Christ on fol. 56r (see Figure 13, above). This initial appears alongside one of the masses that form the Easter liturgy. In other words, the iconography visualizes the desired symbolic meaning or historical reference of the text. Other visual representations focus more closely on ceremony itself, depicting participants mid-performance.



**Figure 14: Drogo Sacramentary, Fol. 46v, Archbishop Blessing Oil**

(Image from *Drogo-Sakramentar.*)

These initials and ivories show an image of practice within a liturgical space, rather than the abstract imagery evoked by the words and actions of the performance.<sup>30</sup> An example of this type includes an initial on fol. 46v that shows an archbishop blessing holy oil (see Figure 14, above). The archbishop blesses the oil at an altar located to the right, aided by two clerics who bear a container of oil and a manuscript for the celebrant to read from. A group of clerics observe from outside a frame defined by columns and a curtain. The front cover contains an ivory of strikingly similar layout (see Figure 15):



**Figure 15: Drogo Sacramentary, Front Cover Detail, Archbishop Blessing Oil**

(Image from Lasko, *Ars Sacra*, 34.)

<sup>30</sup> Some imagery seems to bring out historical Christian performance practice. For example, an ivory on the cover portrays the baptism of Christ in the Jordan by John the Baptist. Most of the plaques depict scenes from the life of Christ or pontifical rites. Parallels between iconography and layout in the two kinds of ivories draw a strong connection between the historical church and contemporary ceremony; the same parallels also connect the performance of the bishop to the life of Christ.

This image also depicts an archbishop blessing oil at an altar located to the right of the frame, attended by assistants with a manuscript and holy oil. A group of clerics observes from the left. Both images represent a performance moment from the text, the *Benedictio chrismatis* [Blessing of the chrism] found on fols. 46r-47r. They visualize the actions of the celebrant, not the symbolism of the ceremony.

Text, illumination, and ivory combine in the Drogo Sacramentary to create an integrated ideal of performance practice and performance imagery. They could comment on historical circumstances, the evoked imagery of performance, or an imagined performance. Material context provides complementary and alternate perspectives on whole-manuscript performances that have been ignored. All three media combine to describe a desired performance, rather than one form of evidence “illustrating” another. The Sacramentary records no specific, historical moment of performance, but instead describes and models ceremonies as they *should* be performed by the bishop. The manuscript advances a normative, descriptive perspective on performances that might never be performed as described.<sup>31</sup> When used, its *ordines* would be adapted for specific performance spaces and historical purposes.

#### Modeling a Performance in Multiple Media: The *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae*

The complex functioning of liturgical performance models within the specific circumstances of their creation at and for Metz is best untangled through the study of a single ceremony, the *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae*. This portion of the Sacramentary describes a

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<sup>31</sup> For the distinction between descriptive and prescriptive performance, see Nils Holger Petersen, “The Representational Liturgy of the *Regularis Concordia*,” in *The White Mantle of Churches: Architecture, Liturgy, and Art around the Millennium*, ed. Nigel Hiscock (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 108.

multi-part performance for the dedication of a church, represented both on fols. 100r-105r and in one of the ivory images on the front cover.<sup>32</sup> The text is located among the incomplete folios near the end of the manuscript, so only two small capitals are decorated.<sup>33</sup> No representational painting accompanies the *Ordo* text and the presentation is less impressive than the earlier folios with their richly varied color and figurative art. The manuscript nonetheless presents a sophisticated model for performance through mise-en-page, textual length and descriptive detail, and the depiction in the ivory. Through multiple media, the *Ordo* produces an adaptable “visual rhetoric” of dedication and consecration that could be employed in performance as needed or desired.<sup>34</sup>

Textually, the ceremony is richly interconnected with the Carolingian and Roman liturgies. The instructions, prayers, and songs of the *Ordo* come from a variety of sources and show the influence of Chrodegang’s and Angilram’s reforms. The Sacramentary as a whole is composed of elements from the *Ordines Romani*, the Gregorian Sacramentary, the native Gallican liturgy, other local liturgies, and original material.<sup>35</sup> Of these, the Gregorian Sacramentary is most heavily represented. Despite earlier Messine reforms aimed at liturgical uniformity, the sort of diversity present in the Drogo Sacramentary was commonplace in the

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<sup>32</sup> See Appendix Two for the Latin text and my translation. The Latin text with source references appears in Unterkircher, *Zur Ikonographie und Liturgie*, 58-61; Pelt, *La Liturgie I*, 92-4. Both editions abbreviate the text of certain prayers that are given in full by the manuscript and impose a modern layout that corresponds in no way to its mise-en-page. Pelt also rearranges the *ordines* into a more “logical” sequence.

<sup>33</sup> Fols. 100v, 101v, 102v reveal signs of larger, unexecuted capitals being replaced with simple gold uncial rubrics. The line indentations of fols. 100r, 102r, and 104r create space for large decorated capitals which have also been transmuted into smaller gold uncials.

<sup>34</sup> Cynthia Hahn coins this phrase to describe the deliberate efforts of monastic communities to control pilgrims’ sight and experience of the holy at saints’ shrines. Her model of calculated experience applies equally to the participants’ experience of the *Ordo*. Cynthia Hahn, “Seeing and Believing: The Construction of Sanctity in Early-Medieval Saints’ Shrines,” *Speculum* 72 (1997): 1079.

<sup>35</sup> For full textual citations and references, see Unterkircher, *Zur Ikonographie und Liturgie*. A detailed examination of the evolving *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae* rite from the eighth to fourteenth centuries can be found in Kozachek, “Repertory of Chant.”

Frankish empire.<sup>36</sup> The *Ordo* portion of the manuscript stands apart from other contemporary traditions, however. It contains a mix of Romano-Frankish texts and otherwise original or unduplicated compositions.<sup>37</sup> Certain performance elements in the *Ordo* resemble parts of the church dedication rites of *Ordines Romani* XLI and XLII, but the text does not duplicate them.<sup>38</sup> The originality of the Metz *Ordo* does not indicate an attempt to set Metz apart from the larger liturgical community. Rather, it may represent a continuation of earlier Messine performance practices in which “authorized” Roman models were adapted for local and historically specific purposes.

The *Ordo* narrates a liturgical practice that incorporates multiple modes and spaces of performance, envisioning a full day of activities as necessary to consecrate a church. The text begins by describing ceremonies that should be performed in honor of the saints whose relics will be moved, which take place in the church in which the relics have been stored. The bishop must consecrate the holy water and sing specific prayers about cleansing and the

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<sup>36</sup> For an introduction to this topic, see McKitterick, “Unity and Diversity.”

<sup>37</sup> Non-original material includes the antiphons, a prayer from the *Ordines Romani*, and six Gregorian prayers. See Unterkircher, *Zur Ikonographie und Liturgie*; Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. I: *Les Manuscrits*, Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense, études et documents, fasc. 11 (Louvain, 1931); Max Josef Metzger, *Zwei karolingische Pontifikalien vom Oberrhein*, Freiburger Theologische Studien 17 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1914); Jean Deshusses, ed., *Le Sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, 3 vols., Spicilegium Friburgense 16, 24, 28 (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1971-9). It should be noted that the earliest manuscripts in Metzger date to the tenth century, long after the Metz *Ordo*.

<sup>38</sup> For the texts of *Ordines Romani* XLI and XLII, see Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani*, 339-49, 397-402. Kozachek examines the place of the Drogo Sacramentary in the textual tradition in his introductory material, concluding that it combines elements of *Ordines Romani* XLI and XLII and transforms the *Tollite portas* antiphon of XLI into a “spoken drama.” He notes that its complex alternation of dialogue and church circlings may indicate a late stage of development. The simpler form of the dialogue that appears in some later documents could stem from an earlier source, Kozachek suggests. (Kozachek, “Repertory of Chant,” 41-9.) Yet why must elements of the liturgy “evolve” from simple to complex? The practice of rearranging “liturgical drama” into order of development based on complexity with total disregard for dating has been discarded by liturgists studying the *Quem quaeritis* dialogue. Nor is this kind of speculation useful here. Since no early or contemporary evidence replicates its form, we must interpret the *Ordo* from Metz as it is: the first example of the church dedication dialogue.

saints, alone and with the clergy. Then priests raise up the relics and a procession of the clergy moves toward the new church while singing an antiphon of rejoicing. The bishop sprinkles and purifies the doors opening into the northern section of the church with the consecrated water and everyone sings an antiphon of sprinkling as well as Psalm 50.

Meanwhile, a cleric should enter the new church by the cloister doors. The bishop circles the building, still singing, and knocks on the northern doors. He stops singing the psalm and calls for the gates to be opened so that the King of Glory may enter. This line begins the dialogue based on Psalm 23, which continues when the hidden cleric requests clarification about this king from behind the closed doors. The bishop does not answer, but circles the church again. The same procession with psalm and dialogue at the doors is twice repeated, but changes slightly in the third and final iteration. When questioned by the cleric, the bishop this time responds that God himself is the King of Glory. The doors are immediately opened and a new antiphon and psalm sung. The lone cleric flees through the cloister door and rejoins his fellows in the procession. The bishop enters the church and purifies it from within by processing a triple circuit of the inside walls while sprinkling holy water and singing antiphons. At the end of his third iteration, the clergy process into the church, having presumably placed the relics behind a tapestry that conceals and sets apart the space around the altar. Then the bishop processes into the space delineated by the tapestry with some select deacons and displays a portion of the holy water. The relics must then be revealed in the hidden space beneath the altar. The altar itself is blessed and sprinkled with the water and the space for the relics is sprinkled with water and anointed with oil. The relics are placed back inside the altar with bits of incense and the Host to the accompaniment of an antiphon. The altar is sealed with a stone, anointed with oil by means of gestures in the shape of a cross, then blessed and consecrated. The bishop blesses the

cloths, garments, and vessels of the altar. The text provides special prayers to be said at the Mass, over the unconsecrated host, at the Preface of the Mass, at Compline, and at the blessing of the pyx, the Eucharist, the cross, the paten, and the chalice. This concludes the *Ordo* text, and a mass for the anniversary of the dedication of a church appears directly afterwards in the manuscript.

Although the long passages of descriptive text provide a fairly full picture of the *Ordo*, mise-en-page and punctuation also shape the ideal performance and contribute to its expression of meaning. Despite the absence of figural representation accompanying the text, visual means such as gold lettering distinguish and highlight certain parts of the performance. The folios contain full lines of gold uncial lettering and spaces for decorated capitals that were instead filled with simple gold capitals or gold uncials. For example, the *Ordo* is set apart by its title, which fills a single line with gold uncials (see Figure 16, below). This is the only element that distinguishes the *Ordo* from the preceding *Natale sancti andreae*. The visual signal of gold uncials is repeated many times to label portions of the performance: “consecratio altaris [consecration of the altar]” (fol. 103r); “ad missam [at Mass]” (fol. 103v); “super oblata [over the unconsecrated host]” (fol. 103v); “praefatio [preface of the Mass]” (fol. 104r); “ad complendum [at Compline]” (fol. 104r); “ad capsam benedicendam [at blessing the pyx]” (fol. 104r); “benedictio corporalis [the blessing of the Eucharist]” (fol. 104v); “ad crucem benedicendam [at blessing the cross]” (fol. 104v); “ad consecrandam patenam [at consecrating the paten]” (fol. 104v); and “ad calicem benedicendum [at blessing the chalice]” (fol. 105r).

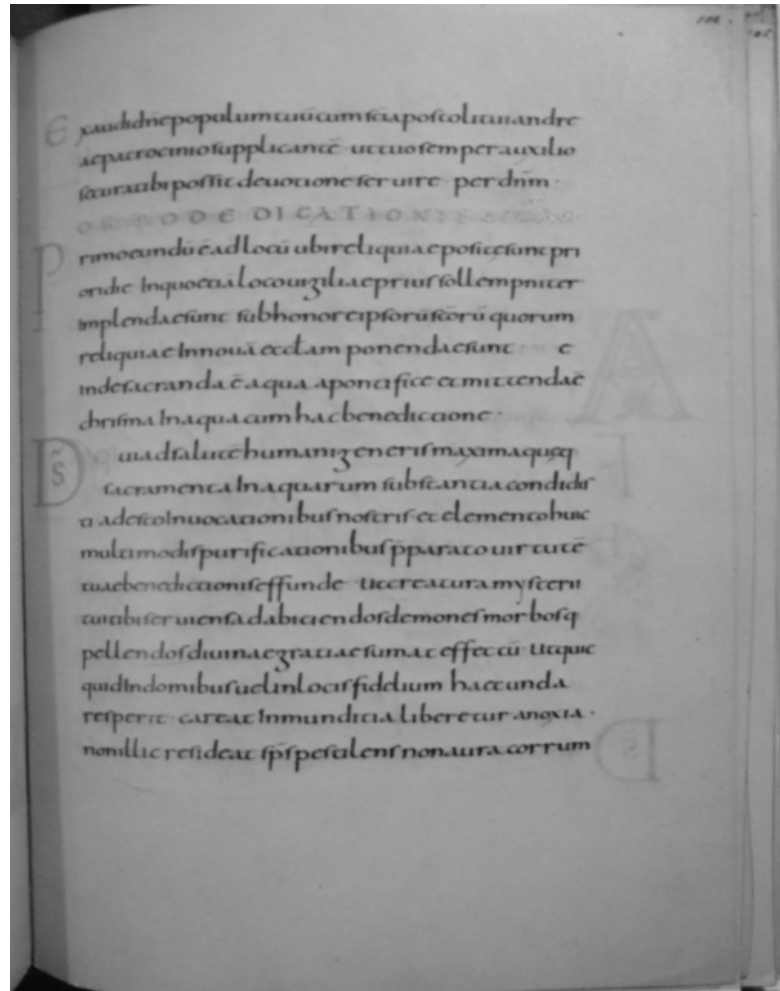


Figure 16: Drogo Sacramentary, Fol. 100r, *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae*

(Image from *Drogo-Sakramentar.*)

The headings draw the eye and attention to prayers that the bishop must incorporate into the ceremony and liturgy that continue throughout the day, such as at Mass or Compline. These examples attach to the more heavily Gregorian part of the *Ordo* and more common or regular performance elements. The above titles draw a full day of performances together into a visualized whole, incorporating other ceremonies into the consecration without giving the full texts.

The gold uncial titles literally highlight the importance of the *Ordo*'s concluding prayers for the Mass and blessing of liturgical objects. Yet this section of the ceremony

contains fewer descriptive instructions, perhaps because it refers to well-known aspects of the liturgical day or ceremonies covered elsewhere in the manuscript.<sup>39</sup> These primarily Gregorian prayers were to be recited in the middle of more familiar performances and the bishop required fewer cues in order to progress through the ceremony. Shared knowledge and practice rendered additional performance information unnecessary. It seems that the designers of the *Ordo* were unworried about the Mass and blessing of liturgical items being misunderstood during the consecration ceremony. Whatever concerns contemporaries had about the manner of performing the Mass, they aren't apparent in the visual presentation of the latter parts of the *Ordo*.

The early portion of the consecration ceremony drew upon differing performance traditions and was performed infrequently, however. This part of the *Ordo* was rare enough to need clarification for interpretive purposes. Some performance elements could remain undescribed without fear of causing confusion, while others could not. Thus full-line gold uncial lettering also functioned in other ways, providing the bishop with clarifying performance information. This includes instructions on the sequence of performance, who should participate, and special gestures. Gold-uncial directions include, for example: “post quam sequitur oratio [followed by the prayer]” (fol. 100v); “alia [another prayer]” (fol. 100v); “post quas dicit pontifex orationem [after that the bishop says the prayer]” (fol. 100v); “et dicit orationem [and he says the prayer]” (fol. 101v); “deinde facit signum crucis de oleo sancto super patenam et benedicit his verbis [then he makes the sign of the cross with holy oil on the paten and blesses with these words]” (fols. 104v-105r). This usage appears mainly in the early folios of the *Ordo*, amidst the concentration of Carolingian and original texts.

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<sup>39</sup> Indeed, the Mass receives the most detailed and beautiful treatment of any performance in the whole manuscript.

Why the visual emphasis, since the order of performance could be determined from the sequence of prayers in the manuscript? Putting certain directions in this format distinguishes them as especially important narrative cues. The title-instructions offer guidance as to the temporal, physical, and personal interactions that should form the ideal practice. In both types of titles, visual presentation mediates and complements the verbal aspect. The *Ordo* uses mise-en-page as a guide for the primary performer, leading the participant through the key parts of the consecration as it unfolds through the day and suggesting how he should perform.

Visual choices also create hierarchy within the *Ordo*, emphasizing certain actions and vocalizations over others. Black miniscule lettering contrasts with the gold uncial lines, indicating that special moments in the performed ceremony should have a higher valuation. Most of the performance instructions are written in plain black minuscule, set apart from the wording of the prayers and chants by spacing breaks, single-letter gold rubrics, and use of the punctus. Transitions between spoken or sung portions of the *Ordo*, physical action, and description are all indicated this way. For example, folio 100v gives a timing instruction in a line of gold uncials: “post quam sequitur oratio [followed by the prayer]” (see Figure 17, below). This suggests a new subsection within the *Ordo* that centers on the coming prayer. This is confirmed by the presentation of the prayer itself, *Aufer a nobis* [Remove our sins from us], which begins a new line with a decorated capital A four lines in height. The prayer is further subdivided by dots that indicate pauses for breath and the start and end of the *Per dominum nostrum* prayer.

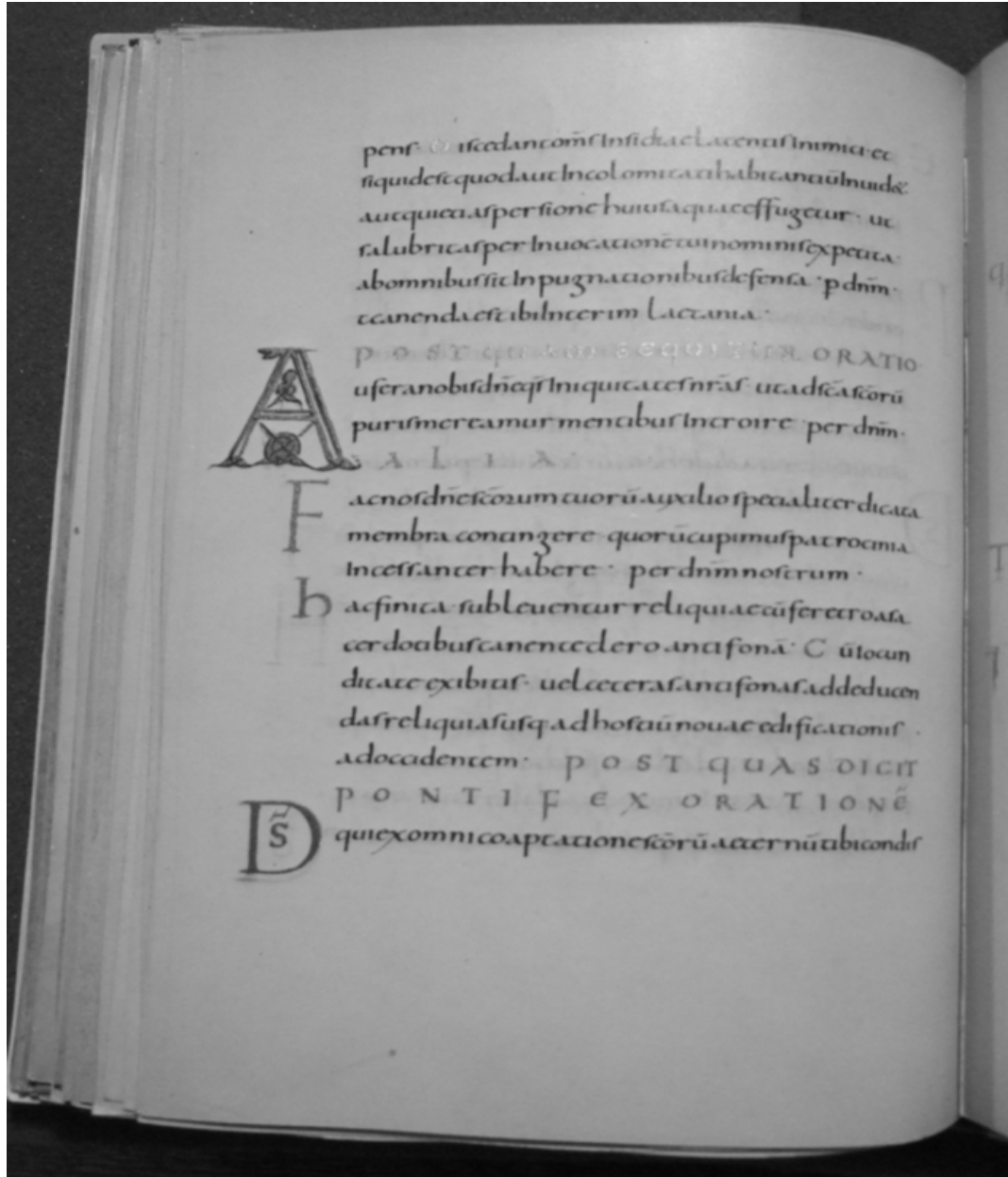


Figure 17: Drogo Sacramentary, Fol. 100v

(Image from *Drogo-Sakramentar.*)

Another line of gold uncial follows, indicating a new prayer: *alia* [another prayer]. Lettering choice here emphasizes the start of an additional verbal appeal. The *Fac nos, domine* [O Lord, cause us] chant begins on a new line with the initial F represented through an undecorated gold capital of three lines' height. Although it rates a capital, the smaller size of the F

indicates that *Aufer a nobis* rates higher visual emphasis. Timing instructions follow on a new line, signaled this time by a gold h in uncial script of slightly under two lines: “hac finita [after this has been finished].” This sentence points the reader to an antiphon that appears in the body of the passage, set apart only by a punctus and a gold uncial C: “*Cum iocunditate exhibitis* [You will go forth with rejoicing].” The manuscript indicates the end of this antiphon with a small spacing break and a punctus, then continues with further instructions: “vel ceteras antifonas [perhaps other antiphons].” These final lines are visually connected through their simple presentation. The gold uncial lines “Post quas dicit pontifex orationem [After that the bishop says the prayer]” then create a new subsection of the consecration. Information is delivered in a variety of ways on this single folio as text and mise-en-page bring out certain performance elements at the expense of others. Distinctions in the performance function of the text are made clear to the reader in a manner that expresses valuative meaning.<sup>40</sup> These methods map easily onto greater medieval visual hierarchies that privilege gold over black ink, decorated over unadorned letters, and capitals over uncial script. Although *Aufer a nobis* and *Cum iocunditate exhibitis* receive similar textual cues, the differing visual representations make it hard to believe that the two are of the same perceived importance. One begins with a decorated capital, the other begins mid-line with a small gold uncial. The mise-en-page brings the bishop’s plea for purity and cleansing on behalf of the community in *Aufer a nobis* to the forefront. The bishop calls on the saints as protectors in *Fac nos, Domine*, but the role of the priests who carry the relics and the clergy who sing *Cum iocunditate* in the subsequent procession is visually diminished. In this portion

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<sup>40</sup> One might contrast the *Ordo* with modern editions in which verbal additions provide the valuative emphasis. An edition of *Hamlet* on the *Ordo*’s model would put the hero’s name in gold capitals and his lines in 16-point Times New Roman, while relegating Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to the middle of run-on paragraphs of 10-point Courier.

of the *Ordo*, visual means distinguish and elevate the cleansing power of the bishop and the patronage of the saints. Here and elsewhere, the *Ordo*'s mise-en-page must shape any understanding of its functions. The expression of meaning in the *Ordo* through visual and textual content conveys the proper manner and emphasis of performance.<sup>41</sup>

Mise-en-page, punctuation, and verbal directions function together to specify a full picture of the *Ordo* functioning in real time and space. Directions for timing create a sense of the *Ordo* as unfolding along a temporal path and the frequency of words such as *deinde* [afterwards] and *tunc* [next] suggest forward movement. Verbal cues address the performer's consistency of behavior or gesture by urging similar performance practices for certain repeated prayers or actions: *sicut* [just as], *eodem modo* [in the same manner]. When the *Ordo* instructs the bishop to say a prayer inside the doors of the church just like he did when outside, a new prayer is specified. Since the spoken content of the two moments differs, the desired similarity must refer to actions or manner of praying. The *Ordo* does not initially prescribe the bishop's manner, yet it nonetheless demands that he duplicate it later in the performance. This creates a need for performance awareness in the reader and/or performer that must go beyond the written text. In performance itself, the bishop's repeated manner of delivering the different prayers establishes a sense of symmetry between his circled iterations inside and outside the church. The *Ordo* moves forward, temporally, but circles back for self-reference at key moments. Much as the manuscript's images and text work toward the same goal, the *Ordo*'s attention to timing and movement provides a physical counterpoint to the content of the chants and prayers. This creates a complex, deliberate interaction among different sub-sections of the whole event.

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<sup>41</sup> Contemporary thinkers such as Amalarius of Metz show great interest in the symbolism of the Mass and the manner of its performance. See Dox, *Idea of the Theatre*. Writers of the ninth century address the proper manner of behavior in lay contexts. See Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*, 6.

Symbolic Meanings: Understanding the Broader Context of the *Ordo* Dialogue

The *Ordo*'s directions for the proper manner of performing are often self-referential, drawing on both physical and verbal content to produce greater meaning. In other words, descriptive detail specifies an interpretive strategy and the actions that accompany prayers supply vital clues that clarify how the performance as a whole should be understood. The dialogue at the church doors presents one such situation. Read in isolation, the cleric's actions have been interpreted as miming the Harrowing of Hell. The identification of this passage as liturgical drama rests on several points: the dialogue format, the attention to the cleric's manner of performing, and its supposed distinction from the "purely" liturgical nature of the rest of the *Ordo*. In the context of the manuscript's mise-en-page and textual sources, each of these conclusions becomes problematic. When taken alone, the lines of the dialogue could represent any number of things. Verbal and physical performance context, however, brings the scene at the doors into focus. The hidden cleric's manner of performing provides the viewer with clues as to the proper interpretation of the liturgical moment within the larger dedication ceremony. Dialogue and action work together to advance a symbolic meaning internal to the *Ordo*.

Contemporary exegetical tradition provides multiple interpretive possibilities for this portion of the *Ordo*. The language used by the bishop and cleric in the dialogue is based on the Vulgate, Psalm 23: 7-10. The lines of the psalm are as follows:

Levate portae capita vestra et elevamini ianuae sempiternae et ingrediatur rex gloriae. Quis est iste rex gloriae? Dominus fortis et potens, Dominus fortis in proelio. Levate portae capita vestra et erigite ianuae sempiternae et ingrediatur rex gloriae. Quis est iste rex gloriae? Dominus exercituum ipse est rex gloriae semper.

[Lift up your gates, leaders, and be raised up, Eternal Doors, and the King of Glory shall advance. Who is this King of Glory? The Lord strong and

powerful, the Lord strong in battle. Lift up your gates, leaders, and raise up, Eternal Doors, and the King of Glory shall advance. Who is this King of Glory? The Lord of Armies is this King of Glory forever.]<sup>42</sup>

The exchange in the *Ordo* both preserves and alters elements of its source. Psalm 23 itself contains a dialogue, shown above, which the *Ordo* excerpts for the cleric's question. The transition to performance text preserves, not produces, the structure of question and response. This weakens the claim that the lines represent an attempt to insert "drama" into the liturgy. The closeness of the dialogue to its source reinforces a connection to the original psalm and to the liturgy as a whole, which was permeated with the singing of the Psalms. Strict boundaries between the "true" liturgy and the paraliturgical become untenable in these circumstances. The hidden cleric quotes the repeated question of Psalm 23, "Quis est iste rex gloriae? [Who is this King of Glory?]," but the bishop's lines differ from the parallel portion of the psalm dialogue. Instead, a musical and liturgical source provides a clearer textual match. The *Tollite portas* antiphon, based on Psalm 23, exactly mirrors the bishop's repeated statements to the hidden cleric at the doors: "Tollite portas principes vestras et elevamini portae aeternales et introibit rex gloriae [Raise your gates, princes, and be raised up, eternal gates, and the King of Glory will enter]."<sup>43</sup> The antiphon does not contain the cleric's question, "Quis est iste rex gloriae?" nor the bishop's final response, "Dominus virtutem ipse est rex gloriae [the Lord of Miracles himself is the King of Glory]." The *Ordo* draws from both the psalm and its antiphon in its creation of a new dialogue, suggesting that its designers saw the sub-ceremony at the doors as an integral part of the greater liturgy.

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<sup>42</sup> *BSV*, Psalm 23: 7-10.

<sup>43</sup> For examples of the *Tollite portas* antiphon, see René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1963-79) and *Cantus*, the online database of Latin chant: <http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/>.

The larger context of Psalm 23 and the *Tollite portas* antiphon provided many potential readings for the *Ordo*'s dialogue. Prior to the ninth century, interpretations of Psalm 23: 7-10 follow several traditions. The earliest discusses the passage in the context of Christ's Ascension. The *Ascension of Isaiah*, from the late first or early second century situates the psalm dialogue at the moment during the Ascension when Christ attempted to enter the gates of Heaven and its guardian angels did not recognize him.<sup>44</sup> The eternal gates represent the gates into Heaven and the questioners are angels. The entrance to Heaven also figures heavily in Saint Augustine's reading of Psalm 23 in his *Expositions on the Psalms*. Augustine interprets verses 7-10 as both an internal monologue by a doubting mortal and a warning to lay rulers.<sup>45</sup> He is not interested in the lines as characterized dialogue, per se. Instead, Augustine advises the reader to trust in Christ, not in the mortal princes who hinder the efforts of faithful Christians to enter the gates of Heaven. The fourth-century *Gospel of Nicodemus* identifies the psalm dialogue with the descent of Christ to Hell. Christ descends to the underworld and demands that the Devil open the gates that confine the dead. The Devil questions the power of this king but is defeated, whereupon the doors open to Christ. The Latin tradition of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* presents the triple dialogue that appears in the psalm and the *Ordo*.<sup>46</sup> It identifies the psalm portion with the pre-Easter season of the liturgy and what later becomes known as the Harrowing of Hell. Any of these literary traditions might underpin the dialogue in the *Ordo*.

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<sup>44</sup> For a study of the history of commentary on Psalm 23, see Rose, "Attollite portas," 453-78. My summary of the textual history of the *Ascension of Isaiah* and the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is based on his analysis.

<sup>45</sup> Augustine of Hippo, *Expositions of the Psalms, 1-32*, ed. John Rotelle, trans. Maria Boulding, vol. 3, Works of Saint Augustine 15 (Peabody, MA: New City Press, 2000), Ps. 24.

<sup>46</sup> Rose, "Attollite portas," 466.

The direct influence of these early schools of commentary cannot be connected to the *Ordo's* dialogue, but a manuscript from St-Gall suggests that the descent to Hell was a known and accepted interpretation by contemporaries. St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 27 dates to between 850 and 860 and contains anonymous commentaries on the Psalms.<sup>47</sup> Alongside Metz, this monastery played a vital role in the diffusion of Roman chant in the Frankish lands. It preserves a much wider selection of manuscripts produced as a part of this effort than Metz does, and thus suggests the kinds of sources and practices that may have been available to Messine clerics of the era. The manuscript offers a fascinating explanation of the psalm dialogue in the commentary on pages 107-8 (see Figure 18, below).<sup>48</sup> The St-Gall manuscript identifies the speakers of the dialogue as *daemonum* [demons] and *angelorum bonorum* [good angels]. It elaborates on the dialogue in the margins, adding to the original words of Psalm 23: “Vox daemonum ac si dicerent, ‘Nostrum regem habemus diabolum, iste rex quis est?’ Vox verus angelorum bonorum, ‘Fortis est quia alligavit zabulum potens cum vicit infernum. In proelio potens cum spoliavit tartarum’ [As if the voice of demons were saying, ‘We hold the Devil as our king, who is this king?’ The true voice of good angels, ‘He is powerful who held the Devil fast. With might he conquered Hell. He stripped the infernal regions with might in battle’].” The commentary characterizes the exchange as one between demons, who voice their allegiance to the devil, and good angels, who defend Christ as a powerful king who conquers in battle. It describes the opponent as the *principe diabolo* [devil prince], using the term *principe* to contrast with and suggest Christ’s own status.

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<sup>47</sup> Anton Von Euw, *St. Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (2006-7). Select manuscript descriptions and images are available online at: [www.cesg.unifr.ch](http://www.cesg.unifr.ch). For St-Gall, see Susan Rankin, “Ways of Telling Stories,” in *Essays on Medieval Music: In Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. Graeme M. Boone (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 371-94.

<sup>48</sup> See Appendix Three for the full Latin text and translation.

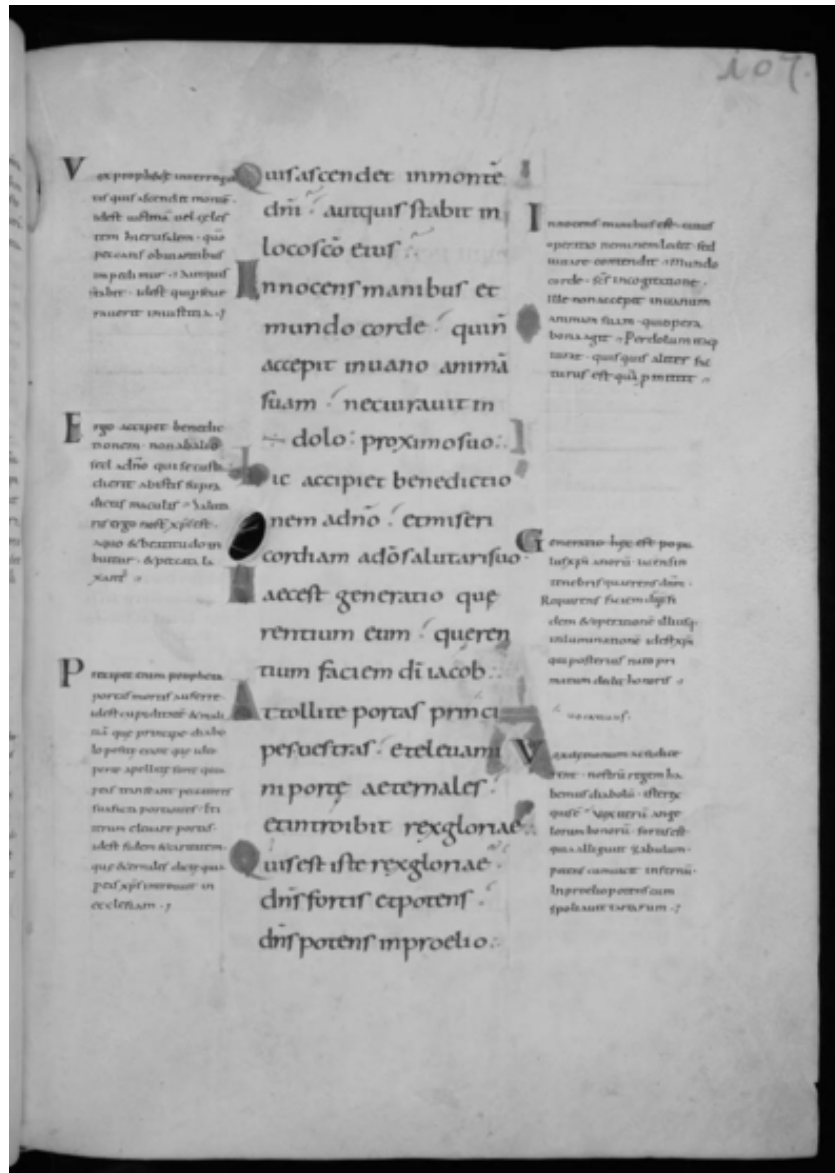


Figure 18: St-Gall Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 27, p. 107

(Image from *Codices Electronici Sangallensis*.)

These additions remove much of the obscurity of the passage, staking out a clear interpretive strategy based on the *Gospel of Nicodemus* tradition that emphasizes Christ as conqueror and lord through elaboration of the psalm's dialogue. This suggests one way that additional dialogue could be used by contemporaries to clarify a specific interpretation of Psalm 23: 7-10, yet the St-Gall example cannot be read as responding to the Metz *Ordo*. Exegetical texts

such as this one do not comment on the dialogue within a performance context, since they address the psalm texts and commentary directly.

Analysis of the psalm in the specific context of church consecration appears decades after the Metz *Ordo*. Remigius of Auxerre (c. 841-908) discusses a dedication ceremony in his *Remigii antissiodorensis monachi tractatus de dedicatione ecclesiae*, written half a century after the completion of the Drogo Sacramentary.<sup>49</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that Remigius was familiar with the *Ordo* of Metz, yet his interpretation suggests a later symbolism of the psalm within performance context. He describes a dedication ceremony without the dialogue, but with details similar to *Ordo Romanus XLI* in which the bishop knocks three times on the doors and sings the *Tollite portas* antiphon. Remigius explains that the bishop represents the power of heaven over the earth and the underworld. Acting through the authority of God, the bishop commands demons and personified vices to open the doors, which represent the sins that keep individuals from true belief. Remigius's interpretation of the ceremony brings out the role of the bishop as a representative of heaven, bearing all its authority, and as the mediator of God's gifts in the battle against sin for all people. This explanation is similar to that of the St-Gall commentary in the way that it situates the first speaker—in performance, the bishop—as mediator to Christ's conquering or cleansing power. Although these interpretations ultimately provide only a backdrop to the Metz dialogue and *Ordo*, they are striking for the general picture they present of God's power localized and embodied in an individual speaker during the circumstances of entry.

Early liturgical uses of Psalm 23: 7-10 and the *Tollite portas* antiphon provide the *Ordo* with numerous associations from performance practice. The Byzantine liturgy preserves

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<sup>49</sup> Rose, “Attollite portas,” 476; Edmond Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, 4 vols., vol. 3 (Venice: J.B. Novelli, 1763-4), 307-8. Remigius of Auxerre studied with Dunchad of Reims and taught at Reims and Paris during the time of its composition.

dialogues that use Psalm 23 for celebrations of the Ascension.<sup>50</sup> The lines of psalm dialogue appear in a Visigothic office for the Matins of Ascension, characterizing the guardian angels who do not recognize Christ.<sup>51</sup> Despite the exegetical connection with the Ascension, however, the psalm dialogue is rarely employed for this liturgical occasion in the Western church. Instead, the lines are connected with differing moments of symbolic or literal entry, particularly through the *Tollite portas* antiphon. In the Gregorian chant tradition, *Tollite portas* is sung during Matins on the first Sunday in Advent and during the Christmas Eve offertory.<sup>52</sup> In Arles, Bourges, Poitiers, and Tours it accompanied the moment of re-entry during the Palm Sunday procession, when the bishop halts outside the doors with the laity and exchanges the lines of Psalm 23 with the choir, who stand behind the closed doors.<sup>53</sup> This performance practice appears outside the Lotharingian region of Metz and at a later date, but suggests how Psalm 23 was becoming connected to moments of entry and dialogue in the greater liturgy. In the regional liturgies of Trier and Augsburg a procession on the night of Easter Saturday incorporates *Tollite portas* when it re-enters the church.<sup>54</sup> The presence of this practice, in which a procession around the church on Easter eve reenters the building after singing *Tollite portas* three times, suggests that similar performance ideas circulated among Eastern churches and in particular between Trier and Metz. Through *Tollite portas*, the symbolism of entry draws upon the earlier exegetical connection of Psalm 23 with the descent to Hell, and the imagery of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is used to depict

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<sup>50</sup> Rose, “Attollite portas’,” 468-9.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 469.

<sup>52</sup> See the many examples in René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*.

<sup>53</sup> Rose, “Attollite portas’,” 471-2.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 471 n. 37. In his discussion of early medieval practice, Rose cites Georges Malherbe, “L’Attollite portas du drame liturgique de la Résurrection,” *Bulletin paroissial liturgique* 15, no. 8 (1933): 121-6. Malherbe, unfortunately, supplies only examples from seventeenth-century Trier.

Christ's activities the night before his resurrection. The Metz *Ordo* might thus have referenced pre-existing meanings through the adaptation of performance elements present in the ceremonies of the liturgical year.

The multiple liturgical, musical, and exegetical traditions that underlie this portion of the *Ordo* suggest that its designers indicated the appropriate manner of performing through descriptive detail in order to clarify a potentially confusing moment of the ceremony.

Although previous scholarship has settled on the Harrowing of Hell, this was by no means obvious or apparent to the practitioners of the Metz *Ordo*. Given the many interpretive options available, how was the participant or viewer supposed to distinguish the correct understanding of what they saw at the church doors? Liturgical celebrations for Easter Saturday and Palm Sunday might also employ processions with knocking, dialogue, or the *Tollite portas* antiphon. Psalm 23 itself summoned up visions of both the Ascension and the descent to Hell. The *Tollite portas* antiphon resonated with Advent and Christmas Eve. Any meaning conveyed by this portion of the *Ordo* represents a deliberate choice on the part of its creators from among many liturgical performance models.

Not all of these options are equally likely in the manuscript context of the Sacramentary, however, since performance directions provide an interpretive structure. The *Ordo* offers descriptive detail so that the physical and verbal content of the performance converge to buttress the greater aims of the consecration. Certain details have previously been interpreted as separating the dialogue from the rest of the ceremony, but their analysis in context reveals their function in performance as visual cues to other portions of the *Ordo*. For example, the text specifies that a single cleric should enter the new church *quasi latente* [as if by stealth] and exit *quasi fugiens* [as if fleeing]. Stealth and flight offer little to support identification of the cleric with the angel figures that appear in many of the exegetical

readings of the dialogue, so these simple instructions for the manner of performance eliminate possible associations of the scene with the Ascension, Advent, and Christmas Eve. The *Ordo* could be drawing upon the descent to Hell, the basic point at which previous scholarship both started and ended. Expanding the picture to the entire *Ordo*, however, reveals the interpretive limitations of the earlier approach.

The cleric's manner of performing in the dialogue specifies a desired symbolic interpretation for his role and this portion of the *Ordo*, which in turn contributes to the meaning of the church ceremony as a whole. In it, the cleric enters the new church to deliver certain words in a dialogue with the bishop. During the actual performance moment, he remains out of sight behind the church doors. Both *latente* and *fugiens* refer to motion or action, but are more subtle concepts for the performer to convey than simple direction, such as the earlier *ad occidentem* [toward the west]. Why such specific, difficult instructions? Stealth and flight describe subjective modes of movement that depend on a performer who uses recognizable gestures and body language. The performance of stealth makes supposedly hidden intention visible, depicting the secret entrance of a symbolic figure into the church in such a way that the viewer shares in the knowledge of his presence but preserves the illusion of isolated, unseen action. This physical characterization is transformed during the cleric's exit, when the performance of flight conveys ideas related to hasty departure, fear, and defeat. The participants, as a community, witness the effect of the bishop's words on the interior figure.

The dialogue also employs other physical cues to identify the cleric for the viewer. The instructions for the cleric in this passage specify costume, stating that the cleric should exit the new church *iterum...vestitus vestimentis ecclesiasticis* [clothed anew in ecclesiastical garments]. The reader must infer that the departing cleric had previously removed his

vestments and there are no indications that the cleric assumes a different costume when entering the church. Since the physical location of the participant for this portion of the performance renders a second costume unnecessary, it seems likely that the intended meaning of the vesting gesture centers on the acts of dressing and undressing. The action of removing and reassuming the community's shared costume of vestments distinguishes the beginning and end of his symbolic status in the larger performance and also suggests that ecclesiastical garments would conflict with the intended symbolism of the cleric. The negative associations of all these embodied performance elements identify this figure as unsympathetic and separate from the community of performers. Costume and gesture effectively communicate that the cleric represents something skulking, defeated, and unecclesiastical. Through costume and gesture or body language, the cleric embodies these certain, specific meanings.

The performance context of the full *Ordo* makes clear that the intended symbolism of the hidden cleric and the scene at the doors connects to the bishop's first action at the new church, that of sprinkling consecrated water. After the bishop blesses the water at the church that temporarily holds the relics, he offers a prayer that celebrates the cleansing power of holy water:

Deus qui ad salutem humani generis maxima quaeque sacramenta in aquarum substantia condidisti, adesto invocationibus nostris, et elemento huic multimodis purificationibus praeparato virtute tuae benedictionis effunde, ut creatura mysteriis tui tibi serviens ad abiciendos daemones morbosque pellendos divinae gratiae sumat effectus, ut quicquid in domibus vel in locis fidelium haec unda resperit, careat immunditia, liberetur a noxia; non illic resideat spiritus pestilens, non aura corrumpens; discedant omnes insidiae latentis inimici, et si quid est, quod aut incolomitati habitantium invidet aut quieti, aspersionem huius aquae effugetur, ut salubritas per invocationem tui nominis expetita ab omnibus sit inpugnationibus defensa. Per dominum.

[God, you established the greatest sacraments for the health of the human race in the substance of water. Be present in our prayers and pour out the virtue of your blessing with this matter, prepared for many types of

purification, so that your creation, serving you in your mysteries, may take up the accomplishment of divine grace to drive away demons and dislodge affliction so that all things in the homes and particularly in the places of the faithful are sprinkled with this water. Let them be without all foulness and free from harm. Let no noxious spirit reside there, nor tainted air. Let all the hidden snares of the enemy depart, and if something exists which begrudges the safety and quiet of the residents, let it be put to flight by the sprinkling of this water. Let health, reached through the invocation of your holy name, be defended from all attacks. Through the Lord....]

This is the first prayer given by the text in full and in it the bishop speaks of the healing properties of water and its spiritual implications. More specifically, the prayer describes the process by which aspersion will purify the places of the faithful: “*discedant omnes insidiae latentis inimici, et si quid est, quod aut incolomitati habitantium invidet aut quieti, aspersionem huius aquae effugetur* [Let all the hidden snares of the enemy depart, and if something exists which begrudges the safety and quiet of the residents, let it be put to flight by the sprinkling of this water].” In this line, the bishop relates that the *insidiae latentis inimici* [hidden snares of the enemy] should depart, particularly those that threaten the safety and quiet of the residents. Furthermore, the hidden snares cannot simply depart, but are *effugetur* [put to flight] by the sprinkling of the consecrated water. This language of *latentis* [hidden] and *effugetur* [flight] is replicated by the descriptive terms that characterize the role of the cleric in the dialogue, *latente* [stealth] and *fugiens* [fleeing]. The duplication of terms strongly suggests that the hidden cleric is intended to represent a hidden trap of the devil that is cast out by the bishop’s action of sprinkling. This linkage between portions of the ceremony creates a causative connection in the mind of the viewer among the explanatory prayer after the consecration of the water, the aspersion of the new church’s doors, and the flight of the cleric after the dialogue. The prayer narrates a sequence of events in which the bishop sprinkles the doors, putting the hidden traps of the Devil to flight, and the cleric’s manner of performance then visually reaffirms the spoken symbolism. Although the dialogue at the

doors might also make symbolic reference to the descent to Hell as a cleansing action of Christ, the self-referential performance action of the cleric reminds the viewer of the preceding prayer. The *Ordo* offers an internal reading centered upon the cleansing effect of the bishop's ceremonial aspersion and his ability to provide safety and quiet to the community.

The practical goal of purification drives the symbolism and action of the fuller dialogue scene, not just the role of the cleric. Psalm 50, sung repeatedly during the processions around the church that alternate with the dialogue, addresses personal purification and purging of sins: “Miserere mei Deus secundum misericordiam tuam iuxta multitudinem miserationum tuarum dele iniquitates meas. Multum lava me ab iniquitate mea et a peccato meo munda me.... Asparges me hyssopo et mundabor lavabis me et super nivem dealbabor [O God, have mercy on me through your compassion, and equally erase my inequities through your great pity. Thoroughly wash my iniquity from me and cleanse me of my sin.... Sprinkle me with hyssop and I will be cleansed, you will wash me and I will be whiter than snow].” The *Ordo* pairs the psalm with an antiphon that originates from it: “Asperges me, Domine, hyssopo et mundabor, lavabis me et super nivem dealbabor [Sprinkle me, O Lord, with hyssop and I will be cleansed, you will wash me and I will be whiter than snow].”<sup>55</sup> Although neither the psalm nor the antiphon directly mentions consecrated water, they nonetheless reinforce the importance of aspersion through the term *asperges* [sprinkle]. Both prayers call on God to purify the speaker, describing how the Lord's actions will remove sin through a type of spiritual washing. The overlap of vocal and physical meaning suggests that the bishop's purification of the new church through aspersion can be mapped onto God's cleansing of sins. Through the conjunction of the

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<sup>55</sup> Hesbert, ed., *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, no. 1494.

psalm and the antiphon with the performance activity of sprinkling, the bishop takes on and/or mediates the Lord's power to erase negative presences in the individual and the community. His prayers and actions center on cleansing and do so in a manner that creates parallels between the episcopal and divine roles in the church consecration.

Certain structural aspects of the performance naturalize the conflation of episcopal with heavenly power. In the dialogue, the bishop speaks on behalf of the Lord or Christ, for example. The Messine adaptation of Psalm 23 and the *Tollite portas* antiphon into spoken dialogue clarifies and distinguishes the actions of the bishop from those of other performers, identifying him with the symbolic heavenly presence.<sup>56</sup> In contrast with consecrations in which the full psalm is to be sung, the bishop speaks only those lines attributed to Christ in the exegetical tradition. Unlike the consecrations that employ the psalm or its antiphon, the responses of the demons or angels are assigned to a separate performer, the cleric. Through this modified dialogue, the representation of godly presence is confined to the bishop's performance alone. In addition to the careful parceling-out of lines, timing also heightens the impact of this identification through the interspersing of dialogue with action. The bishop calls out for the doors to open, speaking on behalf of the anonymous Lord or Christ, and the cleric questions his identity, speaking as demon or snare of the enemy. The question remains unanswered while the procession wends around the church, only for the bishop and

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<sup>56</sup> The musical context of the *Tollite portas* antiphon and Psalm 23 might also inform the structure of the dialogue. The exchange between the bishop and the hidden cleric is described as speech in the text of the *Ordo: dicendo* [saying] and *dicat* [he says]. Other forms of the dedication ceremony call for the *Tollite portas* antiphon to be sung with the recited psalm text, however, such as *Ordo Romanus XLI*, in which the bishop and clergy sing the antiphon at the doors to the new church without repetition or responses. Later notation of the *Tollite portas* antiphon indicates the development of an elaborate melisma on the words *rex gloriae*, which Kenneth Levy has traced to the Frankish reformers of the late eighth century who adopted Roman texts but retained Gallican music. If the bishop was responsible for singing the whole antiphon as in *Ordo Romanus XLI*, but lacked vocal talent, the introduction of a dialogue would preserve the episcopal-centered nature of the performance by eliminating the need for a specially trained vocalist. For the development of the *Tollite portas* music, see Levy, "Tollite portas," 231-41; idem, *Gregorian Chant*.

cleric to repeat the exchange with its lack of response. Not until the third iteration does the bishop finally answer the cleric, proclaiming that “Dominus virtutum ipse est rex gloriae [the Lord of Miracles himself is the King of Glory].” The repetitions and pauses create a growing tension, which climaxes in the moment of identification. The mapping of heavenly authority onto the episcopal body is also reinforced by the bishop’s response through its function as a speech act that causes the literal and symbolic doors to open. In this idealized performance, the participation of the cleric contrasts with and heightens the place of the bishop as embodied authority. This model suggests that the bishop always represents the power of Christ, working to drive out the Devil and throw down his gates.

#### Visualizing Episcopal Mediation: An Ivory Plaque and the *Ordo*’s Full Content

An understanding of the *Ordo*’s complex symbolism of episcopal purification is deepened through comparative analysis of the manuscript’s other visual and textual aspects. As noted above, another authoritative source shapes the performance model of the *Ordo* in the form of an ivory carving on the front cover of the manuscript (see Figure 19, below). Images of performance are seldom distinguishable from the symbolic imagery evoked by performance, so the visual perspective on a prescriptive text that the ivory provides is rare.<sup>57</sup> Over half the plaques on the front and back of the Sacramentary show an archbishop performing his episcopal duties.<sup>58</sup> The majority of these depict moments from the Mass, but

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<sup>57</sup> A miniature in a play manuscript might depict a moment from the plot or from a specific performance, although the latter is so rare as to be almost nonexistent. For a discussion of the differences, see Clark and Sheingorn, “Performative Reading,” 129-154.

<sup>58</sup> Art historians have identified the celebrant as an archbishop by the presence of the pallium. I will use the term “archbishop” to refer to the figure in the ivories, to distinguish from the text of the *Ordo*, which employs “bishop.”

some plaques show individual *ordines*. Among them is the rightmost plaque of the center row on the front cover, which represents the *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae*.

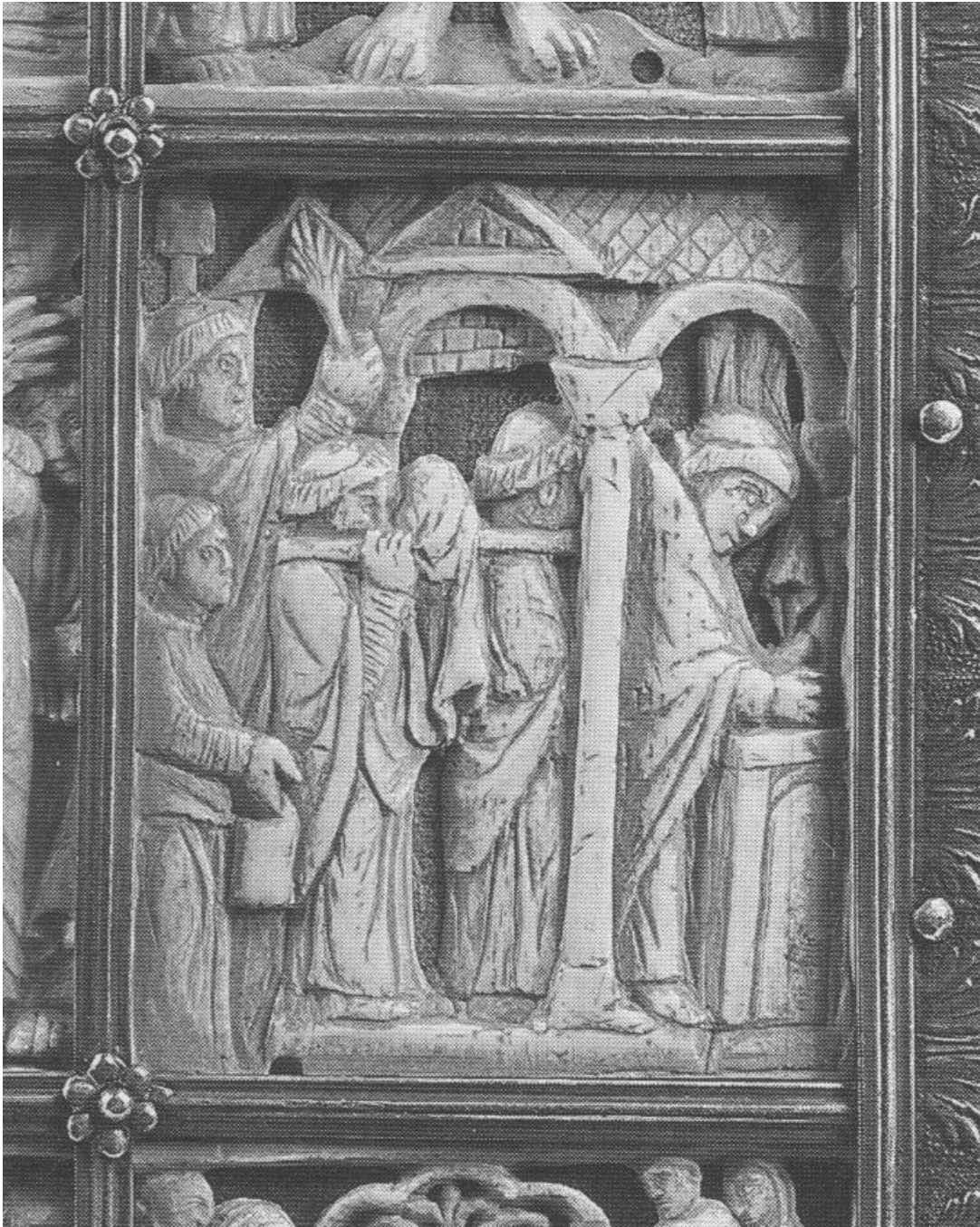


Figure 19: Drogo Sacramentary, Front Cover Detail, *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae*

(Image from Lasko, *Ars Sacra*, 34.)

It depicts five figures, a basilica, an altar, a reliquary, and multiple actions within its tiny confines. Two overlapping figures appear at the far left of the frame, outside of the interior space defined by the columns. The larger man wears a pallium and the smaller is robed in simple clerical or monastic garb. The size of the first figure, his placement above the second figure, and his clothing identify him as an archbishop. The archbishop raises a palm frond above his head in the direction of the arched columns to the right. The second figure, tonsured and dressed like a cleric, carries a container and gazes up toward the archbishop's gesturing arm. His clothing rests on the very bottom of the frame. At its center, the ivory depicts two figures of roughly equal size, both tonsured and wearing draped vestments. They carry a bier supporting a cloth-covered object and move from left to right through the middle arch. Their bodies hide and are hidden by parts of the columns and their feet rest above the lower frame on a floor or pavement. To the far right, the archbishop bends over an altar which abuts the right frame and identifies the building as a church. The space around the archbishop and altar is sharply demarcated from the rest of the image by two columns and a hanging cloth.

Each of these depictions correlates generally with a portion of the *Ordo*. In the first scene, the archbishop gestures toward the doors of the church with a palm frond, a moment that could correspond to the textual line that follows the first prayer at the church doors: “qua finita incipit pontifex aquam aspargere consecratam a foris [when finished, the bishop begins to sprinkle consecrated waters at the doors].” Since this action requires holy water, the cleric may carry consecrated water in the container. The scene might also depict the archbishop knocking on the doors to the church during the dialogue<sup>59</sup>: “et cum illic

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<sup>59</sup> Recent scholarship has echoed Carol Heitz in this interpretation. See Glansdorff, “Drogon,” 1004; Carol Heitz, *L'Architecture religieuse carolingienne: Les Formes et leurs fonctions* (Paris: Picard, 1980), 202-3.

perventum fuerit pulsat hostium tribus vicibus [when he is about to come through, he strikes the door three times in succession].” This explanation is unsatisfactory, since it does nothing to explain the presence of the cleric and his container. Neither portion of the text mentions the palm frond, but other, later dedication texts make specific reference to the use of a palm frond as an asperge at various points of the ceremony.<sup>60</sup>

The second grouping depicts two clerics entering the church with the reliquary on a bier. Since the text of the *Ordo* does not mention precisely when the reliquary should enter the building, this could show any of several performance moments and could even represent ceremonial action that is not described by the text. It might show a procession by the clergy to place the relics in the space around the altar: “tunc iterum incipiet clerus laetanium positus reliquiis extra velum quod extensum est inter aedem et altare [then the clergy will begin the procession in turn, the relics having been placed beyond a tapestry that has been spread out between the chapel and the altar].” The verb tense of the line indicates that the relics should have been brought in, however, before the procession begins. This may be a grammatical mistake that obscures a procession of the clergy to hide the reliquary, or it may point to a separate hidden-cleric style action. Although the image itself is perfectly clear in its depiction of two clergy carrying the relics, the scene cannot be definitively linked to a textual passage. Since many other aspects of the *Ordo* remain unwritten, this may be the case with this action.

Finally, the scene furthest to the right shows the archbishop performing a ceremony over the altar. The scale of the carving makes it difficult to be more precise because the viewer cannot see what the figure holds, if anything. On the basis of the text, the action of sprinkling the altar can be eliminated in the absence of the palm frond of the first scene. Remaining actions in the text include special prayers, anointing the altar with holy oil, and

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<sup>60</sup> See the examples in Kozachek, “Repertory of Chant.”

the placement of the incense and pieces of the Host inside the altar. Since the archbishop looks down at his hands, which rest on the top of the altar, he may be spreading oil: “infundendum est oleum sanctificatum et expandendum in modum crucis [the blessed oil should be poured on and spread in the manner of a cross].” Yet the text associates many different performance actions with the altar. Lacking a definitive gesture or object, it is difficult to assign this image to a specific ceremonial moment. Instead, the scene may depict a longer portion of the church consecration.

The ivory’s alternate, visual depiction of the *Ordo* does not merely mirror verbal content, but also conveys unique performance information. Its images contribute to the symbolic goals of the larger ceremony through visual cues that reinforce an interpretive structure centered on the archbishop and the relics. The plaque indicates the desired material conditions of performance, for example. Some elements in the ivory do not appear in the text, such as the use of a palm frond by the archbishop in the left scene and the need for a secondary performer to carry a container of consecrated water. The center scene shows that the reliquary should be fully covered by a cloth and in what manner the reliquary should be transported. Furthermore, material items mentioned briefly by the text receive fuller treatment in the ivory. The *Ordo*’s textual instructions direct the hidden cleric to resume his vestments after the dialogue, but mention no other clothing. In the ivory, costume appears in three forms: the simple clerical garb of belted robe, the draped vestments of the reliquary-bearers, and the pallium of the archbishop. The text indicates that a cloth should divide the space around the altar from rest of the chapel. The right scene of the *Ordo* ivory shows that cloth hanging from the arches behind the archbishop’s head, reinforcing the function of the tapestry in isolating a special space around the altar. Each of

these details shapes the viewer's conception of the appropriate material conditions of the *Ordo*.

The ivory plaque conveys temporal information about the performance, as well. The viewer progresses forward through the performance when "reading" the three scenes from left to right, since the artist organizes the parts of the image in relative performance order. The depicted actions do not follow immediately upon each other, however, and the text reveals that other prayers and actions should be performed in between. Instead, vital performance actions are brought forward at the expense of others and entire portions of the performance are embedded in an unfolding temporal structure of aspersion, relic-movement, and altar consecration. The ivory divides the *Ordo* into three stages of time, each characterized by a visual grouping or action. It guides the viewer through these subsections, providing a short overview of the whole performance in the process.<sup>61</sup>

The visual representation of the *Ordo* establishes spatial relationships between different parts of the ceremony, performers, and spaces that shape the meaning of the entire ceremony. The ivory depicts physical motion as an integral part of the performance, even when it is not described by the text. It encompasses both gesture and locomotion. The artist creates a sense of motion into the church interior through the visual interaction of figures with the architectural elements of columns and arches. As depicted in the left scene, the archbishop and his assistant stand outside the new church. The archbishop's torso and raised arm block the leftmost column, creating depth and locating him outside the interior

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<sup>61</sup> The temporal structure of the *Ordo* ivory offers a comparatively complex temporal perspective on the unfolding action of the dedication, since the majority of the manuscript's ivory and painted images contain single scenes of Christ or of the archbishop performing the liturgy. Basic examination reveals only one other ivory on the manuscript cover that represents the archbishop during multiple moments of performance. On the left side of this second ivory is depicted the archbishop accepting a loaf of bread and a kiss on the hand from a laywoman, and on the right it shows him facing the altar, upon which the bread has been placed. Like those of the *Ordo*, the scenes of this ivory demand further analysis.

space. The robes of the water-bearing cleric touch the lower frame, yet the feet of the two reliquary-bearers and the rightmost archbishop rest on a floor or pavement. The visual distinction between paved and unpaved space indicates that the aspersion alone must take place outside. The ivory extends and blurs the binary of inside/outside performance through its use of columns in the center and right scenes. The center-left cleric blocks the view of a column and the center-right is partially covered by one, creating a sense of depth and real space so that the reliquary-bearers seem to pass underneath the center arch. The depiction of left-to-right movement in the center scene also creates a sense of motion between the parts of the overall image, since the right cleric's face and forearms are depicted as having passed behind a column also to the right, which the viewer reads as forward and thus towards the interior. The central reliquary-bearers are depicted in the moment of transition from outside to inside, between the flanking scenes. The roof structure of the arches and columns frames each scene, providing a cue to compressed space and time. They also suggest the architecture of a basilica, in which doors open into a nave that leads to the altar.

Movement through space and time in the ivory culminates the rightmost scene, which shows the archbishop alone before the altar. Architectural details do not intrude upon his physical body, but mirror the straight line of his back with a column and the curve of his head with an arch. Architectural space isolates the performer, unlike in the center and left scenes. No other figures are depicted, even though the text describes select deacons as being present: “quo canente ingreditur pontifex cum deputatis ministris intra velum [the bishop should enter, singing, this space within the tapestry with the appointed deacons].” A column demarcates this interior space as reserved for the archbishop, his actions screened by

the hanging tapestry. According to the visual model, the ultimate and “deepest” part of the performance belongs to the archbishop alone.

Taken as a whole, the visualization of the *Ordo* functions as an interpretive guide to the ideal performance that relates physical, material, and textual content. The ivory’s three scenes create temporal simultaneity, emphasizing certain important ceremonial actions by representing them in the same visual moment. As the viewer’s eyes move from left to right, the scenes move forward in time and the multiple moments establish a relative ceremonial sequence. The ivory divides the performance into three spaces, all located at the new church: interior, threshold, and exterior. Since it does not depict the church that temporarily holds the relics or the actions that should take place there, the visual focus stays completely on the church to be dedicated. The sense of motion through space moves the viewer deeper inside the church, to share in the hidden ceremonies at the altar dominated by the archbishop.

The ivory’s presentation of the *Ordo* reinforces the primacy of the archbishop in the greater performance, yet suggests an even more powerful presence. Each of the scenes draws attention to a particular performer: the archbishop sprinkling the doors to the left and the archbishop consecrating the altar to the right. What about the center scene? It depicts two clerical figures but their faces are not clearly visible to the viewer. Another “participant” appears, however, in the form of the reliquary. Though the movement of the relics between the pillars may not correspond to an exact moment of the text, its representation nonetheless highlights the most desired and important presence in the whole performance: the saints of the newly dedicated church. It is they who must pass into the new church; the relic-bearers are simply the means. The ivory visually reinforces the centrality of the saints’

presence by literally placing them in the center scene, flanked by the archbishop on both sides.

Through performance, the text of the *Ordo* reifies the participation of the saints to whom the new church is dedicated. Many descriptive details direct the manner of handling the reliquary: “subleventur reliquiae cum feretro a sacerdotibus [the relics on the bier are raised up by the priests];” “sequendo feretro reliquiarum [he is followed by the bier of the relics];” “positis reliquiis extra velum [the relics having been placed beyond the tapestry];” “recludantur reliquiae in confessione [the relics are revealed in this space in the tomb beneath the altar];” “ponentur reliquiae in confessione [the relics will be placed in the tomb].” This list of performance actions could serve as an outline of the performance itself up to the stage of sealing the altar: the community gathers at the temporary location of the relics and processes to the new church bearing the bier; the bishop sprinkles the doors in the presence of the relics; the bier is placed in the restricted space around the altar and then revealed beneath the altar; the relics are returned to the tomb-space once it has been consecrated by the bishop with holy water and oil. Such directions guide movement, timing, and precedence, but also reveal a second moment of concern for concealed presence and revelation in the performance, beyond that of the hidden cleric at the doors.<sup>62</sup> The language of situating and revealing the relics in the altar relates that the relics should be placed in their proper space at an earlier moment, where they rest out of sight. In a separate performance moment, the bishop processes to the space enclosed by the tapestry and readies the consecrated water. Only then, in his presence, is the reliquary returned to sight. In the

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<sup>62</sup> The *Ordo*'s scenes with the hidden cleric and the revelation of the hidden reliquary reverse some of the characteristics of the portion of the Easter liturgy in which the empty tomb of Christ is represented.

causative progression of the performance, the bishop brings about the return of the saints to the greater community.

Spoken and sung portions of the performance comment on the presence of the saints, too, and this oral content overwhelmingly demands their participation. After blessing the water in the early part of the *Ordo*, the bishop's *Aufer a nobis* prayer begs the Lord to remove the sins of the community so that the participants may enter into the holy place of the saints. Then, before the reliquary is raised up and carried to the new church, the text indicates that everyone should join in a prayer that calls on the saints to serve as protectors: "Fac nos, Domine sanctorum tuorum auxilio specialiter dicata membra contingere, quorum cupimus patrocinia incessanter habere [O Lord, cause us to be near to the specially dedicated limbs (relics) with the help of your saints, whom we long to have as ceaseless protectors]." In performance, the group nature of this prayer reinforces the idea that the full community desires the help of the saints to whom the new church is dedicated. After the dialogue and opening of the doors to the church, an antiphon narrates the upcoming action: "Ambulate sancti Dei, ingredimini in domum Domini [Walk, you saints of God, enter into the house of the Lord]." The chant aurally visualizes the desired participation of the new saints, who simultaneously walk and are carried into the church. As mentioned above, the narrative instructions of the *Ordo* do not describe the entrance of the saints. This antiphon does, however, provide appropriate imagery for this literal and symbolic entrance and may also correspond with the center image of the ivory. Practically, since the language of the chant clarifies the physical entrance of the saints through their relics, extra directions may not have been needed to guide the performers. Once the bishop has arrived in the space around the altar, a different antiphon defines the symbolism of placing the relics inside the altar: "Sub altare Domini sedes accepistis, intercedite pro nobis apud quem gloriari meruistis [You

received a seat beneath the altar of the Lord. Intercede for us before the Lord, by whom you deserved to be glorified].” In this chant, which parallels the performance action, the placement of the relics symbolizes the nearness of the saints to God and their power of intercession. This antiphon also highlights the dual presence of the saints around the throne of God and in the new church through the relics. In each of these examples, the verbal content of the performance indicates the interpretive strategy needed by the viewer. It does so by aligning the participants’ actions with an analogous narration of saintly performance actions.

Not all human performers contribute equally to the goal of making the saints present through ceremony, however. Much as directions for the hidden cleric reveal the desire to control the potential meaning of his presence, text and image here guide the viewer toward a correct understanding of the saints’ presence as being dependent on the bishop. Prayers and antiphons describe the community’s desire for the saints and their patronage and emphasize the role of the saints as intercessors. Yet the ivory situates the entry of the saints into the new church between two episcopal performances. The archbishop sprinkles the doors, then stands alone in the presence of the saints at the altar. According to the directions for performance, the relics reappear at the moment of the bishop’s arrival. Although the sudden revelation of the relics in the tomb beneath the altar takes place in the presence of other clerics in the text, the ivory reduces the symbolically important figures to the archbishop and reliquary alone. Through performance, he activates the relics. It is the bishop’s role within the ceremony to bring about the symbolic and literal participation of the saints in the dedication of their new church. The *Ordo* expresses the community’s need for the saints and visualizes their presence, while simultaneously emphasizing the bishop as the intercessor

with the saintly intercessors. Through visual and textual material, the Sacramentary is careful to link the presence of the saints in the ceremony to that of the bishop.

Through performance, the *Ordo* models overlapping representations of episcopal action mediating heavenly authority. On a basic level, it does so by depicting the bishop as the prime participant in every part of the ceremony. To some degree, intended manuscript use produces this effect since a collection of episcopal ceremonies must focus on the bishop. Yet the *Ordo*'s naturalization of embodied episcopal power is a product of its patronage and larger goals. It does not hesitate to describe the performance role of other members of the community when that participation clarifies symbolic meaning or accomplishes specific tasks. As has been shown in the case of the dialogue, other performers are often deliberately incorporated in order to elevate episcopal effectiveness and presence. The *Ordo*'s performance ideal is not disinterested, especially in those sections that depict the desired participation of others. This consecration ceremony is structured to emphasize the role of the bishop by design, not by default. Others might carry the consecrated water, but the bishop sprinkles it. The *Ordo* assigns him the important prayers and physical actions that lead to consecration and his performance actions achieve the practical goals that transform the space. The community participates and witnesses, but only the bishop takes the truly performative role.

The *Ordo*'s depiction of episcopal power is not monolithic, but rather employs specific performance methods to establish certain practical powers. For example, the representation of ecclesiastical status situates the bishop within a tiered community in which he sits at the top of a distinct hierarchy that is played out in performance.<sup>63</sup> The *Ordo*'s ivory

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<sup>63</sup> For a discussion of how performances might negotiate social power, see Flanigan, Ashley, and Sheingorn, "Liturgy as Social Performance," 711. In general, a connection to local hierarchy and

depicts three kinds of costume for the participants: a simple robe, flowing vestments, and an archbishop's pallium. The ivory cannot distinguish between the figures based on color and it would be difficult to do so with pattern, given the size of the image.<sup>64</sup> Through these garments, the ceremony nonetheless conveys a clear status system to the viewer that corresponds to performance role and the distinct orders of the clergy.<sup>65</sup> The figure wearing the robe acts merely as assistant to the archbishop, carrying the consecrated water for him. The two figures in vestments have a more prestigious role, since they carry the relics on the bier. The text identifies them as *sacerdotibus* [priests], who rank above the lower orders of the community in action, costume, and title. At the summit of this hierarchy is the archbishop, wearing his high-collared pallium and performing the most significant tasks. Further distinctions between participants are made by the text, which privileges some above others. When the bishop processes within the curtained space of the altar, he enters the restricted space *cum deputatis ministris* [with the appointed deacons]. This line indicates that the lower-ranking members of the clergy are excluded, as well as the majority of the deacons. Only a select few see the long portion of the ceremony focused on the altar. At this moment, the status of the participant correlates with the ability to see the performance.<sup>66</sup> The *Ordo* enacts

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community served as the basic link between a saint's earthly and heavenly nature. See Hahn, "Seeing and Believing," 1080.

<sup>64</sup> Modern studies have found no traces of paint on the ivories. The reconstruction of the entire cover in the eighteenth century may have included destructive cleaning, however, so it is only possible to conclude that the ivories are not now painted. Bogler, "Österliche Szenen," 109-10; Frauke Steenbok, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband in frühen Mittelalter von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Gotik* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1965), 85-6.

<sup>65</sup> The other ivories of the Sacramentary have been previously studied for evidence of the clerical orders. See Roger E. Reynolds, "Image and Text: The Liturgy of Clerical Ordination in Early Medieval Art," *Gesta* 22, no. 1 (1983): 27-38. For the hierarchy of the cathedral clergy at the time of Chrodegang's reforms, see Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*.

<sup>66</sup> The *Ordo*'s limiting of visual access to the relics correlates with the larger Carolingian trend toward increasingly controlled access to the tombs of saints at their shrines. See Hahn, "Seeing and Believing," 1086-7.

a social hierarchy headed by the bishop within the performance community, using visual, spatial, and material distinctions to do so.

The bishop's presence at the peak of human ecclesiastical status locates him between the heavenly and earthly realms. The saints are just above; the community is just below. In the *Ordo*, this ideal is expressed through both material and symbolic ideals. The Sacramentary is itself a precious object, the result of extraordinary patronage. Its ivories, gold lettering, and blank parchment all speak to the wealth and effort required for its production and the resultant prestige of ownership. This would be on display as the bishop used the manuscript in the process of performance.<sup>67</sup> In the performance of the *Ordo*, the bishop acts as a consecrator of churches, symbolizing the power to cleanse and transform. With regard to relics, the bishop acts as liaison between the community of human participants and the saints to whom the church will be dedicated. Through performance, his physical acts visually connect participants with the relics concealed in the altar. In a general sense, his actions have tangible effects. The bishop delivers prayers in which he calls on the Lord on behalf of his fellow performers. The consecrated water purifies through God's power, which the bishop dispenses. In the dialogue, the bishop acts as Christ's spokesman against the hidden snares of the enemy. It is the community at large that benefits from his victories when the bishop causes the doors of the new church to be thrown open and a tainted space to be claimed for Christian practice. This model of episcopal power and authority is based on the performance role of the bishop as mediator between his community and their saints. The *Ordo* presents a model ceremony in which interaction with the saints is initiated and carried through by the bishop. In embodied performance, these

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<sup>67</sup> Prestige, especially when accrued through patronage, requires an audience. Several of the Sacramentary's ivories and initials depict a manuscript in use, perhaps making a self-referential comment on the Drogo Sacramentary's own usefulness and presence at the heart of ceremony.

symbolic meanings and actions would naturalize the perceived dependence of saintly presence and power on episcopal action and intervention from the first moment that the relics resided in their new community.

### Drogo and the *Ordo* in Contemporary Historical Context

The *Ordo*'s model of the bishop as mediator between the heavenly and earthly realms aligns closely with larger historical changes in the cult of saints and liturgical practice in the Carolingian era. Saints in late antiquity had functioned as physical reminders and anchors of sacred presence, often serving their communities through intermediaries who were themselves holy men or bishops.<sup>68</sup> During a series of reforms in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, however, Carolingian bishops increasingly became mediators of the saints' power.<sup>69</sup> Through the production of new hagiographic texts and the regulation of liturgical practice, such as the aforementioned *Admonitio generalis* and the synods of Frankfurt (794) and Mainz (813), the bishop gained control of the cults located within his diocese.<sup>70</sup> Of

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<sup>68</sup> Peter Brown has explored the role of the holy man in an important series of articles and books. For an introduction, see Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity, 1971-1997," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6, no. 3 (1998): 353-76; idem, *Power and Persuasion*; idem, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

<sup>69</sup> For an introduction to the Carolingian cult of relics in general and for specific studies, see Heinrich Fichtenau, "Zum Reliquienwesen im früheren Mittelalter," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 60 (1952): 60-89; Nicole Herrmann-Mascard, *Les Reliques des saints: Formation coutumière d'un droit*, Société d'histoire du droit, Collection d'histoire institutionnelle et sociale 6 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1975); Pierre Riché, "Les Carolingiens en quête de sainteté," in *Les Fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle): Actes du colloque*, ed. Jean-Yves Tilliette (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1991), 217-24; Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*; Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin*.

<sup>70</sup> For Carolingian religious legislation, see Egon Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1996); Wilfried Hartmann, ed., *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche, 843-859*, MGH Conc., 3 (Hanover, 1984); idem, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankenreich und in Italien* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1989); Paul Fournier and Gabriel Le Bras, *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident, depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien*, 2 vols. (Paris: Recueil Sirey, 1931-2); Charles De Clercq, *La Législation religieuse franque de Clovis à Charlemagne: Étude sur les actes de conciles et les*

particular interest in the context of the Metz *Ordo* are the several contemporary canons that require all consecrated altars to contain relics. Since church dedications and altar consecrations also necessitated the presence of a bishop, this would create a real episcopal authority over the translation of the relics and the activation of saints in the sacred space.

Although the *Ordo* refers to no specific church and no historical consecration, its conception of the bishop's role in the community nonetheless operated within the local and greater historical context of Metz. The manuscript might memorialize a past performance, but its ultimate goal was to model or prescribe future performances for the bishop. Its ceremonies are ideal, yet the Sacramentary was made for the use of a specific historical figure, the archbishop Drogo. Why might Drogo have wanted this new, Messine *Ordo* with its luxurious and carefully planned mise-en-page? Very generally, it might respond to conceptions of the role of the bishop with regard to relics in the Carolingian period. The additional answer that it produced personal prestige may be temporarily bracketed as too simplistic, although it certainly forms a part of the answer. To fully understand the possible meanings of this dedication ceremony, the *Ordo* must be analyzed within political and cultural circumstance. Although no event can be directly linked with artistic production of the Sacramentary, the personal history of Drogo and of Metz in the Carolingian realm provides suggestive evidence for the potential functions of the *Ordo* within specific performance contexts.

As has been shown above, the episcopal history of Metz during the early Carolingian era was strongly connected to local performance culture. The previous holders of the bishopric, Chrodegang and Angilram, both contributed in significant ways to the

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*capitulaires, les statuts diocésains et les règles monastiques (507-814)*, 2 vols. (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1936, 1958).

performance culture of Metz and the greater Frankish realm. Among other things, they introduced a stationary liturgy and Roman-inspired liturgical reform. Performance as an expressive mode was an integral part of Messine urban and ecclesiastical identity, and its bishops had a tradition of shaping local practice. Given the ongoing importance of Metz's song school and its traditions of liturgical reform, entering and engaging Messine performance culture through a manuscript that emphasized episcopal prestige would be one logical response. Drogo might have seen the *Ordo* and liturgical ceremony in general as an appropriate way to assert himself as the true heir of his illustrious predecessors and to interact with the larger urban community.

The evidence for Drogo's historical dedications and translations also provides suggestive context for the performance model supplied by the *Ordo*. Two of the surviving examples of his dedications within Metz are both affiliated with the monastery of St-Arnoul, which was located just south of the city's Roman walls.<sup>71</sup> Drogo is credited with alterations to its church as a part of a larger renovation of the institution which included a rededication of the space.<sup>72</sup> A charter of bishop Adalbert I (c. 929-64) regarding St-Arnoul records that Drogo began a series of renovations at the monastery, including the ornamentation of the chapel.<sup>73</sup> This rededication would have affirmed the centrality of Arnoul in the community. More evidence attests to the translation of St. Glossinde, who had been moved from her grave at St-Arnoul. Both the *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus* and the *Historia S. Arnulphi Mettensis*

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<sup>71</sup> For basic background to the translation of relics in the Carolingian period, see Martin Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 33 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979); Henri Fros, "Liste des translations et inventions de l'époque carolingienne," *Analecta Bollandiana* 104 (1986): 427-9.

<sup>72</sup> For the primary source and its analysis, see Karl Wichmann, "Adalberos I. Schenkungsurkunde für das Arnulfskloster und ihre Fälschung," *JGLG* 2 (1890): 306-8; René S. Bour, "Die Benediktiner-Abtei St. Arnulf vor den Metzger Stadtmauern, I," *ASHAL* 19 (1907): 44.

<sup>73</sup> Glansdorff connects the architectural program implemented at St-Arnoul with that of Chrodegang at the cathedral of St-Étienne. See Glansdorff, "Drogon," 996.

describe Drogo's translation of her relics to the nearby monastery that later carried her name.<sup>74</sup> The dedication of the church to Glossinde expanded the reach of St-Arnoul and its saints within the confines of Metz.

The historical connection of St-Arnoul with Carolingian claims to saintly lineage provides a highly charged backdrop to Drogo's dedications of the St-Arnoul chapel and St-Glossinde. During the first decades of the seventh century, a period of growing power for the then-Pippinids, Pippin I and Bishop Arnoul of Metz served as advisors to the Merovingian king Dagobert I and seem to have formed an alliance during the 620s.<sup>75</sup> Arnoul was himself a member of a powerful aristocratic family and wielded considerable influence in his role as bishop of Metz.<sup>76</sup> After his death, Arnoul featured very prominently in the development of early Carolingian sanctity.<sup>77</sup> His cult was promoted as that of a family saint, from whom the Pippinids could claim descent, and the transfer of his remains from Remiremont to the basilica of the Holy Apostles—a fifth-century institution that was quickly renamed St-Arnoul—led to the basilica's use as a dynastic burial site and its development as a monastery.<sup>78</sup> Pippin II also pursued a close relationship with Messine bishops and buried his sons near the body of St. Arnoul in the nascent family necropolis.<sup>79</sup> Members of the

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<sup>74</sup> *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, 10 (Hanover, 1852); *Historia S. Arnulphi Mettensis*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS, 24 (Hanover, 1870), 545.

<sup>75</sup> Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 233.

<sup>76</sup> Metz, "Le Chant des manuscrits messins," 8.

<sup>77</sup> For a detailed study of the Carolingian mythology of Arnoul as a founding member of their dynasty, see Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulf," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967): 250-364.

<sup>78</sup> Gauthier, *Topographie*, 49. See also Alois Odermatt, ed., *Der Liber Ordinarius der Abtei St Arnulf vor Metz (Metz, BM 132, um 1240)*, Spicilegium Friburgense 31 (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1987), 5-12. Recent scholarship has questioned the veracity of the Carolingian claim of descent from Arnoul, as the evidence is late and rather shaky. See Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 259-60.

<sup>79</sup> Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 265; François-Yves Le Moigne, ed., *Histoire de Metz* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1986), 76.

royal family were buried at St-Denis and St-Remi of Reims by the late eighth century, yet St-Arnoul continued to claim the remains of its female members.<sup>80</sup> A product of possible Pippinid parentage who founded the Messine monastery later named for her, Glossinde had also been interred at St-Arnoul.<sup>81</sup> Although the active production of texts that advanced the connection between Metz and the Carolingians through Arnoul lessened in the first decades of the ninth century, the effort was restarted in the early years of Drogo's episcopacy.<sup>82</sup> This attention to Arnoul and Glossinde in the form of dedications strongly correlates with the longstanding Carolingian attempt to identify Metz as the holy city of Arnoul. Both saints were supposedly Drogo's ancestors and leaders of contemporary, local institutions. More basically, Arnoul was also a former bishop of Metz. As the illegitimate son of Charlemagne and half-brother of Louis the Pious, Drogo had much to gain from advancing a saintly, episcopal ancestor. His dedication activity in Metz may have focused on a claim for Messine episcopal authority and legitimacy based on the conjunction of his ancestry and current office.

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<sup>80</sup> Female members of the Carolingian dynasty buried at St-Arnoul include Rothaide and Adelaide, both daughters of Pippin III, and Hildegarde and Adelaide, respectively Charlemagne's wife and daughter. *Historia S. Arnulphi Mettensis*, 536; Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi est mort: Étude sur les funérailles, les sépultures, et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'à la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Bibliothèque de la Société Française d'Archéologie 7 (Geneva: Droz, 1975), 38, 66; Michèle Gaillard, "L'Éphémère promotion d'un mausolée dynastique: La Sépulture de Louis le Pieux à Saint-Arnoul de Metz," *Médiévales* 33 (1997): 145. For a more general discussion of female sanctity in the Carolingian era, see Julia Smith, "The Problem of Female Sanctity in Carolingian Europe c. 780-920," *Past & Present* 146 (1995): 3-37. Recent scholarship has emphasized that the so-called "official" necropolises never held the absolutely dominant status described by earlier historians. See Alain Dierkens, "Autour de la tombe de Charlemagne. Considérations sur les sépultures et les funérailles des souverains carolingiens et des membres de leur famille," in *Le souverain à Byzance et en Occident du VIII<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Alain Dierkens and J.-M. Sansterre (Brussels: Fondation Byzantine, 1991), 156-80; Nelson, "Carolingian Royal Funerals," 131-84; Alain Dierkens, "Les Funérailles royales carolingiennes," in *La Sacralisation du pouvoir: Images et mises en scène*, ed. Alain Dierkens and Jacques Marx, *Problèmes d'Histoire des Religions* 13 (Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 2003), 45-58.

<sup>81</sup> For a more detailed discussion of possible reasons for Glossinde's burial at St-Arnoul and her parentage, see Glansdorff, "Drogon," 1004-6, nn. 337, 342.

<sup>82</sup> See Oexle, "Die Karolinger und die Stadt," 345-50.

Outside of Metz, Drogo's potential dedications all center on a particular type of saint. Sources claim that he sent the relics of St. Auctor, St. Celeste, and St. Adelphe—three previous bishops of Metz—to Marmoutier and Neuwiller. After the destruction of the Marmoutier abbey church by fire in 827, Drogo dispatched Auctor and Celeste there from Metz.<sup>83</sup> The abbey of St-Pierre and St-Paul of Neuwiller received the relics of Adelphe in 846.<sup>84</sup> Drogo may have also sent the relics of St. Rufus, another bishop of Metz, to an unknown institution near Odernheim.<sup>85</sup> Each of these figures is one of his saintly predecessors, included in the list of Messine bishops located at the end of the Sacramentary that concludes with Drogo's name.<sup>86</sup> If the *Ordo* were intended for use in the dedication of other locations to Messine episcopal saints, it would mean the creation of satellites connected through current and past episcopal presence. In the context of the *Ordo*, the desired image of episcopal mediation would be doubled by a practice that paired Drogo with the relics of previous officeholders. The *Ordo* might seek to create a lineage of powerful episcopal saints, of which Drogo was the direct inheritor.

The political and religious events of the 840s and 850s, when the manuscript was produced, suggest why the creators of the *Ordo* show such concern for lasting episcopal authority and mediation. Drogo's role as negotiator and peacemaker during the decades of civil war aligns nicely with the *Ordo*'s overall model of the bishop as intermediary. Drogo

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<sup>83</sup> *Chronicon sancti Clementis Mettense*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS, 24 (Hanover, 1879), 493; Franz Xaver Kraus, *Kunst und Alterthum in Elsass-Lothringen*, 4 vols., vol. 1 (Strasbourg: C. F. Schmidt, 1876-92), 146-8; Glansdorff, "Drogon," 1007.

<sup>84</sup> *Translatio et Miracula S. Adelphi episcopi Mettensis*, ed. L. de Heinemann, MGH SS, 15.1 (Hanover, 1887), 293-6; Glansdorff, "Drogon," 1007.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 1008.

<sup>86</sup> The translated bishops all appear in the concluding list and in the Latin verses on the Messine episcopacy that precede it. In the former, Celeste ("Caelestis") is listed second, Rufus ninth, Adelphe ("Adelphe") tenth, and Auctor thirteenth. Drogo is fortieth and last. See Pelt, *La Liturgie I*, 102-4.

served as ambassador for Louis the Pious before the emperor's death in 840, dealing in particular with Louis's rebellious sons, and after this date he continued to mediate between his nephews over the partition of the empire.<sup>87</sup> Drogo generally supported and represented the new emperor, Lothar I, in whose realm Metz was located. He maintained a reputation for relative impartiality and the city continued to be a desired middle ground for meetings between the heirs or their envoys.<sup>88</sup> As the representative of two emperors during an era of near-constant strife, Drogo had a special interest in depicting himself as an elevated mediator with access to the saints.

The violence and volatility of contemporary political conditions might also have created a desire for cleansing ceremonies that asserted truces and safe spaces in particular communities. The practical goals of the bishop's prayer during the *Ordo's* purification of the church interior become apparent against this backdrop. In it, the bishop says: "Deus qui loca nomini tuo dicata sanctificas tribuae quaesumus ut quicumque hic ingredientes postulaverint, misericordiae tuae auxilium sibi gaudeant adfuisse [God, you who sanctify to peace places devoted to your name, we beg that anyone entering here should ask that they may rejoice to be present through the aid of your mercy]." The prayer asks that all who enter, including the *Ordo's* participants, should celebrate being present in a location sanctified against violence. In performance, the prayer functions as a group acknowledgement of protected space, expressed through the physical practice of ceremonial consecration. Acting as their representative, the bishop voices the community's joint desire for peace in the new

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<sup>87</sup> For general background to the political conflicts during Drogo's episcopacy, see Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, Nelson, *Charles the Bald*.

<sup>88</sup> An 842 meeting was scheduled to be held in Metz, for example. Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, 126. The constant state of war among Lothar, Charles the Bald, and Louis the German meant that travel to Metz was dangerous, however, which may have cut down on the number of actual meetings in the city.

church. This prayer is situated amid the *Ordo's* performance actions that drive out the snares of the enemy, *quod aut incolomitati habitantium invidet aut quieti* [which begrudge(s) the safety and quiet of the residents]. In this context, the newly dedicated building is identified as a space protected by God where there had once been dangerous and unsettling enemies. One might imagine the *Ordo* as a tool for spreading a particular model of ecclesiastical or monastic “peace” to new communities through the practices of a Messine episcopal mediator.

Nonetheless, despite the *Ordo's* depiction of the bishop as a naturalized, unquestionable authority, Drogo's status as universal spokesman was under dispute during the years of the *Ordo's* production. Specifically, its performance strategies might respond to the commotion surrounding Drogo's appointment as papal legate. Lothar sent Drogo to Rome in 844, accompanied by Louis II, at which time Pope Sergius II named Drogo as his representative north of the Alps.<sup>89</sup> The new title brought significant power, in theory, and Drogo should have been able to call general synods and control all Frankish ecclesiastical communication with the Pope. Bishops living in the western lands under the control of Charles the Bald refused to recognize Drogo's new status, however, and only the Eastern bishops ever confirmed the title. The backdrop of Drogo as contested papal representative adds yet another dimension to the symbolism of the *Ordo*. For example, the dialogue at the church doors presents the bishop as spokesman or stand-in for the Lord or Christ, who mediates between the power of God on earth and the “snare” or demon who questions God's authority. This portion of the performance might depict a desired reading of historical events in which Drogo's claim to speak for the Pope, God's representative on earth, is validated. The performance of the *Ordo* within the context of historically contested

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<sup>89</sup> See Glansdorff, “Drogon,” 970-2.

authority for the bishop of Metz might express an interpretation of events favorable to his perspective.

The creators of the *Ordo* might have sought to reaffirm local presence and power in the person of the bishop within a more general context of contested or weakening authority. With the exception of Drogo's tenure, the ninth century was a period of decline for his office. As noted above, Drogo gained the position of bishop of Metz in the early 820s following the death of his short-lived predecessor. In the eighth century, Chrodegang and Angilram had been powerful and well-regarded, serving as archbishops of Metz for decades. Chrodegang enjoyed a close working relationship with Pippin III and Angilram served Charlemagne in many capacities and became archchaplain of the realm. This tradition of influential Messine archbishops had undergone a period of interruption, however, since the bishopric of Metz remained unfilled during the last three decades of Charlemagne's reign. During this time episcopal prestige faded on a local level.<sup>90</sup> Drogo's immediate predecessor held the city for four years, not much time during which to make an impact. Although he assumed a neglected and weakened see, Drogo's family connection to the emperors renewed episcopal power within Metz and reaffirmed its importance in the greater ecclesiastical realm. In the course of his lifetime, however, larger political developments blunted the ongoing momentum of Metz's re-ascent. The death of Louis the Pious and the partition of the empire, followed by the death of Lothar, shifted the loci of the new realms further east and west, so that Metz was located on two borders and no longer in the central kingdom. The dynastic claims made by the Carolingians regarding Arnoul and Metz faded in the second half of the ninth century. Furthermore, other powerful churchmen rose to dominance in the generation after Drogo, eclipsing subsequent Messine bishops such as Adventius. Hincmar

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<sup>90</sup> For a brief discussion of the effect of the empty seat, see *ibid.*, 988.

of Reims, for example, was elected to his see in 845 against the wishes of Lothar and Drogo and asserted his dominance in numerous ways.<sup>91</sup> The late-Carolingian bishops of Metz never attained the heights of their predecessors and more often found themselves under the thumb of archbishops like Hincmar. Drogo could claim royal blood and the personal support of emperors, but the revived office of Metz required more than a single archbishop to keep it strong. The authority that Drogo returned to the long-empty seat resided in his person and did not long outlast him. Practical tools that asserted the bishop's supremacy on a local or broader level, such as liturgical performances, may have been seen as necessary.

Ultimately, specific interpretations such as these are only possible through the overlap of image and text with liturgy and local history. Without the methodology of performance, previous ideas about the *Ordo* have been restricted to the incorrect reading fostered by a brief extract and the ahistorical role it played in the development of the liturgy. Instead, the approach in this study reveals that the *Ordo* models the bishop as a mediator who stands between a community and the actions of its saints. The ceremony and its manuscript might have been useful to Drogo for any number of historical reasons, since the flexibility of the symbolism of this church consecration allows it to interact with numerous and changing circumstances to produce key meanings. Its image of the bishop as an authority figure is an unsurprising picture to emerge from an episcopal-centered manuscript of the Carolingian era, and fits especially well with the clerical community of Metz which had participated in the earlier reforms that produced that same symbolism. Continuing earlier traditions of performance culture, the creators of the *Ordo* used exegetical, liturgical, and musical associations to enrich the symbolism of specific portions of the ceremony and

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<sup>91</sup> Hincmar took precedence over Adventius during the coronation of Charles the Bald in Metz in 869, for example. Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, 145-6; Glansdorff, "Drogon," 967.

attention to the manner of performance to clarify its emphasis on the bishop and saints. This symbolism of hierarchy corresponds with social and material differences among the performers and enacts episcopal authority in ways that are contextually specific and effective. Perhaps most importantly, the *Ordo* reifies the presence of the saints in the community through a performance that purifies an appropriate space and insures their participation, yet in the end controls access to their relics and the space around the altar.

The *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae* operates in the context of Metz and its episcopal saints to activate and create memories of great and saintly bishops, past and future. Its creators devised an object that would recreate and carry forward the tradition of Messine bishops and archbishops through ceremony. In a period of uncertainty for the see, Drogo may have commissioned the Sacramentary with the prestige of future bishops of Metz in mind. The *Ordo* could function as a tool to transmit episcopal authority from bishop to bishop through performance, offering each man a model of the ideal ceremony. Such flexible practices could draw on social, historical, even personal context to deepen symbolic meanings made present through tradition and innovation. The manner of representation would ultimately determine the interpretive structure of these visual, musical, embodied, liturgical performances. The *Ordo* offers the opportunity to transform space through performed and performative action—it also makes possible the complex symbolism that ultimately reflected and focused the light of performance on the bishop and his saints.

### Chapter Conclusions

The performance culture of Metz expressed itself in varying forms during the Carolingian era, yet the practices examined in Chapters Two and Three articulated the goals and purposes of the city's three archbishops through local, episcopal-centered models of

performance that promoted Metz as a religious and political center within the Frankish empire. This chapter and the previous have demonstrated that contemporary political, cultural, and social motivations guided the incorporation of a mixture of techniques and tools—Roman processions and music, a financial system, architectural renovations, the use of costumes, symbolic and explanatory imagery—into the recording and performance of regionally specific liturgy. Through individual examples, each section has highlighted how the category of performance is vital to understanding the larger religious, political, and social history of Metz and the Frankish realm. Chapter Three has revealed that the mid-ninth century *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae* ceremony recorded in the Drogo Sacramentary promotes a vision of episcopal authority, based on control of saintly relics, that operated in the context of contested and weakening power for the bishopric of Metz. In each of the examples examined in the Carolingian chapters, political and religious needs were answered through performances that reordered the city in certain specific ways.

Performance culture in Metz thus had a truly practical impact on the fabric and symbolism of the city. Functioning to regulate the cathedral community, performance introduced and reaffirmed reforms, and both participants and spaces were altered in the process. Ceremonies such as the stationary liturgy promoted the performer's enjoyment of worship, thus reinforcing correct practice on an individual level. Performance also cleansed churches, purifying holy spaces for the introduction of the saints. Such practices clarified the proper symbolism of the participants and the material objects with which they interacted. Overall, Chrodegang, Angilram, and Drogo implemented new religious ideals both to reform performance and to introduce reforms *through* performance.

These Carolingian archbishops used ceremony and ritual to visualize Metz as united in urban and ecclesiastical harmony and arranged in a hierarchy dominated by the bishop

and his cathedral chapter. This gradation extended beyond people to exterior and interior spaces, texts, songs, and objects, establishing relative status and value in every performance element. Angilram's financial system, for example, has illuminated the complex interweaving of performance role and community position that the liturgy both created and responded to. Performance established spatial, social, and other relationships, creating a kind of relational ranking that clarified, among other things, the clerical orders of the Metz cathedral community. These sources attest to the enrichment of the episcopal role, such as in the *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae*, in which the bishop mediates the power of Messine episcopal saints. In multiple ways, Carolingian-era performance practice depicted the bishop as the ultimate source of local authority.

The examination of performance in Carolingian Metz has revealed many details about the functioning of the bishop in local context and his interaction with various external groups, too. The bishop pooled his authority with that of the saints, for example, in a specific, carefully planned ceremony that produced a symbolism favorable to episcopal designs. In this way, Messine bishops used performance to shape interactions with non-Messine institutions through relics and the dedication of churches. The ideal of episcopal dominance was also communicated to the larger community of religious institutions located within Metz through practices such as the stationary liturgy. Closer to home, performance claimed authority for the bishop in his struggles with the canons of his own cathedral, yet also has offered a window into the conflict, resistance, and compromise that active engagement and supervision necessitated.

The unique circumstances of performance in Metz have revealed the importance of site- and institutionally specific practices to the depiction, creation, and enhancement of political and religious stature in a precise historical moment. Of course, the culture of

performance changed over time, as new traditions joined older practice. In particular, the introduction of certain ceremonies transformed Metz from a Merovingian into a Carolingian city through changes to the physical and imagined geography of the city and its ceremonial practice. Performance models from Christian Rome were altered for the Messine context and then exported to other Frankish institutions. The strategic and symbolic importance of Metz and its bishop was expressed as a constant theme in this period. Yet the infiltration of Metz-based performances into the greater liturgy of the late-ninth century and later did not reflect the ongoing status of Messine episcopal authority in the larger realm. Although vital to contemporary understandings of Metz, performance practice was not the only factor influencing the success of the ideals thus presented.

The theoretical approach of performance has alone made the findings of Chapters Two and Three possible. As a methodology, it incorporates material culture, the economics of reform, and the social meaning of the liturgy into an examination of the eighth and ninth centuries. Through performance, the interrelation of *renovatio* with financial motivations has become visible at an earlier date than previously thought. This approach has exposed the perceived importance of correct form and the representation of proper symbolism to contemporaries. It also has provided a corrective analysis to an entrenched misinterpretation of an important liturgical ceremony. Overall, this synthesis of visual, physical, financial, and textual evidence has revealed the tangible uses and effects of performance on the culture and history of Metz during the Carolingian era.

#### Chapter Four: Continuity and Greek-Language Performance in the Post-Carolingian Era

During the late ninth to eleventh centuries, Metz underwent a significant transformation: the Carolingians disappeared from the region and were replaced by new, Ottonian emperors. This transition in leadership had many profound consequences, but its impact on performance practice in Metz has yet to be addressed. Chapters Two and Three have demonstrated that a series of archbishops who were closely affiliated with Carolingian rulers and their lineage had previously placed a distinctly dynastic stamp on the city. Performance models of the eighth and ninth centuries had imagined and shaped an urban center whose identity drew heavily on Carolingian holiness and authority. Such connections were especially strong at St-Arnoul, a community that housed, buried, and celebrated the heirs of Arnoul and Charlemagne. During the tenth century, however, the living symbols of this royal founding mythology weakened and departed from the region. What happened to the performance traditions of an institution that had buttressed a now-defunct ruling family? During this period of instability, “a concept of continuity was at the very heart of actual change.”<sup>1</sup> This chapter argues that previous performance practices were not discarded, but rather were preserved and appropriated for new purposes.

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<sup>1</sup> This quote refers to foundation legends and hagiographical texts in early medieval Britain. David C. Harvey and Rhys Jones, “Custom and Habit(us): The Meaning of Traditions and Legends in Early Medieval Western Britain,” *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 81, no. 4 (1999): 223.

Previous studies of liturgical drama have described the tenth and eleventh centuries as a period of radical new beginnings, however. The constructed history of this approach pinpoints the origins of medieval drama within this era, identifying the emergence of new theatrical practices in the region of Lotharingia.<sup>2</sup> Early studies of the *Quem quaeritis* trope identified it as a crucial source for the development in the tenth century of the theater, for example.<sup>3</sup> More recent work has examined the possible influence of Gorzian monastic reform on this “exceptional” aspect of the liturgy, seeking to contextualize changes to drama within contemporary religious culture.<sup>4</sup> Although this attention to the historical framework of performance is laudable and productive, it nonetheless continues to validate the category of drama by privileging newness over possible continuity. It disregards the influence of previous centuries of practice and excludes texts that do not adhere to modern dramatic conventions. Liturgical drama, by definition, separates the performance traditions of the high Middle Ages from those of earlier eras in a way that conveniently corresponds to scholarly periodization. Since “drama” deliberately omits the evidence for performance during the Frankish era, tenth and eleventh century documentation is interpreted as if it had no contextual antecedents. An approach is thus needed that incorporates the whole of medieval history and studies connections between adjacent eras. The tenth to eleventh centuries will remain a period of “origins,” unless we examine what came before.

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<sup>2</sup> An *Officium stellae* play has been identified with Metz, for example. Karl Young’s printing of an early eleventh-century *Officium stellae* text with Metz neumes, located in a manuscript from Malmédy, Belgium, has mistakenly led some scholars to attribute it with Metz origins. Despite the terminology of the musical notation, there is no reason to suspect that the document was copied or performed in Metz. See Peter Dronke, ed., *Nine Medieval Latin Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), xxii; Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, II, 443-5.

<sup>3</sup> For examples, see the studies cited in the Introduction and in Chapter Three.

<sup>4</sup> James H. Forse, “Religious Drama and Ecclesiastical Reform in the Tenth Century,” *Early Theatre* 5, no. 2 (2002): 47-70.

The field of ritual studies also over-accentuates ruptures with the past during this period, but for different reasons. In the functionalist model of ritual theory, the context of widespread political, cultural, and social change necessitates parallel discontinuities in performance practice. It forces the conclusion that earlier ceremonies must have lost utility.<sup>5</sup> This approach to ritual has come under attack in the past decade by Philippe Buc and others, however, as has the widespread failure to address the circumstances under which ceremonies are created, recorded, and preserved.<sup>6</sup> A more flexible model of analysis has yet to fully take hold, but findings from previous chapters suggest that the interaction between cultural change and performance in Metz was complex and that our comprehension of this period would benefit from the application of performance methodology.

Chapter Four thus combines new work from the fields of liturgy and ritual to address current limitations in the fields of history and theater. Writing about liturgical manuscripts, Yitzhak Hen has expressed the idea that each “is a unique entity that can profitably be studied as a reflection of the local circumstances which led to its production.”<sup>7</sup> Applied broadly, Hen’s approach allows historians to address intentionality and the nature of their evidence. Furthermore, Susan Boynton has demonstrated that liturgy “constructs history,” and that it offers “a perspective on monastic identity” that should be studied in conjunction with other kinds of historical evidence.<sup>8</sup> Although Boynton is concerned primarily with the rehabilitation of the daily liturgy of monastic institutions as a historical source, her approach offers a mode of analysis that reclaims communal performance for

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<sup>5</sup> See the Introduction for a summary of the critique of the functionalist approach and the current state of ritual studies.

<sup>6</sup> Buc, “Political Rituals,” 196-9.

<sup>7</sup> Hen, *Royal Patronage*, 15.

<sup>8</sup> Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, 2-3, 232.

history more generally. Royal and aristocratic ritual has been much studied for the Ottonian period, but the inclusion of the ideas of these scholars offers a fresh perspective by suggesting a new model: the examination of how performances and the production of performance evidence shaped both communal history and communal identity on the local and institutional level.<sup>9</sup>

As in earlier chapters, the performance methodology permits the re-examination of previously held assumptions and of hitherto discarded evidence for contemporary practice. Although real discontinuities existed in political and cultural life between the Carolingian and Ottonian eras, this chapter demonstrates the ways in which the preservation of performance practice could be used to assert the ongoing importance of the past. Previous scholarship has shown that new modes of performance emerged in the tenth and eleventh centuries, but has yet to explore the survival of previous practice. This chapter expands the capacity of performance as an analytical tool by drawing on theory that allows the study of its historical construction over time. Sediment theory, in particular, frames historical inquiry through long-term continuities.<sup>10</sup> This methodology views cultural practice in terms of the historical effects of specific constructs and their ongoing influence on later eras.<sup>11</sup> Although this approach suggests a possible cultural role for performance as a bridge between periods, the continuous history of performance practices nonetheless remains inaccessible in the absence of applied means to consider specific instances of practice at multiple points in time. To this end, Chapter Four adds approaches from New Philology and whole-book studies that make possible the examination of performance evidence in the context both of its original

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<sup>9</sup> For an introduction to the vast body of work on Ottonian ritual, see the Introduction.

<sup>10</sup> Robert S. Sturges, *Chaucer's Pardoner and Gender Theory: Bodies of Discourse*, The New Middle Ages (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), xv.

<sup>11</sup> Irigaray, *Je, tu, nous*, 30.

production and of its use in later decades. New Philology has shown that reliance on printed editions divorces texts from the physical context of production and, by extension, from their social and cultural contexts.<sup>12</sup> The investigation of manuscript creation and history must thus be integrated into performance history if its practices are to be fully situated in contemporary social and cultural life. This methodology also permits performance records and texts to be acknowledged as used and useful artifacts. Similarly, theorizing on the whole book has expanded these ideas through “materialist philology,” an approach that takes into consideration all of the contents of an individual manuscript. The combination of these two approaches permits an apparent miscellany to be understood “as a collection of diverse writings linked by an overarching theme”<sup>13</sup> and thus as the shaped product of deliberate human invention. In this way, the category of performance allows us to see individual performance texts as participating in larger cultural phenomena that bridge the modern boundaries of periodization.

Using these methodologies, Chapter Four examines some of the various and changing contexts for performance in Metz between the ninth and eleventh centuries, centered on the community of St-Arnoul. During the last years of the ninth century, its members recorded and preserved selected texts that were connected with performance. Such items continued to be collected into the tenth century, when they were assembled in a single manuscript, Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale 351.<sup>14</sup> Beginning with this manuscript, the chapter examines how the institution of St-Arnoul used performance and its record to rethink the past on behalf of the present. As a composite manuscript, Metz 351 combines

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<sup>12</sup> Nichols, “Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture,” 2. This special volume of *Speculum* was devoted to New Philology.

<sup>13</sup> Nichols and Wenzel, eds., *The Whole Book*, 85. See also the special issue “Medieval and Early Modern Miscellanies and Anthologies” in *Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003).

<sup>14</sup> Initially cataloged in *CGMBPD* 5.

performance texts from the Carolingian and post-Carolingian eras in order to preserve and create performance traditions that testified to the authority of St-Arnoul in changed circumstances. Greek-language performances that included a Greek *Laudes*, for example, re-situated the community within the context of a new ruling dynasty and an ascendant local aristocracy. The evolving history of Metz 351 and its texts shows that the adoption and adaptation of performance practice functioned as an important tool for making older institutional narratives relevant.

Furthermore, an examination of the history and historiography of St-Arnoul in the tenth to twelfth centuries reveals that its development of a distinct performance history corresponds to trends in other areas of documentation within the community and in greater Metz. The *Petit Cartulaire* of St-Arnoul, for example, contains copies of charters and narrative texts that relate the history of the institution.<sup>15</sup> Much like Metz 351, it combines many forms of evidence in the creation of a particular monastic identity and history. Saints' lives are now commonly read as documents that imagined the past in order to create present identity.<sup>16</sup> A close reading of a *Vita* that is found in the *Petit Cartulaire*, written about an early bishop of Metz named Patient, reveals an attempt to document and/or generate Greek origins for St-Arnoul's foundation. This manuscript demonstrates that writers and scribes at St-Arnoul used Greek-related elements to authorize contemporary monastic history and

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<sup>15</sup> Michèle Gaillard, ed., *Le Souvenir des carolingiens à Metz au moyen âge: Le Petit cartulaire de Saint-Arnoul* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006).

<sup>16</sup> Amy G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995). For arguments on the role of saints' lives in institutional history, see Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*; Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin*. For recent studies of saints' cults in the Metz region, see Monique Gouillet, "Les Saints du diocèse de Metz," in *Miracles, vies et réécritures dans l'Occident médiéval: Actes de l'atelier 'La Réécriture des Miracles' (IHAP, juin 2004) et SHG X-XII: Dossiers des saints de Metz et Laon et de saint Saturnin de Toulouse*, ed. Monique Gouillet and Martin Heinzelmann (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 2006), 147-316; Guy Philippart and Anne Wagner, "Hagiographie lorraine (950-1130): Les diocèses de Metz, Toul et Verdun," in *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, ed. Guy Philippart (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 583-744.

culture in multiple genres. Furthermore, analysis of the activities of the late-tenth century bishop Dietrich I of Metz reveals how the overlapping strategies of foundation mythology, “Greekness,” and performance were borrowed by and circulated among other Messine episcopal institutions. Greek-language performance also took on new meanings when set against the backdrop of Dietrich I’s relations with the Ottonian emperors and a Byzantine empress. This historical material adds valuable comparative context for the creation of performance history that is visible in Metz 351, indicating that it participated in a larger and ongoing construction of historical identity at St-Arnoul in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Overall, this chapter demonstrates the flexibility of performance practice and the lasting importance of performance history to institutional history and to communal identity.

#### The Monastery of St-Arnoul: Historical Context

Over the course of the early Middle Ages, the community of St-Arnoul grew into a wealthy, well-established, and influential institution, and the potential continuities and discontinuities in its performance practice between the late ninth and eleventh centuries must be understood in the context of this past. The foundation and early history of St-Arnoul are relatively obscure. The monastery is first mentioned by name at a relatively late date, in a document that terms it the *Basilica sanctorum apostolorum*, or Holy Apostles basilica.<sup>17</sup> Archeological remains indicate that an early basilica was situated approximately 550 yards south of the Gallo-Roman wall, in the Sablon quarter of Metz along the southern road. This area, as was discussed in Chapter One, had comprised the largest of the extra-mural burial sites during the Gallo-Roman era, and had continued in use as a Christian necropolis into the Frankish period. An early church may have appeared on the site in this context, but epitaphs

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<sup>17</sup> AN Ser. J 979.48.12: 20 February 687.

and archaeological findings suggest that St-Arnoul was first established as a cemetery basilica and only later dedicated to the apostles, to John the Evangelist in particular.<sup>18</sup> Despite medieval claims for St-Arnoul's existence in the first part of the fourth century, current consensus dates its earliest architectural remains to the sixth century and thus to the Merovingian era.<sup>19</sup>

St-Arnoul only begins to emerge clearly in the late-Merovingian and early Carolingian period as part of a determined campaign by the Pippinids to create a saintly ancestor who was firmly rooted in Metz.<sup>20</sup> During his life, Arnoul of Metz advised king Dagobert I, perhaps allied himself with Pippin I, and later renounced his episcopal duties and retired to the abbey of Remiremont. No contemporary evidence links him to the Holy Apostles basilica during his lifetime. However, the translation of his remains to the basilica after his death in 641 led to connections between his new home and the new rulers of the Frankish kingdoms. Perhaps already a significant locus of power in Metz, the community of Holy Apostles gained stature during the late seventh and early eighth centuries. Donations by Pippin II (687) and Chilperic II (718), for example, may indicate the perceived importance of the basilica to the Frankish throne by the late seventh to early eighth century.<sup>21</sup> The visibility

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<sup>18</sup> Gauthier, *Topographie*, 49.

<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, the entire monastic complex of St-Arnoul and all other buildings located outside the medieval wall were leveled in 1552 in preparation for a siege of the city. The remains were discovered and excavated at the turn of the century, with the findings published in Bour, "Die Benediktiner-Abtei, I," 1-136; idem, "Die Benediktiner-Abtei St. Arnulf vor den Metzger Stadtmauern, II," *ASHAL* 20 (1908): 20-120. The dig uncovered some epitaphs surviving from the second half of the fifth century, but the contemporary use of this area as a necropolis restricts the utility of this material.

<sup>20</sup> This chapter will only summarize the eighth- and ninth-century evidence connecting St-Arnoul with the Carolingian rulers, since it is thoroughly discussed in Oexle, "Die Karolinger und die Stadt," 250-364. As mentioned above, recent scholarship questions the Carolingian claim of descent from Arnoul, due to the late date of the evidence. See Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 259-60.

<sup>21</sup> One document donates the village and domain of Norroy to Holy Apostles (AN Ser. J 979.48.12: 20 February 687); the other donates the village of Mars, now called Marthyl (AN Ser. J 979.48.5: 8

of the Holy Apostles basilica rises dramatically during the eighth century, however, when its chapel and crypt were developed as a dynastic burial site for female members of the Carolingian royal family.<sup>22</sup> Arnoul himself played a starring role in the eighth- and ninth-century production of texts that promoted early origins for Carolingian sanctity, and the institution's name slowly shifted from Holy Apostles to St-Arnoul. New histories and *vitae* claimed Arnoul as an ancestor of the Pippinids during a period in which the basilica was developed first as a community of canons and then as a monastery.<sup>23</sup> The archbishop Drogo is attributed with the addition of new buildings to the complex in the mid-ninth century and with its establishment as a regular community of canons living under a Benedictine rule.<sup>24</sup> Charters of Carolingian rulers in the mid- to late ninth century confirmed or made new donations to St-Arnoul.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, evidence documents the late-Carolingian use of St-Arnoul as a palatinate residence.<sup>26</sup> Thus, by the late ninth century, the cultural and political

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June 718). The latter is published in *Die Urkunden der Merowinger*, ed. Theo Kölzer, MGH Diplomata regum Francorum e stirpe Merovingica, 34-5 (Hanover: 2001), no. 175.

<sup>22</sup> Pippin II, for example, buried his sons in St-Arnoul, and many female Carolingians were interred near Arnoul's grave. Royal women buried at St-Arnoul include two daughters of Pippin III, Rothaide and Adelaide, and Charlemagne's wife and daughter, Hildegarde and Adelaide. Of course, Drogo buried Louis the Pious at St-Arnoul in the ninth century. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, 265; Le Moigne, ed., *Histoire de Metz*, 76; *Historia S. Arnulphi Mettensis*, 536; Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le Roi est mort*, 38, 66; Gaillard, "L'Éphémère promotion," 145.

<sup>23</sup> For the textual history of the Arnoul *Vitae* and their manuscripts and editions, see Monique Gouillet and Martin Heinzelmänn, eds., *Miracles, vies, et réécritures dans l'Occident médiéval*, Beihefte der Francia 65 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2006), 212-34.

<sup>24</sup> See Chapters Two and Three for Chrodegang's *Regula canonicorum* and Drogo's contributions to St-Arnoul; Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 62.

<sup>25</sup> For example, documents record successive royal donations to St-Arnoul with regard to the same village: AN Ser. J 979.48.19: 13 August 840, in which Lothar donates the revenues from his city of Remilly to St-Arnoul; AN Ser. J 979.48.17: 24 February 842, in which Charles the Bald donates the village of Remilly to St-Arnoul; and AN Ser. J 979.48.18: 23 November 875, in which Louis the German donates a chapel in the same village.

<sup>26</sup> Four royal diplomas were issued at St-Arnoul and royal presence is documented seven times between 875 and 913. Furthermore, the road to St-Arnoul was called the *via regia* in the ninth and tenth centuries because the Carolingian and later kings arrived at the abbey along it. Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 61-2 nn. 205, 207.

identity of the monastery had been thickly interwoven with that of the Carolingian kings and emperors.

Changing political and religious trends in the tenth and eleventh centuries transformed the cultural climate at St-Arnoul and in Metz, however, necessitating the abandonment or redeployment of many earlier institutional narratives and practices. The increasing divisions between East and West Francia kept attention on Lotharingia as a disputed middle region, but the ongoing struggles for control now featured independent local powers who benefited from the often-violent clashes. During this period of new empire formation, the dukes of Lotharingia and the counts of Metz saw their control over the city briefly rise and then be usurped by the city's bishops. From the mid-tenth to eleventh centuries, Metz and its surrounding territories developed into an episcopal principality.<sup>27</sup> Messine bishops were often appointed by the Eastern king or emperor and, as was the case elsewhere, the bishopric of Metz was reserved for men loyal to the throne. Thus many bishops of Metz were active supporters of the Ottonian dynasty and acquired major donations of land and other religious houses in this way.<sup>28</sup> Despite the city's episcopal orientation toward empire, however, several factors also drew Metz westward. The lay aristocracy of the region remained rebellious throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries,

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<sup>27</sup> For the "ecclesiastification" of the region of Lotharingia in the late ninth century, see Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400-1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 224-5. Vassals of the bishops of Metz included the counts of Blâmont, Sarrewerden, Dabo, and Sarrebruck and the lords of Puttelange and Commercy. René Bour, *Histoire de Metz* (Metz: Serpenoise, 1989), 60.

<sup>28</sup> With some notable exceptions, however: the emperor Henry II besieged Metz twice, in 1009 and 1012, because bishop Dietrich II of Metz and his brother Adalbero, members of a local comital family, had rebelled. Michel Parisse, "Lotharingia," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History Vol. III, c. 900 - c. 1024*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 321.

playing East against West to enhance their own standing.<sup>29</sup> Despite a general Ottonian affiliation on the part of the city's bishops, political unrest kept the region in play for a long time between the Ottonians and the late-Carolingian, then early Capetian rulers.

Furthermore, the inhabitants of Metz spoke a Romance-based vernacular, so the city was linguistically oriented toward the west and south.<sup>30</sup> The result of these combined factors was the creation of an independent city, governed by its bishop, that flourished despite ongoing military tensions and conflict. The bishops of Metz saw a significant gain in independence from imperial control while maintaining close and positive relations with individual emperors.

These larger political developments had a strong impact on the effective power and continuing political stature of St-Arnoul over the late ninth to tenth centuries. Problems of inheritance and the ongoing importance of the Carolingian lineage in the late ninth century ensured the relevance of this community, which could offer a form of legitimacy to royal and imperial candidates in uncertain times. St-Arnoul had become the most powerful of the religious communities located in Metz, and veneration of Arnoul and the legendary founder Patient had been implanted in other local episcopal institutions.<sup>31</sup> By the early tenth century,

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<sup>29</sup> For general background on the nobility of the Metz region, see Michel Parisse, *La Noblesse lorraine, XI-XIII siècle* (Paris and Lille, 1976); idem, *Noblesse et chevalerie en Lorraine médiévale: Les familles nobles du XI<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Nancy: Publications de l'Université de Nancy II, 1982).

<sup>30</sup> The linguistic boundary between the Romance and Germanic vernaculars ran vertically through Lotharingia, passing to the east of Metz. Though the residents of Metz were exposed to Germanic languages, the city was not truly bilingual in the Middle Ages: all of the city's vernacular records preserve a form of French, and the documents and manuscripts of private citizens are written in French as well. Jean Lahner, "La Langue lorraine au moyen âge," in *Écriture et enluminure en Lorraine au moyen âge: La plume et le parchemin* (Nancy: Société Thierry Alix and Musée Historique Lorrain, 1984), 179-81; Parisse, "Lotharingia," 312.

<sup>31</sup> Arnoul was celebrated at Gorze, which held one of his relics, by the twelfth century. Copies of his *Vita* also survive from this period from St-Symphorien, St-Vincent, and the cathedral of St-Étienne. The relics of Patient, an early bishop of Metz and supposed founder of St-Arnoul, could be found in three Messine churches. See Paris BNF lat. 11025, fols. 27v-28v; *BHL* 689-701; Paris BNF lat. 5294, Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Philipps 1839; Metz BM 397; Metz BM 494; Anne Wagner, *Gorze*

royal power was embodied in Metz in the form of the royal counts, who represented the kings of Lotharingia, and had originally been in the service of the Carolingian kings.<sup>32</sup> By the mid-tenth century, however, an episcopal officeholder controlled the functions of the royal counts, which included military leadership, control of fairs and taxation, and minting. One of these palatine or episcopal counts was Theodebert, a man who served for nearly two decades (948-67) and was vowed to St-Arnoul.<sup>33</sup> This record of a member of the St-Arnoul community serving as representative and administrator on behalf of the bishops of Metz suggests the extent to which the rise of the bishops of Metz had translated into increased power and jurisdiction for the communities under their direction, as well. This increase in effective sovereignty is also visible in the increased territorial holdings of St-Arnoul in this period. By the eleventh century, nearly all the lands in the Messine *pagus* were owned by the bishop, St-Arnoul, or one of the other episcopal abbeys.<sup>34</sup> These transformations indicate that St-Arnoul, like other contemporary monasteries, could exercise even greater political, financial, and judicial authority than before.

The Metz area was a major center for the diffusion of new religious ideals during the tenth century, the impact of which was felt strongly at St-Arnoul. The abbey had supported a community of canons since the mid-ninth century. This configuration was altered in 942, however, by the influence of new traditions emerging from Gorze, a monastery located

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*au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Contribution à l'histoire du monachisme bénédictin dans l'Empire* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 439, 459.

<sup>32</sup> Le Moigne, ed., *Histoire de Metz*, 111.

<sup>33</sup> Jean Schneider, *La Ville de Metz aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Nancy, 1950), 67-9. The abbot Benoit of St-Arnoul was also a son of one of the counts palatine. Wagner, *Gorze au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 41.

<sup>34</sup> Bour, *Histoire de Metz*, 58.

twelve miles southwest of the city.<sup>35</sup> Founded by Chrodegang in the eighth century, Gorze had continued to function in the Messine orbit under the direction of the bishop of Metz. In the early tenth century, however, it developed an influential style of monasticism that was Benedictine in its observances, while remaining friendly to episcopal and lay governance. This organizational form was welcome in the East-Frankish-controlled areas of Lotharingia and in the Eastern empire, where its quick spread gave the reform an authority equal to that of Cluny in the West.<sup>36</sup> Unlike Cluny, however, there was no centralized control of the Gorzian houses, and local lay and episcopal control continued, undisturbed.<sup>37</sup> The reformation of St-Arnoul according to the Gorzian model served to reinforce episcopal and imperial connections to the community: in 942 Bishop Adalbert I expelled the canons and installed monks in their place; a charter of Otto I confirmed the act.<sup>38</sup> Thus the installation

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<sup>35</sup> For this summary of Gorzian reform and the reform of Messine institutions in the tenth and twelfth centuries, I rely on Wagner, *Gorze au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*; Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, 2 vols., *Studia Anselmiana philosophica theologica* 22-5 (Rome: Herder, 1950-1). For other recent research on this subject, see also Otto Gerhard Oexle and Michel Parisse, eds., *L'abbaye de Gorze au X<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Nancy: Presses universitaires de Nancy, 1993); Étienne Manson, ed., *Gorze au fil des siècles: 9<sup>e</sup> Centenaire de la mort de l'abbé Henri le Bon* (Metz: Serpenoise, 1993).

<sup>36</sup> Wagner, *Gorze au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 28-9.

<sup>37</sup> These institutions, including St-Arnoul, were linked through mutual commemorative confraternities and obituary-lists. See Ernst Dümmler, "Ein Metzger Totenbuch (aus Jaffés Nachlass)," *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte* 13 (1873): 596-600; Nicolas Huyghebaert, *Les Documents nécrologiques*, *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental*, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1972); Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung im früheren Mittelalter," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976): 70-95; Frederick S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Giles Constable, "The Commemoration of the Dead in the Early Middle Ages," in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. Julia Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 169-95; Gerd Althoff, *Amicitiae und Pacta: Bündnis, Einung, Politik und Gebetsgedenken im beginnenden 10 Jahrhundert*, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 37 (Hanover: Hann, 1992); idem, *Family, Friends and Followers: Political and Social Bonds in Medieval Europe*, trans. Christopher Carroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>38</sup> AD Moselle Ser. H 6.1, edited in Martin Meurisse, *Histoire des évêques de l'église de Metz* (Metz: J. Anthoine, 1634), 306. AD Moselle Ser. H 6.2, edited in *Diplomata Ottonis I*, ed. Theodor Sickel, MGH DD, 12 (Berlin, 1956), no. 45. See also Karl Wichmann, "Adalbero I. Bischof von Metz, 929-962,"

of Gorzian monasticism at St-Arnoul in the mid-tenth century also established connections between the community, its bishop, and the new emperor.

### The Diffusion of Greek and Byzantine Culture in Metz and the West

Metz was also well-situated to experience the growing Byzantine cultural influence of this period. The tenth and eleventh centuries saw an increase in contact between the East-Frankish realms and the Byzantine world. After a period of relative isolation in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, when the land route north of the Alps was blocked, direct connections were opened once more.<sup>39</sup> Travel went in both directions, and included Western pilgrims passing through Constantinople on the way to the Holy Land and Byzantine monks and bishops entering Lotharingian monasteries.<sup>40</sup> Interaction between the two realms was weighted heavily toward diplomacy, however, at the initiative of Otto I. A series of envoys was exchanged between the Ottonian and Byzantine courts, beginning as early as 941. In that year Otto I's brother Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne and later duke of Lotharingia, received a delegation of Byzantine clerics in Cologne.<sup>41</sup> Formal Byzantine ambassadors arrived in 945, followed by visits in 949, 952, and 956. Otto I also sent Liudprand of Cremona to Constantinople in 968 to negotiate for a Byzantine princess as a bride for Otto II, and Liudprand returned there again in 971. The result of these diplomatic

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*JGLG* 3 (1891): 104-74; idem, "Adalberos I. Schenkungsurkunde für das Arnulfskloster und ihre Fälschung," 306-19; Raymund Kottje and H. Maurer, eds., *Monastische Reformen im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, Vorträge und Forschungen 38 (Sigmaringen, 1989).

<sup>39</sup> The tenth-century traffic in passengers and mail to Constantinople was dominated by the Venetian sea trade. Karl Leyser, "The Tenth Century in Byzantine-Western Relationships," in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. Derek Baker (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1977), 29, 32.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>41</sup> Ruotger of Trier, *Vita Brunonis*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, 4 (Hanover, 1841), 357; T.C. Lounghis, *Les Ambassades byzantines en Occident: Depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu'aux Croisades (407-1096)* (Athènes: Typografia KM, 1980).

efforts was seen in 972, when Otto II, now co-emperor, married the princess Theophanu.<sup>42</sup> She brought with her to the West Byzantine companions, objects, and traditions. Thus, due to its connections with the Ottonian court, Metz and the region of Lotharingia were exposed to Byzantine culture that originated in Constantinople itself. The attention shown by the rulers of East Francia toward Byzantine political contact during this period hints at a wider trend toward Greek-oriented culture that expressed itself in other contexts, as well.

Greek-language study and performance represent one important area of ongoing interest in the Eastern empire.<sup>43</sup> Current understandings of general Greek literacy in the ninth- to eleventh-century West suggest that Greek-oriented practice would have taken place only in specialized circumstances. As one of the sacred languages, Greek had retained a

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<sup>42</sup> This marriage represents one of the few successes in the ongoing attempts by Western rulers in the ninth to eleventh centuries to secure Byzantine marriages for their children. Pierre Riché, “Le Grec dans les centres de culture d’occident,” in *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Michael W. Herren and Shirley Ann Brown (London: King’s College, 1988), 154. Theitmar of Merseburg claims that Theophanu was merely the niece of the emperor John Tsimiskis, and thus a compromise bride. Her true parentage remains under debate by scholars. Theitmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. Robert Holtzmann, MGH SSrG N.S., 9 (Berlin, 1935), II.15. A number of recent studies have reevaluated Theophanu’s role in the West: Ekkehard Eickhoff, *Theophanu und der König: Otto III und seine Welt* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1996); Adelbert Davids, ed., *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Gunther G. Wolf and Helmut Fussbroich, *Kaiserin Theophanu: Prinzessin aus der Fremde, des Westreichs Grosse Kaiserin* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1991); Helmut Fussbroich, *Theophanu: Die Griechin auf dem deutschen Kaiserthron, 972-991* (Cologne: Wienand, 1991); Anton Von Euw and Peter Schreiner, eds., *Kaiserin Theophanu: Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin*, 2 vols. (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1991); idem, *Kunst im Zeitalter der Kaiserin Theophanu: Akten des Internationalen Colloquiums veranstaltet vom Schnütgen-Museum, Köln, 13-15 Juni 1991* (Cologne: Locher, 1993).

<sup>43</sup> The general impact of Byzantine visual culture on the West in this period is too large to be discussed here. See Kurt Weitzmann, “Various Aspects of Byzantine Influence on the Latin Countries from the Sixth to Twelfth Century,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966): 1-24; Ernst Kitzinger, “The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966): 25-47; Otto Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West*, The Wrightsman Lectures Under the Auspices of the New York University Institute of Fine Arts 3 (New York: New York University Press, 1970); Henry Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian Book Illumination: An Historical Study, 1: Themes; 2: Books*, 2 vols. (London: Harvey Miller, 1991); Davids, ed., *The Empress Theophano*; Robert S. Nelson, “Living on the Byzantine Borders of Western Art,” *Gesta* 35, no. 1 (1996): 3-11; Holger A. Klein, “Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 283-314.

distinctive prestige and was desirable for biblical studies. Outside of Italy, various levels of Greek literacy existed in the early medieval West, ranging from the ability to compose new material to basic recognition of the Greek alphabet. A renewal of interest in Greek studies began in the ninth century, but ongoing efforts were hampered by the absence of reference works.<sup>44</sup> So although knowledge of the Greek alphabet was common to educated persons of this period, this skill was usually limited to the ability to write the letters and their names.<sup>45</sup> Nonetheless, Greek texts appeared in a variety of forms and were continually sought after. Greek survivals range from the simple ornamentation of a text with a few Greek words to full bilingual editions. A few scholars were noted for their knowledge of the language: Johannes Scottus Eriugena both translated Greek works into Latin and produced new verses in Greek for Charles the Bald; Liudprand of Cremona mastered both classical and contemporary Greek, which he used as the envoy of Otto I to Constantinople.<sup>46</sup> Also common, and directly relevant to the Greek *Laudes* in Metz 351, was the practice of transliterating Greek into Roman characters. In this case it was the aural, rather than the visual, aspect of the language that was emphasized and, accordingly, transliteration was

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<sup>44</sup> Bernice M Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian World: The St-Gall Manuscripts*, Speculum Anniversary Monographs 13 (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1988), 4.

<sup>45</sup> Michael W. Herren and Shirley Ann Brown, eds., *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, KCLMS II (London: King's College, 1988), vi.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, v; Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian World*, 5. In the same volume, see A.C. Dionisotti's "Greek Grammars and Dictionaries in Carolingian Europe," 53. For Liudprand and ceremony, see Philippe Buc, "Ritual and Interpretation: The Medieval Case," *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000): 183-210; *idem*, "Writing Ottonian Hegemony: Good Rituals and Bad Rituals in Liutprand of Cremona," *Majestas* 4 (1996): 3-38. For Liudprand's narration of a failed *adventus* into Metz, see Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, ed. Paolo Chiesa, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 156 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1998), I.16.18-19. For interest in Greek at the court of Charles the Bald, see also Gabriella Corona, ed., *Aelfric's Life of Saint Basil the Great: Background and Context* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2006).

commonly utilized for performance texts.<sup>47</sup> In this period Greek appears most frequently in the West in transliterated form, used in the liturgy as a special performance language.

Despite the overall low level of Greek literacy, oral exposure to and experience of the language took place in liturgical performance. The financial document authored by Angilram, discussed in Chapter Two, attests to performance of the Psalms in Greek and in Latin by the Metz cathedral chapter in the late eighth century.<sup>48</sup> Greek-language practice had appeared in the liturgies of the West more generally by the ninth century. The *Kyrie eleison*, for example, is a transliterated Greek prayer that was sung during every mass. Similar texts can be found with some regularity in manuscripts of the ninth to eleventh centuries, particularly in the form of chants for the mass Ordinary.<sup>49</sup> These include the Greater Doxology (*Gloria in excelsis Deo/Doxa en ipsistis theo*), the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed (*Credo in unum deum/Pisteuo eis ena theon*), the Apostles' Creed (*Credo in Deum/Pisteuo eis theon*), the Sanctus (*Agios, agios, agios*), and the Agnus Dei (*O amnos tu theu*). Termed *missa graeca* by contemporaries, these were Greek chants performed as a part of the mass, not full masses in Greek.<sup>50</sup> Rather than being transplants from the Byzantine liturgy, they were produced for and had their origins in the Latin liturgy.<sup>51</sup> Language was thus a conscious choice, and usage

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<sup>47</sup> Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian World*, 28-9.

<sup>48</sup> See Appendix One.

<sup>49</sup> Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian World*, 104.

<sup>50</sup> The use of Greek in the liturgy in this period, prior to the thirteenth century, occurs asystematically. Ibid., 102. The *missa graeca* peaked in use between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, trans. Jerold C. Frakes (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1988), 22-4. See also Charles Atkinson, "Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung der 'Missa Graeca'," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 39 (1982): 112-45; idem, "The *Doxa*, the *Pisteuo*, and the *ellinici fratres*: Some Anomalies in the Transmission of the Chants of the 'Missa graeca,'" *Journal of Musicology* 7 (1989): 81-106; idem, "Further Thoughts on the Origin of the *Missa graeca*," in *De musica et cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper*, ed. Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1993), 75-93.

<sup>51</sup> Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian World*, 109-10.

of Greek diverged from the “natural” use of Latin, setting Greek performances apart. Such performance elements represent a deliberate effort to employ Greek as an elite performance language that conveyed specific additional meanings.

On the basis of manuscript use and production, Greek-language study and performance were of continual importance to the community of St-Arnoul from the late ninth to eleventh centuries. In addition to the evidence of the Greek *Laudes*, which dates to the late ninth century, other texts indicate the perceived significance of Greek translation and liturgy over time. A tenth-century copy of Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologiae* from St-Arnoul, in Metz BM 179, concludes with a Latin inscription written in Greek characters.<sup>52</sup> The overlap of evidence from this manuscript with Metz BM 215, from St-Arnoul in the same period, led Bernhard Bischoff to conclude that a scholar competent in Greek miniscule and formal Hebrew square script was active in the second half of the tenth century in Metz.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, Metz BM 500, a manuscript from St-Arnoul that dates to the end of the tenth century, preserves a Greek-Latin glossary by Aynard of St-Evre.<sup>54</sup> A manuscript from St-Arnoul at the start of the eleventh century, Metz BM 494, contains a table of names with Greek equivalents.<sup>55</sup> These study tools suggest that ongoing attempts were made within the community to read and/or translate Greek texts. Lastly, Metz BM 245, from St-Arnoul in

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<sup>52</sup> *CGMBPD* 5, 80-1.

<sup>53</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1967), 254. Both Metz BM 179 and 215 were destroyed. *CGMBPD* 5, 94-5.

<sup>54</sup> George Goetz, ed., *Corpus glossariorum latinorum*, 8 vols., vol. 5 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1888-1923), xxxiv, 615-25; *CGMBPD* 5, 187-9. This manuscript also contains a history and letters of Alexander the Great, suggesting the importance of Greek themes in this collection.

<sup>55</sup> The table appears on fol. 94v. This manuscript also contains sermons for the feasts of the Assumption and St. Arnoul, a *Vita* of St. Clement, and a treatise on ancient music. *CGMBPD* 5, 184-5.

the eleventh century, includes a prayer with transliterated Greek words.<sup>56</sup> It attests to the recurring creation of Greek-language texts at St-Arnoul that recorded or modeled performance. Overall, although the evidence is sparse, its temporal distribution indicates that a general interest in Greek practice endured at St-Arnoul for several centuries.

The survival of Greek-language performance traditions in greater Metz in the tenth and eleventh centuries suggests that the preservation of the Greek *Laudes* and Greek-language study at St-Arnoul fit into a larger emphasis on Greek-language practice, either continuing or newly reborn. The shared episcopal affiliation of St-Arnoul and the nearby monasteries of Gorze and St-Vincent resulted in easy exchanges between them, so manuscripts at both of these other institutions would have been available to the monks at St-Arnoul.<sup>57</sup> Ideas, practices, and texts circulated among these three communities and a portion of this shared culture was clearly connected to Greek-language literacy and performance. At Gorze, for example, the mid-tenth century *Miracula sancti Gorgonii* makes claim to the presence of a monk of “Greek” origin: “De omnibus regionibus congregavit de Graecia, Burgundia... [He assembled (them) from all quarters of Greece, Burgundy...].”<sup>58</sup> Interest in Greek went beyond noting regional identity, however. On a basic level, the presence of Irish monks in Metz may have influenced Greek usage.<sup>59</sup> More specifically, an eleventh-century

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<sup>56</sup> Wagner, 169 n. 303; *CGMBPD* 5, 107-8.

<sup>57</sup> Metz 221, now destroyed, contained an eleventh-century booklist from St-Arnoul. It cataloged the manuscripts from nearby monasteries available for copying, and thus the texts available for addition to the St-Arnoul library. Wagner, *Gorze au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 131. For information on the Metz libraries more generally, see Philip J. Weimerskirch, “The Earliest Catalogs Locating Manuscripts in More Than One Library,” in *Supplementum festivum: Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. James Hankins, John Monfasani, and Frederick Purnell (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1987), 55-63; Anne-Marie Genevois et al., eds., *Bibliothèques de manuscrits médiévaux en France: Relevé des inventaires du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: CNRS, 1987); Philippe Lauer, “Les Manuscrits de Saint-Arnoul de Crépy,” *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Chartes* 63 (1902): 481-16.

<sup>58</sup> John of Gorze, *Miracula S. Gorgonii*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, 4.1 (Hanover, 1841), 121.

<sup>59</sup> Wagner, *Gorze au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 120.

catalog from the Gorze library lists four rolls and manuscripts that are described as having a connection to the Greek language: “Rotula officii sancti baptiste grece compositi [a roll for the office of John the Baptist composed in Greek];” “Rotula grecorum nominum [a roll of Greek names];” “Glosarius super alfabetum hebraicorum et grecorum [Glosses upon the Hebrew and Greek alphabets];” “Quaternio de alfabeto Hebraico et greco [Quire of the Hebrew and Greek alphabets].”<sup>60</sup> Of the items mentioned, the last three relate to Greek-language study, indicating the presence of a Greek name-list and guides to the Greek alphabet in the Gorze library. The first entry, however, describes a roll that contains an office composed in Greek. We cannot know if this text was in Greek or transliterated Latin characters, or how it might have been performed, but the record of the office indicates a wider interest in Greek performance and the preservation of its texts. This trend extended to other Messine institutions as well, since the monastery of St-Vincent owned Metz BM 145, a manuscript dating to the late tenth century that contained a Greek mass and extracts from the *Antapodosis* of Liudprand of Cremona in Greek miniscule.<sup>61</sup> Greek-language liturgical texts thus existed in the libraries of multiple Messine monasteries in the tenth and eleventh centuries, if not in great numbers. Although most of these works no longer survive, records of their contents provide direct evidence for a performance culture in which Greek-language practices were seen as desirable and were copied and preserved by other communities in the St-Arnoul orbit. Thus several Messine institutions possessed a

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 109, 169 n. 303, 170, and 179. Even the terminology used to describe the documents, *rotula*, is more common to the eastern part of the empire.

<sup>61</sup> Now destroyed. *CGMBPD* 5, 61-4; Walter Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter: Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues* (Bern: Francke, 1980), 219-20, 233-4; idem, “Liudprands Griechisch und das Problem einer überlieferungsgerechten Edition,” *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 20 (1985): 112-15; Riché, “Le Grec,” 157; Wagner, *Gorze au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 169 n. 303. For the textual history of the *Antapodosis* in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*, 219-22.

specialized knowledge of Greek, useful primarily for performance.<sup>62</sup> Through transliteration or acquaintance with the Greek alphabet, Greek texts intended for the liturgy and other ceremonial occasions could be sung and spoken by performance-literate clerics and monks in these communities.

In Metz and elsewhere, however, Greek-language performance was not limited to the mass and regular liturgy. It also occurs in an imperial context for royal acclamations and entries in the ninth century. Incidents of empire-oriented Greek-language performance in the Carolingian era and after are sparse, apart from the Greek *Laudes* in Metz 351, but texts and anecdotal evidence suggest that Greek was part of the vocabulary of imperial performance. Charlemagne requested and received, for example, the homage of a Greek *Laudes* during the visit of Byzantine ambassadors from Constantinople.<sup>63</sup> Some of the Greek verses written by Johannes Scottus Eriugena conferred blessings on Charles the Bald.<sup>64</sup> This same emperor was also mocked for his pretensions when he imitated the Byzantine emperors at his entry to Compiègne after a coronation.<sup>65</sup> These surviving examples suggest that the imperial milieu and its associations form another possible context for Greek-language performance in the ninth to eleventh centuries.

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<sup>62</sup> Berschin notes that Metz was an important site in northern Europe due to the presence of both liturgical culture and Greek-language texts. Berschin, *Greek Letters*, 195.

<sup>63</sup> *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SSrG, 6 (Hanover, 1895), 136; Notker the Stammerer, *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris*, ed. Hans F. Haefele, MGH SSrG N.S., 12 (Berlin, 1980), 2: 6, 8.

<sup>64</sup> As poems in verse, they were likely read aloud. Johannes Scottus Eriugena, *Carmina*, ed. Ludwig Traube, MGH Poetae, 3 (Berlin, 1896), 531-45, 697.

<sup>65</sup> Timothy Reuter, ed., *The Annals of Fulda* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 876.

The Creation of a Greek-Language Performance Tradition: The Material Evidence

Metz 351 and its Greek *Laudes* provide a unique window into the cultivation of Greek and imperial traditions over time. Unfortunately, scholarly attention to the manuscript has focused exclusively on a few of its performance elements, and only within the context of their original, ninth-century production. The sole items thus studied in Metz 351 are its tonary, two *Adventus* verses for an emperor and a bishop, and two *Laudes* in Greek and Latin. Notice of these texts was first published by Auguste Prost in the late nineteenth century, in an article that demonstrates the varying dates of portions of the manuscript.<sup>66</sup> Prost examines the *Laudes* and *Adventus* verses in the context of their original composition, seeking to firmly identify the historical figures to whom they were first directed. Seventy-five years later, Walter Lipphardt produced an edition of the tonary that establishes it as a indispensable source for the history of Carolingian music.<sup>67</sup> Since his primary focus is the tonary, the remainder of the manuscript receives little attention. More recently, the Greek and Latin *Laudes* and the *Adventus* verses have been situated within the context of the developmental history of acclamations and coronation *ordines* in the medieval West.<sup>68</sup> These comparative histories restrict themselves to the origins and evolution of textual models over

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<sup>66</sup> Auguste Prost, “Caractère et signification de quatre pièces liturgiques composées à Metz en latin et en grec au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” *Mémoires de la société nationale des antiquaires de France* 37 (1876): 149-320. The texts and a summary of Prost’s conclusions are also printed in Pelt, *La Liturgie* I, 113-20.

<sup>67</sup> Despite the absence of musical notation from the tonary, it provides extraordinarily important documentation for the history of early music and the liturgy. Walther Lipphardt, “Ein unbekannter karolingischer Tonar und seine Bedeutung für die fränkische Choralüberlieferung,” in *Bericht über den siebenten Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress, Köln, 1958* (New York: Bärenreiter, 1959), 179-81; idem, *Der karolingische Tonar*. See also Michel Huglo, *Les Tonaires: Inventaire, analyse, comparaison*, Publications 3.2 (Paris: Société française de musicologie, 1971).

<sup>68</sup> See, for example, Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*; Walter Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship*, Birkbeck Lectures 1968-1969 (London: Methuen, 1969); Peter Willmes, *Der Herrscher-Adventus im Kloster des Frühmittelalters* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1976), 52-145. The Greek *Laudes* has been briefly noted as evidence for Greek-language literacy in the ninth and tenth centuries, as well.

time, and fail to address manuscript or regional context.<sup>69</sup> Metz 351 thus provides an unparalleled opportunity for a new examination of the connections between a single community and Greek-language and imperial performance.

Because the manuscript of Metz 351 incorporates a wider scope of texts and contexts than has been hitherto analyzed, an examination of the full object is needed. Its mise-en-page is simple, with few indications of luxury, and the manuscript is comprised of 118 parchment folios, measuring roughly 21 x 17 cm, in 15 quires. Metz 351 contains no illustrations, excepting a mappamundi that is drawn in brown ink on the final folio, 118r. The texts are written in multiple hands, from varying decades, and contain rubrics in red ink and a few initials in tarnished silver or gold. Very generally, the contents can be described as performance-oriented, containing longer essays, a musical catalog without notation, and shorter texts, some of the latter appropriate for singing or recitation. Most of the works are fairly contemporary, having been copied within a century of their composition, but some are attributed to the church fathers, although they date to later centuries. The longer essays all address topics relating to correct liturgical practice and performance. They include Hrabanus Maurus's *Liber de sacramentis* [Book of Sacraments]<sup>70</sup>, an *Expositio orationis dominicae* [Explanation of the Lord's Prayer] by Venantius Fortunatus that is attributed to Augustine<sup>71</sup>, two *Expositio symboli* [Explanation of the Creed] texts by Cyprian<sup>72</sup> and Fortunatus<sup>73</sup>, a canon

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<sup>69</sup> See, for example, Berschin, *Greek Letters*; Riché, "Le Grec," 143-68. Berschin is the sole commentator on the Greek *Laudes* since Prost to note its tenth-century history, albeit briefly.

<sup>70</sup> Fols. 1v-42r. *PL* 112: 1165-92, 107: 299-309.

<sup>71</sup> Fols. 42r-50r. *Miscellanea* 1.10.1, *PL* 88: 313a-22c.

<sup>72</sup> Fols. 50r-61v. *PL* 4: 519d-44a and 47: 1113a-28b.

<sup>73</sup> Fols. 62r-64v. The work is unattributed in the text. *Miscellanea* 1.11.1, *PL* 88: 351c-4c, incomplete.

collection excerpted from the *Capitula Angilramni* and Hincmar of Laon's *Pittaciolus*<sup>74</sup>, and Amalarius of Metz's *Eclogae de ordine Romano* [Selections from the Roman *Ordo*].<sup>75</sup> The manuscript incorporates a short essay, *De tonis authenticis* [On the *Authentus* (authentic) Tones], which prefaces a tonary that organizes and lists antiphons and responses by mode.<sup>76</sup> Metz 351 also contains numerous short compositions, which vary in subject matter. These include liturgical texts for performance, such as the Greek and Latin *Laudes* [Praises] and the *Adventus* verses for an emperor and a bishop.<sup>77</sup> Other short pieces include *De VIII beatitudinibus* [On the Seven States of Blessedness], *De VII psalmis penitentialibus* [On the Seven Penitential Psalms], *Septem modis dimittunt peccata* [Seven Ways of Renouncing Sin], *De VII gradibus clericorum* [On the Seven Degrees of the Clergy], *De forma corporis humani* [On the Shape of the Human Body], *De incestis* [On Incest], *Rules of Computation*, and *De authenticis et plagis* [On the *Authentus* and *Plagis* (plagal) Tones].<sup>78</sup> Due to their length and list-like nature, the short texts are all suitable for memorization and recitation or for reading aloud. The manuscript also contains interlinear and marginal additions of varying lengths.

The binding and ruling of Metz 351 support its identification as a composite manuscript, assembled from new and pre-existing quires at a minimum of three different times. As such, it preserves multiple layers of historical sedimentation that attest to the

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<sup>74</sup> Fols. 78v-103r. These two collections form a part of the Pseudo-Isidorian *Decretals* more generally. PL 130: 99 [*Capitula Angilramni*], 124: 1001 [*Pittaciolus*]. See also Schon, *Die Capitula Angilramni*; Fuhrmann, *Einfluss und Verbreitung*; Williams, *Codices Pseudo-Isidoriani*; Peter R. McKeon, *Hincmar of Laon and Carolingian Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978).

<sup>75</sup> As in Chapter Three, I have chosen to preserve the ambiguity of the Latin term *ordo*, though the phrase is typically rendered as “the Roman rite.” Fols. 103v-117v. Amalarius of Metz, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, ed. Johannes Michael Hanssens, 3 vols., vol. 1 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1950), 202.

<sup>76</sup> Fols. 66r-75v. Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar*; idem, “Ein unbekannter karolingischer Tonar,” 179-81.

<sup>77</sup> Fols. 76r, 77v, 78r. Pelt, *La Liturgie I*, 113-20.

<sup>78</sup> Fols. 76v, 77r, 103r. Unedited.

adaptation of performance during consecutive periods. As has been demonstrated by Lipphardt on the basis of the binding, folios 66r-77v comprise a sub-section of the manuscript that corresponds with *De tonis authenticis* and the tonary, consisting of quires nine and ten.<sup>79</sup> As he notes, quire nine is made of four bifolia, forming fols. 66-73, and quire ten of two bifolia, fols. 74-77. A new examination of these quires reveals that every folio of this section has been ruled in the same manner, with 34 lines to the page, divided into three columns (see Figure 20, below). This ruling is unique in the manuscript, confirming Lipphardt's conclusion that fols. 66-77 were created separately.



**Figure 20: Metz BM ms 351, Fol. 66r, Close-up of Three-Column Ruling**

(Photograph by S. Crowder.)

Binding and ruling support similar conclusions about the first and third sections of Metz 351. Fols. 1-65 comprise the first eight quires, of four bifolia each, plus a single inserted folio. This section, which contains the content page, Hrabanus Maurus's *Liber de sacramentis*, Fortunatus's *Expositio orationis dominicae*, and the two *Expositio symboli* texts by Cyprian and Fortunatus, is ruled with 24 full-width lines to each page.<sup>80</sup> The consistency of the ruling suggests that the first eight quires, if not their texts, were created together. Furthermore, quires eleven through fifteen display a similar coherence, indicating another stage of assembly. Fols. 78-118 are comprised of three quires of four bifolia, a quire of three bifolia, a quire of five bifolia, and an inserted sheet. They contain the Greek *Laudes*, the canon

<sup>79</sup> Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar*, 8.

<sup>80</sup> An exception appears in the final folio of the section, fol. 65, which is blank and unruled.

collection, the *Rules of Computation*, and Amalarius's *Eclogae de ordine Romano*. Its texts overlap between the quires, and all are ruled on 26 lines that are the full page-width (see Figure 21, below).

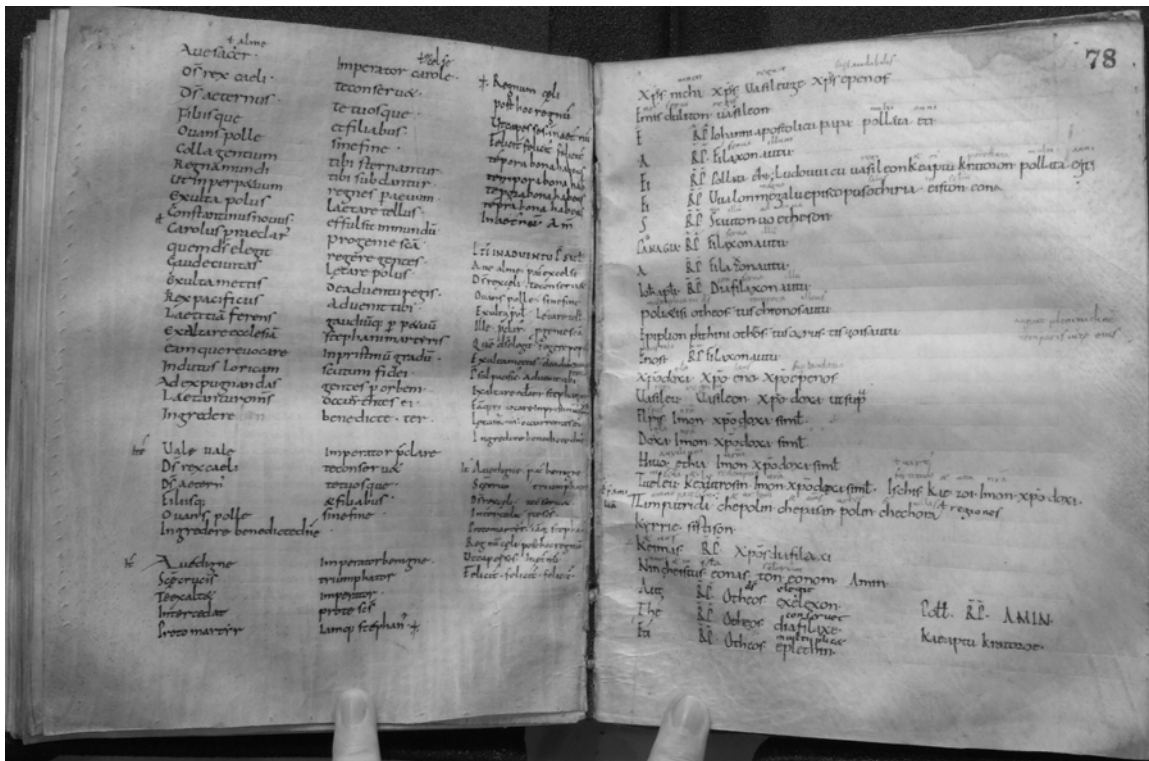


Figure 21: Metz BM ms 351, Fols. 77v-78r, Showing Change from Three-Column to Full-Page Ruling and the Break Between Quires 10 and 11 (Photograph by S. Crowder.)

This portion forms the third subsection of the manuscript. The distinct parts indicate that Metz 351 was assembled in at least three separate efforts, and reveal that it enjoyed a continuing history from the ninth to the tenth centuries.

Divisions in dating among the texts based on handwriting also confirm that the manuscript was produced over time. The texts of Metz 351 are copied in numerous hands, dating from the end of the ninth century to the tenth century. Prost divides the manuscript into three general periods of production, based on handwriting, during which multiple

scribes copied the texts.<sup>81</sup> These correspond very closely with the subsections visible in the binding. The earliest hand is that of *De tonis authenticis* and the tonary, fols. 66r-75v, which dates to the end of the ninth century and is clearly that of a single copyist. The second period of work on the manuscript took place at the end of the ninth century or in the early tenth century, and includes fols. 76r-118r. At this time numerous scribes copied texts onto earlier and new quires. Items were recorded on the empty folios of the pre-existing section (fols. 76r-77v of quire 10) and include both of the *Adventus* verses and the Latin *Laudes*, as well as the short pieces on incest, clerical grades, penitential psalms, and others. During this era texts were also copied onto new quires (fols. 78r-118r of quires 11-15). They consist of the Greek *Laudes*, the canon collection, the *Rules of Computation*, and the *Eclogae de ordine Romano*. Of this second period of work on the manuscript, only the *Rules* and the *Eclogae de ordine Romano* appear to be in the same hand. Handwriting also distinguishes a third and last phase of additions to Metz 351 (fols. 1-65 of quires 1-8) which date to later in the tenth century.<sup>82</sup> Texts from this time include the *Liber de sacramentis* and the three *Expositios*, in varying hands. The first section of the manuscript thus postdates the other materials and represents the final stage of a long-term assemblage, which was carried on for decades after the creation of the original folios.

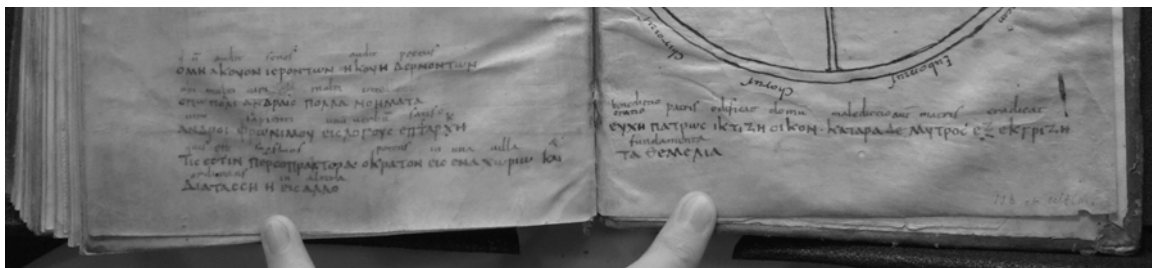
Later corrections and additions also attest to the continuing use of Metz 351 by the community of St-Arnoul. Several Greek aphorisms, in Greek letters with interlinear Latin

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<sup>81</sup> Prost, "Caractère et signification," 150-1 and n. 1. I rely on Prost's dating of the hands in my analysis and grouping of the texts.

<sup>82</sup> Lipphardt suggests that the third section of the manuscript, starting on fol. 78r, may be in the same hand as the quire beginning on fol. 1v, but an examination of the descenders in the letter s, for example, reveal differences that indicate separate copyists. Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar*, 8.

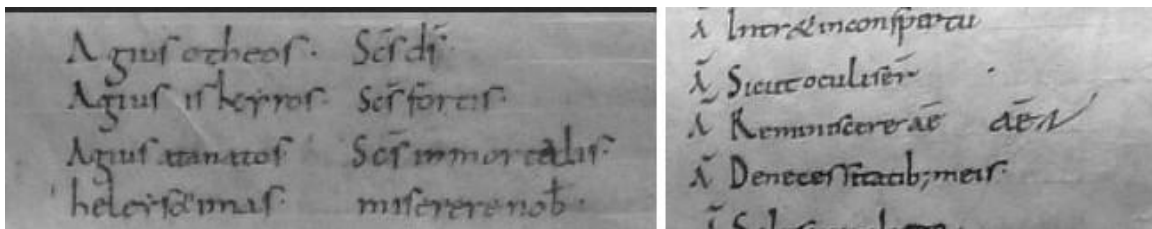
translations, were inserted in the bottom margins of fols. 117v and 118r in the tenth century, for example (see Figure 22, below).<sup>83</sup>



**Figure 22: Metz BM ms 351, Fols. 117v - 118r, Greek Aphorisms**

(Photograph by S. Crowder.)

On fol. 67r of the tonary, the letters *ae* have been written in after four antiphons, in a hand that postdates the rest of the text, along with some punctuation that may also convey musical information (see Figure 23, below right).<sup>84</sup> This suggests that the tonary, if not itself a document used in performance, continued to serve as a reference for performance practice.



**Figure 23: Metz BM ms 351, Close-Ups of Fols. 66r and 67r, Later Additions: *Trisagion* and *Amen***

(Photographs by S. Crowder.)

<sup>83</sup> Prost, “Caractère et signification,” 293.

<sup>84</sup> Lipphardt, *Der karolingische Tonar*, 9. The letters *ae* may represent the end of the lesser doxology, “*euoae*,” an abbreviation for “*et in secula seculorum amen*,” and thus refer to the psalm-tone termination formula. The musical treatise *De autentis et plagis*, discussed below, incorporates this formula at its start.

The Greek *Trisagion* prayer, in Latin and in transliterated Roman characters, was added in the tenth century to a blank portion of the earlier fol. 66r (see Figure 23, above left).<sup>85</sup> This too reinforces the potential use of Metz 351 as a repository for the preservation of performance practice at St-Arnoul in the ninth and tenth centuries. These additions to the tonary indicate a continued engagement with Metz 351 as a source for performance texts, but also suggest that the Greek-language elements of the manuscript formed a special area of interest.

The Greek *Laudes* itself provides the most substantial evidence for attention to Greek performance in the tenth century at St-Arnoul. An examination of the original text alongside the corrections and additions to the folio makes clear that interest in the Greek *Laudes* was sustained over time (see Figure 24, below). The transliterated Greek portion of the text was originally copied onto the folio at the turn of the tenth century. Within decades, however, different hands made corrections to the transcription and added the interlinear Latin translation.<sup>86</sup> The main text is written in a large, clear hand with many abbreviations and details that indicate that it was intended for performance use. Errors in word separation, spelling, and in the shift between alphabets show that this version of the *Laudes* was copied from dictation or an example in Greek characters, making it accessible to a choir.<sup>87</sup> The mise-en-page leaves no space between the lines, indicating that the Latin translation was not planned by the original scribe, and thus that the reader's comprehension was not of the highest priority.

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<sup>85</sup> See Appendix Four for the text. Prost, "Caractère et signification," 293.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 292. For the full text with corrections, see Appendix Four.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 300-1.

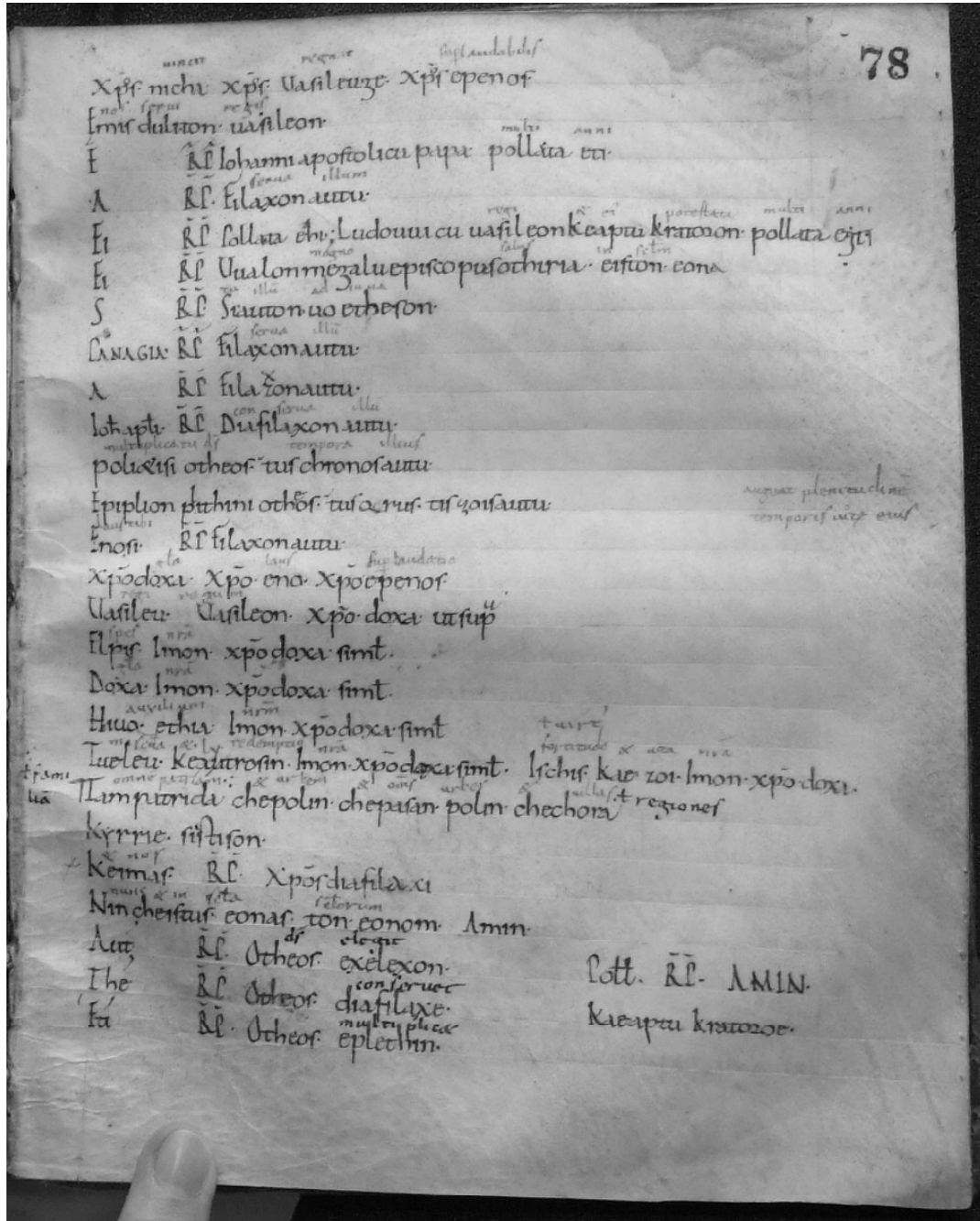


Figure 24: Metz BM ms 351, Fol. 78r, The Greek *Laudes*

(Photograph by S. Crowder.)

The transliteration of Greek into Latin letters during this period, as here, rendered an unfamiliar language easily readable to a performer. Since the mise-en-page resembles that of contemporary liturgical books, one can posit similar usage. Furthermore, the body of the

*Laudes* incorporates Latin terms that are not part of the performed text, which instruct the performer: *responsum* [response], *ut supra* [as above], and *similiter* [similarly]. These elements confirm that the *Laudes* was perceived to be a type of liturgical performance at the time of its recording. Thus in its earliest state, fol. 78r either served as or reproduced a performance-oriented text associated with the liturgy. Additions and corrections also expose repeated encounters with the Greek *Laudes* over time. The Latin translation demonstrates an interest in the content of the text and corrections to the Greek indicate an effort to improve the *Laudes* by making them more accurate. The later stages of use do not prove that the *Laudes* continued to be performed, but consideration of this sustained manuscript activity alongside the other tenth-century additions indicate that Metz 351 was still linked with performance in the tenth century.

The full manuscript context of Metz 351 and its ongoing history have important implications for the texts within. From the late ninth to mid-tenth centuries, this manuscript was seen as a repository for the history of performance that was worthy of contemporary emendation. The original documents on music were added to and corrected in stages. The Latin *Laudes*, the *Adventus* verses, another musical treatise, and other short texts were written into the empty folios at the end of the tonary. The Greek *Laudes*, the canon collection, the *Eclogae de ordine Romano*, and the Greek aphorisms were then attached. The treatises on the sacraments and the Creed were bound to the front, along with the *Expositio orationis dominicae*. Corrections were being made to the earlier texts simultaneously. Every stage in the assembly of Metz 351 incorporated models, records, or discussions of performance, as well as engaging the pre-existing content. This manuscript demonstrates a contemporary interest in performance that spans modern periodization, hitherto overlooked by studies of liturgical

drama. Over time, the musical treatise and tonary served as a kind of magnet for the assembly of ideas that centered on performance, Metz, and St-Arnoul.

Greek language and practice forms one of the themes that unite the collected contents of Metz 351. The manuscript contains the Greek *Laudes*, the *Trisagion* prayer, and the Greek aphorisms, of course, but its other texts also make reference to Greek authorities.

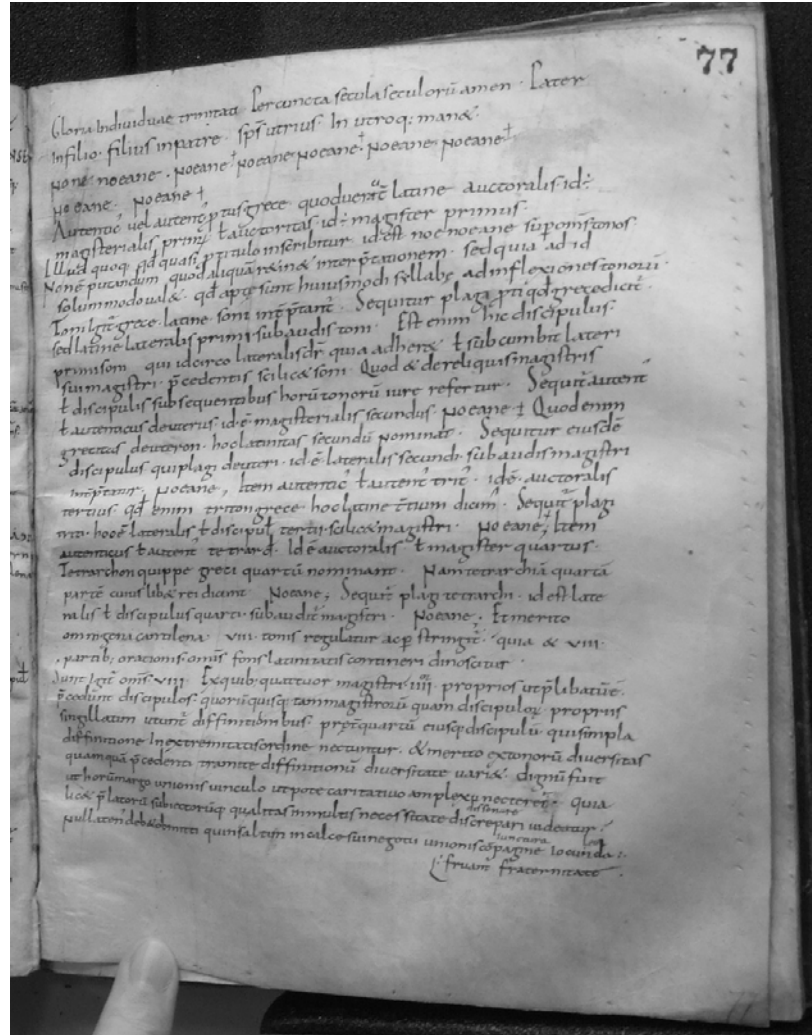


Figure 25: Metz BM ms 351, Fol. 77r, *De authenticis et plagis*  
(Photograph by S. Crowder.)

The canon collection, for example, claims to have origins *ex grecis et latinis canonibus* [from the Greek and Latin canons].<sup>88</sup> This suggests a legal as well as religious connection to the Greek influences within Metz 351. The second musical treatise, *De authenticis et plagis*, discusses the connections between Latin and Greek musical theory and terminology (see above, Figure 25).<sup>89</sup> This short text clarifies the relationship between Latin and Greek musical theory, establishing Greek music as an authoritative practice: “*autenticus vel autentus protus grece, quod vera autem latine* [the *autenticus* (called) ‘*autentus protus*’ in Greek, however, (means) ‘true’ in Latin].” Although the earlier musical treatise, *De tonis authenticis*, makes no reference to Greek music, the later insertion of the *Trisagion* prayer in transliterated Greek and Latin adds a Greek aspect to its folio. Directly and by association, the two musical essays tie contemporary music to Greek origins, further expanding the supposed Greek foundations of the manuscript. This overlap of Greek and performance-oriented material, created through the assembly and copying of this manuscript, produces a Greek-language performance tradition for St-Arnoul through the repeated referencing of Greek authority.

#### Messine and Imperial Contexts for a Greek-Language Performance Tradition

In its entirety, Metz 351 posits a Greek basis to performance practice in Metz, and the Greek *Laudes* forms a vital part of the evidence for this claim. As presented in the manuscript, the historical circumstances of the composition of the Greek *Laudes* are linked to Metz, its communities, and the larger Frankish political scene. Textual details and the ninth-century historical context of St-Arnoul situate the original composition, performance, and recording of the Greek *Laudes* within the Carolingian imperial tradition. As noted by

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<sup>88</sup> Fol. 85r.

<sup>89</sup> A survey of the online database *Thesaurus Musicarum Latinarum* reveals no match for this text. See <http://www.chmtl.indiana.edu/tml/start.html>.

Prost, three names are preserved within the text: *Iobanni*, *Ludouuicu*, and *Uualon*.<sup>90</sup> John is identified as the *apostolicu* [sic] *papa* [apostolic father] and Louis is termed *uasileon* and *kratoron*, terms which are glossed respectively as *regi* [king] and *potestati* [ruler]. The *Laudes* describes Walon as an *episcopu* [sic] [bishop]. The first two figures, a pope named John and a king named Louis, could be identified with a number of historical individuals. However, the name Walon provides a useful limiting factor. In the last decades of the ninth century, a Walon (876-82) was bishop of Metz. John VIII (872-82) was pope and the Carolingian king Louis the Younger (876-82) ruled portions of the Eastern empire, including Lotharingia. The chronological conjunction of these three figures locates the original creation of the *Laudes* at Metz in the last quarter of the ninth century, likely between 876 and 882.

On the basis of internal evidence, St-Arnoul took a primary role in the original presentation of the Greek *Laudes*. As discussed above, Greek-language performance had been intermittently practiced by earlier Carolingian rulers. Such events reinforced the imperial pretensions and legacies of the Carolingian dynasty. Although Louis the Younger never held the imperial title, events of the late 870s suggest that he made attempts to obtain it.<sup>91</sup> The Greek *Laudes* might have been one way to advance his claims through a liturgical performance that cast him in the role of emperor. Indeed, the consecration and coronation of Charles the Bald by Hincmar of Reims at Metz in 869 provided a recent precedent for imperial performance within the city. But need the performance of the *Laudes* have been exclusively for “imperial” occasions? St-Arnoul was the residence of the Carolingians when

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<sup>90</sup> Prost identifies the historical figures named in the *Laudes* and bases the possible dates of composition on their reigns. *Ibid.*, 241-2.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 243-4. Prost assumes that the Greek *Laudes* was necessarily performed for an emperor, due to the Greek terminology of *uasileon* and *keaptu kratoron* [emperor]. He thus seeks historical justification for Louis the Younger’s imperial claims. The Latin glossator translates the Greek terms as *regi* [king] and *potestati* [ruler], however, suggesting that the *Laudes* was seen as being appropriate for delivery to kings by the time of the Latin glosses.

they traveled to Metz, and the presence of Louis the Younger is documented in 879.<sup>92</sup> He gained the kingship of Lotharingia in that year, suggesting a possible occasion for his visit to Metz and the composition of the Greek *Laudes*. A reference to the apostle John in the text of the *Laudes* strongly associates it with St-Arnoul, due to the original dedication of the basilica and its contemporary altar.<sup>93</sup> Louis the Younger might have wished to stage a claim for the full imperial inheritance of his Carolingian ancestors, through a Greek acclamation that underlined his imperial stature. The *Laudes* might also represent, however, an attempt by the community of St-Arnoul to curry favor with their new king by demonstrating the benefits of affiliation with an institution that promoted itself as the caretaker of Carolingian sanctity. No matter the specific reason, though, centrally-located Metz and the fundamentally Carolingian-oriented community of St-Arnoul provided an ideal and richly symbolic backdrop for royal and imperial performances such as the Greek *Laudes*.

The copying of the Greek *Laudes* alongside three other imperial-oriented performances in Metz 351 in the late ninth and tenth centuries, however, suggests that the preservation of this document formed part of a larger effort to connect institutional and imperial history with the performance traditions of St-Arnoul. Equally important as its origins, the history of the *Laudes* as a record within a greater manuscript is vital to an understanding of how the community of St-Arnoul used performance texts in a non-prose rewriting of history. In addition to the Greek *Laudes*, the manuscript contains *Adventus* verses for an emperor and bishop and a Latin *Laudes*. The Latin *Laudes* text iterates praises of Christ and the saints and could be adapted for contemporary use. It envisions the overlapping of heavenly and earthly empires through employment of the phrases “Christus

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<sup>92</sup> *Diplomata Ludowici junioris*, ed. Paul Fridolin Kehr, MGH DD, 8 (Berlin, 1934), 349-50.

<sup>93</sup> John the Evangelist is the only saint named in the Greek *Laudes*.

imperat [Christ rules],” “imperatorī vita et victoria [life and victory for the emperor],” and “ipsi soli imperium [the empire for him alone].” The Latin *Laudes* makes no clear allusion to historical figures or chronology, yet both of the *Adventus* compositions make specific references to Metz (*exulta Mettis* [exult, Metz]) and to St. Étienne (*Stephani martyris* [the martyr Étienne]), to whom the cathedral is dedicated.<sup>94</sup> The *Adventus* verses for the emperor title him as such and intermingle his praises with indications of the Messine context. The recipient of this *Adventus* is named as *Imperator Carole* [emperor Charles], identified by scholars as Charlemagne or as Charles the Bald.<sup>95</sup> The bishop’s *Adventus*, similar in form to the emperor’s, omits some verses and fails to include the name of the person being honored, yet preserves the Metz-specific elements.<sup>96</sup> This has some interesting ramifications for our understanding of the impulses behind Metz 351. If the imperial *Adventus* was performed for Charles the Bald at his coronation in Metz in 869, it is tempting to think that the second *Adventus* was composed for Hincmar of Reims, who presided over the event at the cathedral. The text would then have been edited to eliminate references to the non-Messine bishop during its later redaction into Metz 351.<sup>97</sup> This would further suggest a conscious effort to create, or re-create, the city’s performance history for contemporary purposes. No matter to whom the imperial and bishop’s *Adventus* verses were originally directed, however, their presence in Metz 351 affiliates them with the Greek and Latin *Laudes*. It is important to recall that these performance texts were copied after the dates of original performance, and

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<sup>94</sup> See Appendix Four for the text of the *Adventus* for an emperor and *Item in adventu presulis*.

<sup>95</sup> For the contrasting views, see Oexle, “Die Karolinger und die Stadt,” 302-10; Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae*, 73; Prost, “Caractère et signification,” 316.

<sup>96</sup> Scholars have suggested that the bishop’s *Adventus* was adapted for Drogo from the emperor’s *Adventus*. Pelt, *La Liturgie I*, 115.

<sup>97</sup> As is discussed above in Chapter Two, Hincmar of Reims was seen as an intruder by the Messine episcopacy and monastic communities.

provided only a record of past events or a model for contemporary or future re-use. The compilers of Metz 351 sought to group examples of imperial liturgical performance that had originated at Metz and at St-Arnoul. The manuscript evidence indicates that a deliberate attempt was made in Metz, at St-Arnoul, to claim imperial and Greek-language practice as a distinct part of the community's past and future during the tenth century, and the Greek *Laudes* played a vital part in this construction of performance and history through the layering of texts.

The deeper historical context of Metz in the tenth and eleventh centuries supplies explanations for the possible reasons for the creation and/or preservation of an imperial Greek performance tradition by the community of St-Arnoul in the post-Carolingian era. As an institution, St-Arnoul had enjoyed particularly close ties with the Carolingian dynasty in the eighth to mid-ninth centuries. The ongoing influence of the bishops of Metz, who, in addition to their duties in the larger realm, oversaw St-Arnoul, resulted in the construction of physical spaces dedicated to ideas of empire. The tombs of the Carolingian women and that of Louis the Pious served as continual reminders of imperial presence, for example. These memorials were activated through prayer and performance.<sup>98</sup> Narrative histories and the liturgy of Metz emphasized the importance of the dynasty to the communal identity of St-Arnoul. The fading cohesiveness of Carolingian leadership in the late ninth century, however, might have created a stumbling block for earlier strategies of self-identification. Did too-close association with a diminished ruling group come to be perceived, over time, as a weakness in the new political circumstances?

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<sup>98</sup> In 783 Charlemagne donated an estate to St-Arnoul to pay for an eternal lamp and for daily masses and psalmody at Hildegard's tomb. Charles the Bald donated to the community in 842 in order to fund an annual *memoria* celebration for Louis the Pious. *Diplomata Caroli Magni*, ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher, MGH DD, 4 (Hanover, 1906), no. 149, p. 202-4; Arthur Giry, Maurice Prou, and Georges Tessier, eds., *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, 3 vols., Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France 8 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1943-55), no. 9.

Perhaps not. Evidence suggests that Carolingian ideologies continued to exert a hold over the political discourse of the post-Carolingian era. The mythology of rulership was still coupled with that of the Carolingians in the early tenth century, but it was also expanding. Carolingian “credibility” stayed strong even while new dynasties were emerging.<sup>99</sup> During the late decades of the ninth century, the rule of Lotharingia passed from Louis the German (868-76) to his middle son, Louis the Younger (879-82), then to his youngest son, Charles the Fat (882-7). The revolt of Arnulf of Carinthia gave him control over the territory (887-95), which he then passed to his illegitimate son Zwentibold (895-900).<sup>100</sup> Arnulf’s legitimate son, Louis the Child, inherited the crown of Lotharingia from his half-brother (900-11), and at his death the crown passed to Charles the Simple (911-22), who was elected by the Lotharingian aristocracy. Control over the region then passed to Henry the Fowler (922-36), followed by Otto I (936-73), Otto II (973-83), and Otto III (983-1002), yet this dynasty also faced semi-regular challenges to its dominance by regional counts and dukes.<sup>101</sup> In the Metz region, in name at least, the Carolingian lineage was present until the third decade of the tenth century. Over this time, Carolingian inheritance patterns had passed from the direct male lineage to illegitimate sons and descendents in the female line. This opened the door to competing claims for imperial continuity in Lotharingia, with inheritance most frequently

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<sup>99</sup> Simon MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 232, 234. For the expression of the political myth of the Carolingians through the discourse of legitimacy of birth, see Stuart Airlie, “*Semper fideles?* Loyauté envers les Carolingiens comme constituant de l’identité aristocratique,” in *La Royauté et les élites dans l’Europe carolingienne: Début IX<sup>e</sup> siècle aux environs de 920*, ed. Régine Le Jan (Villeneuve d’Ascq: Centre d’Histoire de l’Europe du Nord-Ouest, 1998), 129-43.

<sup>100</sup> Arnulf of Carinthia was the illegitimate son of Carloman, the eldest son of Louis the German.

<sup>101</sup> Included among the many revolts or attacks against Ottonian sovereignty in Lotharingia were those of 925 and 936-9 (Duke Gislebert), 938 (Henry of Bavaria and Lotharingia), 953 (Duke Conrad), and 978 (King Lothair).

based on the lineage of Lothar.<sup>102</sup> The many shifts in rulership for the region, from father to illegitimate son and from emperor to usurper, meant that practical means of asserting legitimacy would have been ever more frequent and relevant.

This continuity of Carolingian dynastic strategy can also be seen among the local aristocracy of upper Lotharingia, in which Metz was located. Gerhard and Matfrid, two magnates with their power bases at Metz, were key figures in the defeat of Zwentibold in 900. They typify the independent aristocracy of the area, which supported Louis the Child and then Charles the Simple before shifting to Henry the Fowler. When Henry died and Otto I came to the throne, their allegiances again became unsettled. These men held posts under the late-Carolingian emperors, arranged marriages with minor Carolingians, and situated themselves as the inheritors of the Carolingian dynasty.<sup>103</sup> Much of the internal struggle that took place in Lotharingia in the late ninth and early tenth century centered on control of former royal endowments such as benefices and offices.<sup>104</sup> For ambitious members of the independent aristocracy, good relationships with bishoprics and monasteries such as Metz and St-Arnoul formed an important strategy in their expansion of local political control. Such tactics could be employed alongside the preservation and redeployment of royal and imperial political practices.

In the tenth century, the construction of a Greek and imperial history for St-Arnoul might have been a way for the community to navigate changing political tides and assert its ongoing cultural relevance. Although the Carolingian kings were themselves disappearing, the ideas of empire with which they were associated continued to hold meaning for

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<sup>102</sup> MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, 166.

<sup>103</sup> Parisse, "Lotharingia," 313.

<sup>104</sup> Innes, *State and Society*, 227-30.

contemporaries. The Greek *Laudes* must be understood within this context, among others. This imperial performance text was originally created for Louis the Younger, who was never himself an emperor. Yet it terms him as such and thus employs deliberately inaccurate language. If this performance were created for Louis the Younger's visit to Metz and St-Arnoul in May 879, it would correlate with the year of his ascension to the throne of Lotharingia. At this time, the lack of legitimate male heirs was already proving problematic for the dynasty, as neither Louis the Younger nor his brothers, Carloman and Charles the Fat, had sons of legitimate birth. In that context, the Greek *Laudes* would reinforce Louis the Younger's identification with the imperial title during the period of uncertain imperial inheritance following the death of his father, Louis the German. Furthermore, it might strengthen ideas of continuity of birth by celebrating a Carolingian heir amidst the remains of his illustrious and holy forbearers at St-Arnoul. These insecure conditions of royal lineage and inheritance only worsened in the following decades, however. Claimants to the throne of Lotharingia and the local aristocracy wished to assert the permanence and Carolingian origins, and thus authority, of their lineage and presence in the region.<sup>105</sup> As has been shown more generally, "pre-existing beliefs and customs were an important part [of] the development of newer institutional structures."<sup>106</sup> The inclusion of the Greek *Laudes* in Metz 351, after the initial composition and performance of the text, would have preserved this emperor- and heritage-creating performance practice into the later ninth and early tenth centuries, when such practical tools for the assertion of dynastic continuity were truly needed.

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<sup>105</sup> Parisse, "Lotharingia," 313.

<sup>106</sup> Harvey and Jones, "Custom and Habit(us)," 223.

The presence of kings and emperors in Metz throughout the late ninth and early tenth centuries confirms the city's ongoing importance to contemporary political strategies such as those visible in Metz 351. It is from this difficult period that Metz preserves the most regular and highest number of records of royal and imperial visits. Performance formed an important part of such stopovers: Liudprand of Cremona's *Antapodosis* describes discussions that took place for the celebration of an *adventus* for a high-ranked visitor to Metz.<sup>107</sup> This suggests that the city and its institutions were still able to offer symbolic forms of welcome, support, or reinforcement to lay authorities. Such performances might have taken place on numerous occasions. The years 867 and 868 saw negotiations take place at St-Arnoul between Charles the Bald and Louis the German, for example.<sup>108</sup> Louis the German then held a regional council at Metz in 873 and visited again in 875.<sup>109</sup> Louis the Younger was in the city in 879, and Charles the Fat stayed there in 884, holding a regional council in 886.<sup>110</sup> No record remains of Arnulf's visits, but Zwentibold was sporadically present until 900.<sup>111</sup> Louis the Child visited Metz in 902 and held a regional council there in 906.<sup>112</sup> Charles the Simple celebrated Christmas at Metz after his election as king of

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<sup>107</sup> Liudprand is highly critical of the visitor, Wido of Spoleto, and of his lack of respect for appropriate *Adventus* ceremony. Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, I.16.18-19; Warner, "Ritual and Memory," 266-7.

<sup>108</sup> *Regesta Imperii, 1: Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern, 751-918*, ed. Johann F. Böhmer and Engelbert Mühlbacher (Innsbruck, 1889), no. 1463; *Capitularia regum franciae orientalis*, ed. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause, MGH Capit., 2 (Hanover, 1897), no. 245, p. 167. A timeline of royal visits appears in Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 45-6.

<sup>109</sup> *Regesta Imperii, 1*, nos. 1480, 1498a; *Diplomata Ludowici Germanici*, ed. Paul Fridolin Kehr, MGH DD, 8 (Berlin, 1934), nos. 166-9, p. 231-8.

<sup>110</sup> *Diplomata Karoli III*, ed. Paul Fridolin Kehr, MGH DD, 9 (Berlin, 1937), nos. 104, 106, 137, 137a, p. 167-9, 170-1, 218-20; *Regesta Imperii, 1*, nos. 1719a, 1577b.

<sup>111</sup> Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, 46.

<sup>112</sup> *Diplomata Zwentiboldi et Ludowici infantis*, ed. Theodor Schieffer, MGH DD, 11 (Berlin, 1960), nos. 16, 49-50, p. 119-20, 172-5; *Regesta Imperii, 1*, no. 2037b.

Lotharingia in 911, and stayed again in 913, 915, and 917.<sup>113</sup> Due to its status as the palatinate residence, St-Arnoul would have housed the rulers on each of these visits. Given the evidence that the Greek *Laudes* was created for false pretexts, it is easy to imagine how it and the other performance elements of Metz 351 might have been altered for use by the community of St-Arnoul during royal visits, and performed for persons to whom they did not strictly apply. An acknowledgement of this flexibility is vital to understanding how Metz and its communities accommodated larger contemporary needs alongside their own.

Questions of local authority, political legitimacy, and inheritance remained potent in the Metz area in the mid- to late tenth century, as well. Large portions of Lotharingia were under disputed control during the reigns of the Ottonians, starting with Henry the Fowler.<sup>114</sup> Following the death of Charles the Simple, Henry besieged Metz in 923 with Duke Gislebert.<sup>115</sup> Acting in response to his appointment of a new bishop of Metz in 927, regional aristocrats blinded Henry's candidate in 929 and appointed Adalbert I, the son of a local count. Nonetheless, Bishop Adalbert enjoyed relatively positive interactions with Henry and then Otto I, supporting the latter in exchange for his confirmation of the reform of St-Arnoul in mid-century.<sup>116</sup> A series of disloyal counts and dukes kept Ottonian control of Lotharingia insecure, however, for the rest of the century. In 938, Duke Gislebert turned against Otto I and supported Louis IV, the king of western Francia. When Otto I replaced

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<sup>113</sup> Ferdinand Lot and Philippe Lauer, eds., *Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple, roi de France (893-923)*, Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France 9 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1949), nos. 69, 73, 81.

<sup>114</sup> For an argument that Ottonian emperorship "urgently needed authentication," see Karl Leyser, "Theophanu divina gratia imperatrix augusta: Western and Eastern Emperorship in the Later Tenth Century," in *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium*, ed. Adelbert Davids (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 14.

<sup>115</sup> *Regesta Imperii, 2: Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Herrschern aus dem Sächsischen Hause, 919-1024*, ed. Johann F. Böhmer and Emil vom Ottenthal, 6 vols. (Innsbruck, 1893), no. 10b.

<sup>116</sup> For further discussion, see above.

his disloyal brother-in-law, Count Conrad, the latter responded by attacking Metz in 953 and allowing hostile Hungarians into his former territory. Charles of Lotharingia, soon after his investment by Otto II in 977 as duke of lower Lotharingia, started a campaign to become king of all Lotharingia. Charles's brother, the king Lothar, attacked Metz in 978 in response to this appointment. After the death of Otto II in 984, Henry of Bavaria's revolt against Otto III and the Empress Theophanu was assisted by the current bishop of Metz, Dietrich I (964-85). The conference that was attended by Theophanu, Duchess Beatrice of upper Lotharingia, and Queen Emma of West Franconia to settle the matter took place in Metz in 985, and Otto III again visited the city in 993.<sup>117</sup> So despite the small number of official visits to Metz recorded for the Ottonians, the city nonetheless represented an important holding to the Eastern kings that was continually under assault both from the kings of West Francia and from within. Metz remained a key site for the new dynasty, a geographical focal-point for issues of legitimate authority, disputed appointments, and imperial inheritance.

The dynastic and political transition from the Carolingians to the Ottonians thus provides another explanation for the enduring interest in imperial and Greek practice that is evidenced by Metz 351. Put simply, the local political struggles at Metz, the success of the Ottonians in claiming the imperial title, and their efforts to affiliate themselves with the Byzantine rulers suggest that the currency of Greek and imperial strategies would have remained valid at St-Arnoul into the late tenth century and beyond.<sup>118</sup> As discussed above,

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<sup>117</sup> *Diplomata Ottonis III*, ed. Theodor Sickel, MGH DD, 13 (Hanover, 1893), no. 123, p. 535.

<sup>118</sup> Greek-language performance would have had relevance both during and after the marriage negotiations. Prior to the presence of Theophanu in the West, the Greek *Laudes* presented evidence that countered the insult provoked by Leo Phokas's refusal to address Otto I by the *basileus* title. For the perceived insult, see Liudprand of Cremona, *Legatio*, in Paul Hirsch, Max Büdinger, and Wilhelm Wattenbach, eds., *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit*, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* 8 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971), II.176.

the marriage of Otto II to Theophanu in the third quarter of the tenth century was a late success in an ongoing effort to secure Ottonian-Byzantine ties. The Empress Theophanu's presence in the West resulted in direct knowledge of and exposure to Byzantine practices for members of the court. During the reign of her son, Otto III, some emulation of Byzantine imperial performance took place.<sup>119</sup> This indicates the presence of Byzantine-imperial cultural ideas in the court and the existence, perhaps, of a vogue for Greek-style performance. As members of the Ottonian circle, bishops of Metz such as Adalbert I and Dietrich I would have been in a position to spread imperial preferences to Messine communities.<sup>120</sup> Although none of the material in Metz 351 can be definitively linked to Theophanu and the Byzantine members of the court, her presence and the imperial ceremonies of her son suggest a potential new context for the Greek *Laudes* and related constructs. Previous ideologies and strategies, modified and redeployed for the new political circumstances, would have been valuable tools for the community to establish a positive relationship with the latest dynasty of emperors. Metz 351 could be used to buttress Ottonian claims to the western imperial title, connecting ideas of empire and Greekness to deliberately evoke an earlier period and its cultural authority. Through the collection or use of the performance texts preserved in Metz 351, St-Arnoul might celebrate and lay claim to Ottonian patronage, and assert its own importance in the new construction of imperial identity.

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<sup>119</sup> Leyser, "Tenth Century," 43-5.

<sup>120</sup> Bishop Dietrich I is known as Thierry I in the French literature.

### A Larger Framework for the Promotion of Greek Origins at St-Arnoul

The deliberate evocation of Greek and imperial symbolism that is evidenced by Metz 351 finds echoes in other areas of tenth- to twelfth-century textual production at St-Arnoul, as well. In particular, the effort to establish Messine prestige in the realm of performance was joined by similar narratives of authority regarding ecclesiastical and liturgical regulation and hagiography. This shaping of communal history and local memory took place in multiple ways: an examination of the inclusive contents of Metz 351 shows that the choice of texts evokes a specific literary heritage for Metz. Historical conventions of similar form appear in another textual tradition from St-Arnoul, based in hagiography, which presents an apostolic foundation legend with Greek origins. The contents of a variety of manuscripts and texts produced at St-Arnoul in the tenth and eleventh centuries suggest that the preservation and/or creation of a Greek-language performance tradition formed part of a larger contemporary re-imagining of the history of the community.

This trend is hinted at by the full contents of Metz 351, whose longer texts evoke a Metz-based literary-performance tradition through the grouping of Messine authors with church fathers. The first and second stages of the manuscript, in particular, collect material specifically associated with the city. The Greek and Latin *Laudes*, the *Adventus* verses, the musical treatises, and the tonary all function together to claim a distinct performance history for the community of St-Arnoul. The other works in these sections of the manuscript also claim local origin. The *Eclogae de ordine Romano*, for example, is attributed to Amalarius of Metz. Although Amalarius was later associated with the sees of Trier and Lyon, his early career and works are strongly rooted in the liturgy of Metz. The inclusion of the *Eclogae de ordine Romano* alongside the tonary and other works of Metz 351 thus situates Amalarius within the tradition of music, liturgy, and performance at Metz that was being secured by St-

Arnoul in the tenth century. Furthermore, the presence of the canon collection reinforces the Metz-centric orientation of the manuscript. These false decretals, produced in the ninth century and often known as the *Capitula Angilramni*, had no real affiliation with Bishop Angilram of Metz. Yet a title on fol. 85r of Metz 351 attributes part of the collection to the eighth-century bishop: “Ex grecis et latinis canonibus et synodis romanis atque decretis presulum ac principum romanorum a papa Adriano Ingilramno [medio]matricae urbis episcopo prolatis quam pro sui negotii causa agebatur [This was carried out by Pope Adrian, from the Greek and Latin canons, Roman synods, and also the decretals of the bishops and Roman rulers, for Angilram, bishop of the city of Metz, and produced by reason of his commission].” The inclusion of a canon collection connected to a former and esteemed bishop of Metz suggests that the creators of Metz 351 wished to demonstrate and document the historical and authorized nature of Messine practice. Furthermore, the prestige of Messine authors is enhanced by their juxtaposition with ancient authors such as Augustine and Cyprian, added in the third stage of assembly. As a whole, the texts of the manuscript reveal an attempt to elevate Messine authors and confirm Messine authority, particularly in the realms of liturgy and ecclesiastical regulation.

The promotion of Greek-language practice at St-Arnoul also corresponds with a simultaneous rewriting of the community’s foundation myth that asserted apostolic origins. Foundation stories written between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries often demonstrate the importance of apostolic and late-Roman origin legends.<sup>121</sup> Surviving *Vitae* from St-Arnoul display similar concerns, but also pair these elements with claims for Greek beginnings. Recent work on Metz has posited that the sanctity of Patient, an early bishop of

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<sup>121</sup> For examples, see Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*. For more recent bibliography on foundation legends, see the essays in the special volume “La Mémoire des origines dans les institutions médiévales,” *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome* 115 (2003).

Metz, was promoted in the city as early as the mid-ninth century.<sup>122</sup> Although the strongest evidence for the Patient legend survives from thirteenth-century and later manuscripts, his presence in a ninth-century martyrology and bishop-list suggest that this shaping of sanctity had earlier beginnings.<sup>123</sup> If so, the initial development of the Patient cult would parallel the better-documented contemporary efforts of the monastery of St-Felix/St-Clement in Metz to promote Clement, the first bishop of Metz, as a disciple of St. Peter.<sup>124</sup> Whether or not this process began in the ninth century, it seems likely that the community of St-Arnoul chose Patient and John the Evangelist as patrons to counter the claims of St-Felix/St-Clement. The later production of texts relating to Patient indicates that narratives had been developed by the eleventh to thirteenth centuries that re-imagined Patient's founding of St-Arnoul as the result of a commission from John.

Hagiographic materials from St-Arnoul that recount the history of Patient assert his authenticity and authority primarily through a link to the apostle John, and buttress their claims through Greek references. This emphasis on apostolic and Greek origins appears in a version of the Patient founding story that is preserved in the *Petit Cartulaire* of St-Arnoul, a compilation of charters and narrative histories from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

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<sup>122</sup> I thank Damien Kempf for his generosity in sharing his findings on Patient and the apostolic origins of St-Arnoul. My summary of the textual tradition for Patient relies upon his work: Damien Kempf, "Patiens," in *Miracles, vies, et réécritures dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Monique Goulet and Martin Heinzelmann, Beihefte der Francia 65 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2006), 190-9. See also Sarah Petit, "La Revendication du patronage Arnoul/Clou et du patronage Patient/Jean à Saint-Arnoul du VII<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle" (Mémoire de DEA, dactylographié, Metz, 2003).

<sup>123</sup> Kempf, "Patiens," 193.

<sup>124</sup> Beaudoin de Gaiffier, "Notes sur le culte des saints Clément de Metz et Caddroë," *Analecta Bollandiana* 85 (1967): 21-43; Jean-Charles Picard, "Le Recours aux origines: Les Vies de saint Clément, premier évêque de Metz, composées autour d l'an mil," in *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil: Royaume capétien et lotharingie*, ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Charles Picard (Paris: Picard, 1990), 291-9. It has been argued more generally that inter-monastic conflict was a potential spur to the rewriting of foundation tales. See Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past*.

that contains some material that may date to the mid-eleventh century.<sup>125</sup> Incorporating multiple textual genres, this manuscript works much like Metz 351 to shape institutional history, albeit for a later period. One part of its larger project is to document the initial foundation of St-Arnoul by Patient. Among the early compositions is a *Vita* of Patient that specifies the connection between him and the institution of St-Arnoul:

Tunc beatus Paciens cepit exercere ea que sunt spiritualia et temporalia, sicut dictum est in primordio, et fecit basilicam Deo et preceptori suo beato Iohanni apostolo et evangeliste extra urbem civitatis Metensis....

[Then blessed Patient took up the exercise of those things spiritual and temporal, as was said in the beginning, and built a basilica for God and his teacher, blessed John the Apostle and Evangelist, beyond the walls of the city of Metz....]<sup>126</sup>

As described in the *Petit Cartulaire*, Patient had the church of St-Arnoul built to honor his teacher, John the Evangelist. According to the text, the basilica represents Patient's first expression of temporal and spiritual power in his role as bishop of Metz. On a basic level, these lines confirm the pre-existing dedication of the church to John. The narrative also closely links Patient, as bishop, with the new institution. The *Vita* goes further in its claims, however:

Tanto tempore ecclesia sanctorum apostolorum, quo modo sancti Arnulphi dicitur, conventualis extitit et in ea nonnulli pontificum resederunt, antequam ecclesia beati Stephani construeretur.

[During such time the church of the Holy Apostles, which now is called Saint-Arnoul, was collegiate and in it several bishops resided, before the church of Blessed Étienne was constructed.]<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Prost connects the Greek *Laudes* to the Patient texts in the *Petit Cartulaire*, noting their shared reference to God, the Virgin, and John the Evangelist. Although he does not explore the matter in any detail, Prost suggests that the *Laudes* was intended to remind the audience of St-Arnoul's foundation by Patient. Prost, "Caractère et signification," 311, 313-14.

<sup>126</sup> Gaillard, ed., *Le Souvenir des carolingiens*, 14. This publication contains a full textual edition of the manuscript. The evidence for Patient in the *Petit Cartulaire* is discussed briefly in Mireille Chazan, "Les Vies latines de Saint Clément," *Francia* 31, no. 1 (2004): 34.

<sup>127</sup> Gaillard, ed., *Le Souvenir des carolingiens*, 10.

The text describes how, after Patient's foundation of St-Arnoul, the bishops of Metz made it their residence. By claiming that St-Arnoul served as an early episcopal site, prior to the construction of the cathedral of St-Étienne, the *Vita* situates the monastery as the earliest possessor of ecclesiastical and religious authority in Christian Metz. Further passages clarify another important quality of Patient and John for the history St-Arnoul, however:

Sanctus igitur Paciens, fundator ecclesie sanctorum apostolorum... ex inclita grecorum prosapia exortus, sicut nobilitate mundana, sic et opum gloria in minoris Asye regione clarus effulsit. Hanc Asye regionem dilectus Domini evvangelista Iohannes in sorte predicationis divina dispensatione suscepit... Itaque inter alios insignes et beatus Paciens obedientie fidei se subdidit, pompam mundi reliquit, sancto apostolo intime adhesit....

[Thus Saint Patient, founder of the church of the Holy Apostles... from a celebrated Eastern lineage of Greeks, shone clearly with worldly nobility as well as the glory of deeds in the region of Asia Minor. Through divine Providence, John the Evangelist received this region of Asia by lot as his preaching responsibility.... Among all those distinguished was blessed Patient, who submitted to the obedience of faith, renounced worldly pomp, and attached himself intimately to the sainted apostle....]<sup>128</sup>

This part of the *Vita* raises the question of Patient's origins, specifying that he is of exalted and noble Greek lineage. It further describes the region of Asia Minor as the responsibility of John the Evangelist. This setting serves as the location of Patient's first acts of obedience and faith, in which he is guided by John. In this way, the text links Patient's authority and authorization as bishop of Metz and founder of St-Arnoul both to his Greek origins and to his close relationship with the Apostle. Patient and John thus represent the privileging of Greek culture within this rethinking of institutional history. So although the *Petit Cartulaire* postdates Metz 351, it too demonstrates a similar interest on the part of its creators in

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid. The twelfth-century *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium* also describes Patient as "fuit genere grecus [he was Greek by birth]." *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, 535. For more on this work, see Dirk Schlochtermeyer, *Bistumschroniken des Hochmittelalters: Die politische Instrumentalisierung von Geschichtsschreibung* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1998), 141-58.

establishing a claim of Greek roots for the community of St-Arnoul. Due to the time lapse between the creation of the two manuscripts, it seems unlikely that both efforts were directly connected. However, the shared references to Greek authority suggest that Metz 351 took part in an ongoing program at the monastery, in which sedimentary symbols of Greek culture were assimilated into a wide range of institutional practices and histories.

### The Patronage of Bishop Dietrich I: Shifting Contexts for Greek-Language Claims

The survival of other Greek-oriented historical narratives verifies that Metz 351 participated in the deliberate cultivation of a Greek past and Greek culture in Metz. Such undertakings have parallels in the history of Bishop Dietrich I of Metz, to whom the threads of several Greek-leaning endeavors can be traced.<sup>129</sup> Active during the second half of the tenth century, Dietrich I was a cousin of Otto I and succeeded Bruno of Cologne as chancellor and counselor to the emperor. He claimed a role in the governance of the larger empire and contributed to the religious culture of Metz. Working closely with both Otto I and Otto II, Dietrich I participated in many of the major political events of the era. He attended the arbitration in 965 with King Lothair of West Francia, traveled to Rome for Otto II's coronation in 967, invested Charles of lower Lotharingia with his dukedom in 977, defended Metz against Lothair's attacks in 978, and crowned the same Charles at Laon while

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<sup>129</sup> For the greater role of Dietrich I in the Ottonian realm, see R. Folz, "Un Évêque ottonien: Thierry I<sup>er</sup> de Metz (965-984)," in *Media in Francia: Mélanges en l'honneur de K.-F. Werner* (Paris: Herault, 1989), 139-55; Michel Parisse, "Thierry I<sup>er</sup>, évêque de Metz," *Cahiers Lorrains*, no. 17 (1965): 110-17. The earliest sources for his life originate in the early eleventh century: Alpert of Metz, *De diversitate temporum*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, 4 (Hanover, 1841); idem, *De episcopis Mettensibus libellus*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, 4 (Hanover, 1841), 697-700; Sigebert of Gembloux, *Vita Deoderici episcopi Mettensis*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, 4 (Hanover, 1841), 461-83; Theitmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*. The first two authors display a bias toward Dietrich I, but Theitmar is relatively hostile to him.

Otto II attacked Paris.<sup>130</sup> Dietrich I also functioned as a kind of go-between within the court and acted as intermediary to the emperors.<sup>131</sup> As such, he moved in the highest circles of the Ottonian court, ensuring his exposure to Byzantine culture through the period of greatest direct Byzantine influence on the court, during and after the marriage of Theophanu to Otto II.

Within this cultural context of Byzantine influence, a small amount of evidence indicates an effort on Dietrich I's part to introduce or reaffirm Greek-language practice in Metz. Some of the references are circumstantial: the *Vita Johannis*, written at Dietrich I's instigation by the abbot John of St-Arnoul, describes that under archbishop Bruno, "grecae lectionis multa accesserat instructio [instruction in Greek reading had much advanced]."<sup>132</sup> The inclusion of this detail could allude to the patron's preferences, too. Dietrich I's *Vita* itself makes reference to Greek terminology, Greek origins, and Homer, so that a patina of Greek authority is layered into the text.<sup>133</sup> Other evidence for Dietrich I's Greek contributions to Metz is more direct. He traveled to Italy on more than one occasion, where he obtained relics and texts for his see.<sup>134</sup> Among these were the remains of St. Lucy of Syracuse, a saint celebrated by both the Byzantine and Latin churches who was martyred in a

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<sup>130</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, *Vita Deoderici*, ch. 8, 468; Alpert of Metz, *De episcopis Mettensibus libellus*, 697.

<sup>131</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, *Vita Deoderici*, ch. 14, 470 and ch. 16, 472. Theitmar alleges that Dietrich I's actions were motivated by bribery. Theitmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, III, ch. 16, 110.

<sup>132</sup> John of St-Arnoul, *Vita Johannis, abbatis Gorziensis*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, 4.1 (Hanover, 1841), 370.

<sup>133</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, *Vita Deoderici*, 466, 473, 475, 479.

<sup>134</sup> For Dietrich I's assembly of Italian relics, in particular, see *ibid.*, ch. 16, 473-77; Anne Wagner, "Collection de reliques et pouvoir épiscopal au X<sup>e</sup> siècle: L'Exemple de l'évêque Thierry I<sup>er</sup> de Metz," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France* 83, no. 211 (1997): 317-41.

region that had been under Byzantine control as recently as 878.<sup>135</sup> In 968 Dietrich I founded the monastery of St-Vincent of Metz with these prizes, and soon donated to or had copied for its library the aforementioned Metz BM 145. This manuscript contained a Greek mass and excerpts from Liudprand of Cremona's *Antapodosis*, the latter copied from a manuscript brought back by Dietrich I from Italy.<sup>136</sup> The mass, like the Greek *Laudes* and contemporary *missa graeca*, does not represent an attempt to introduce Byzantine liturgy to the West.<sup>137</sup> Instead, it offers another example of a "greekified" piece of Latin liturgy in Metz: a native effort translated into Greek. Dietrich I was thus a factor in the development of Greek-language practice and performance at St-Vincent, although the full extent of his involvement is unclear. This evidence for Dietrich I's fostering of Greek-language performance and study in tenth-century Metz reveals that, if not a city-wide concern, this fashion circulated among the closely interlinked episcopal monasteries of the city.

Dietrich I's foundation of St-Vincent in the later tenth century and his simultaneous introduction of Greek-language texts there raises interesting questions about the potentially competitive nature of Greek-language practice with regard to St-Arnoul. As discussed above, the promotion of Greek and apostolic origins through Patient at St-Arnoul might have resulted from conflict with the nearby community of St-Clement. The presence of

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<sup>135</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux was school master of the monastery of St-Vincent, and wrote the *Sermo de sancta Lucia* and the *Rhythmi de sancta Lucia*. See Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, 5 (1844), 268.

<sup>136</sup> Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*, 233; Riché, "Le Grec," 157. Dietrich I's foundation of St-Vincent is described in the *Petit Cartulaire* and the *Liber ordinarius* of St-Arnoul: "A beato Arnulpho usque ad Deodericum episcopum Metensem, qui ecclesiam beati Vincencii fundavit, trecenti anni et amplius defluerunt [From blessed Arnoul to Bishop Dietrich of Metz, who founded the church of blessed Vincent, three hundred years and more flowed by];" "Post istum Adalberonem Theodericus tenuit episcopatum Metensem, qui ecclesiam sancti Vincentii fundavit [After Adalbert I, Dietrich I held the bishopric of Metz, who founded the church of Saint-Vincent]." Gaillard, ed., *Le Souvenir des carolingiens*, 4; Odermatt, ed., *Der Liber Ordinarius*, 289.

<sup>137</sup> Prost, "Caractère et signification," 301-2.

Greek-language performance texts at St-Vincent, as well, suggests that a “Greek connection” was becoming an essential part of validating institutional history within Metz. This is visible in the interaction between St-Arnoul and St-Vincent. On the surface, Dietrich I’s connections to St-Arnoul seem untroubled. He was friendly with its abbot, John, and partially filled his new community of St-Vincent with monks from St-Arnoul.<sup>138</sup> In 977 Otto II confirmed a donation by Giselbert to St-Arnoul through the intervention of Dietrich I.<sup>139</sup> This was shortly after another unsuccessful Lotharingian uprising, and may have rewarded Dietrich I’s loyalty or that of a subordinate administrator attached to the monastery. This evidence presents a relatively positive picture of the interaction between the community and its bishop. A charter in which Dietrich I confirms some holdings of St-Arnoul offers a slightly more complex picture, however.<sup>140</sup> In it, Dietrich I endorses St-Arnoul’s possession of the village of Rémilly, but notes that its abbot had conceded it to the bishopric during the years 965 to 978. This was shortly before the foundation of St-Vincent and during its construction. Yet Rémilly and its revenues had long been in the possession of St-Arnoul, which had obtained them through confirmations and donations from multiple Carolingian kings.<sup>141</sup> This instance of revenue-borrowing has been interpreted as an example of how Dietrich I stripped other institutions in Metz in order to fund St-Vincent.<sup>142</sup> In the same document, Dietrich I also funds a *refectus*, or festive meal, at the monastery on the feast-day of St. Arnoul. This too has been seen as an attempt to mollify the unhappy community,

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<sup>138</sup> John of St-Arnoul, *Vita Johannis*, 337.

<sup>139</sup> *Diplomata Ottonis II*, ed. Theodor Sickel, MGH DD, 13 (Berlin, 1956), no. 158 (977), 178; Raymond Studer, “Catalogue des documents des Archives de la Moselle antérieurs à 1101,” *ASHAL* 32 (1923): 61.

<sup>140</sup> AD Moselle Ser. H 29, published in Meurisse, *Histoire de évêques de l’église de Metz*, 326; Studer, “Catalogue des documents,” 63.

<sup>141</sup> See above.

<sup>142</sup> Folz, “Un Évêque ottonien,” 147.

which had been deprived of one of its sources of income. In many ways, the foundation of St-Vincent relied upon the appropriation of personnel, goods, and revenue from the other episcopal abbeys of Metz. If Dietrich I was willing to take funds from other Messine monasteries, he might have also borrowed ideologies and performance traditions. The presence of Greek-language texts at St-Vincent in the late tenth century could represent the adoption of other institutional narratives based on performance by the new community. In the preservation of Metz 351, St-Arnoul could have sought ways to maintain the uniqueness of its claims in the face of a rival. Thus intra-urban competition might have formed another basis for safeguarding a Greek-language performance tradition at St-Arnoul.

The historical relationship between Dietrich I and the Empress Theophanu also suggests a second, more complex aspect to the promotion of Greek-language practice in Metz in the last quarter of the tenth century. Although Dietrich I participated in many of the key events of Theophanu's reign, the evidence that remains for direct contact between the two indicates that their relationship was not always friendly. Dietrich I was sent by Otto I to welcome Theophanu to Benevento in 972 for her arrival in the West.<sup>143</sup> Substantial evidence for further interaction is sparse during the following decade, until Otto II's campaign against the Byzantines and Saracens in Calabria in 982.<sup>144</sup> On this occasion, Otto II left Theophanu under the protection of Dietrich I, during which time conflict arose. In particular, Dietrich I was critical of Theophanu, whom he suspected of disloyalty.<sup>145</sup> The evidence for this quarrel is interesting, because it comes from a source that was biased

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<sup>143</sup> Sigebert of Gembloux, *Vita Deoderici*, 470.

<sup>144</sup> Described in Theitmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, III, ch. 20, 122; Alpert of Metz, *De episcopis Mettensibus libellus*, 697-9.

<sup>145</sup> Leyser, "Tenth Century," 45. Alpert of Metz writes that "Praesul Deodericus, auditis reginae cuntumeliarum verbis, multum, ut dignum erat, contra eam movetur [Bishop Dietrich, having heard insulting words about the queen, was greatly moved against her, as was proper]." Alpert of Metz, *De episcopis Mettensibus libellus*, 698.

toward Dietrich I and the see of Metz. The authorial reasons for the inclusion of this detail hostile to Theophanu and its justification become clearer in the context of the events of the next two years. During the year 983, Dietrich I remained close to the court. After the death of Otto II in January of 984, however, Dietrich I abruptly shifted his alliances from Otto III and Theophanu to Henry II of Bavaria.<sup>146</sup> Henry's grab for the throne was thwarted within months, when his search for support in Lotharingia failed and various leaders vowed to support Theophanu as regent for Otto III. Profoundly isolated from the imperial court, Dietrich I died in September of 984.<sup>147</sup> In the course of his career he had gone from trusted councilor to betrayer, promoting Greek-language practice in Metz but openly opposing the "Greek" empress.

These contradictory strands of Dietrich I's personal history underline the complexity that lay behind the preservation and adoption of Greek-language practice in tenth-century Metz. In the early years of his career, Dietrich I was close to the emperors and the imperial court. He founded St-Vincent in the same year that Liudprand was sent to Constantinople to obtain a Byzantine bride for Otto II. The fostering of Greek-language practice in his new diocese might therefore have been initially perceived by Dietrich I as a functional way to assert his new authority and episcopal continuity through Greek, and thus imperial, claims. It also affiliated him, on a local level, with the east-looking court of Otto I. Dietrich I seems to have introduced Greek elements to his new institution at the earliest stage of its foundation and, since St-Arnoul had already developed a history of Greek-language practice through Metz 351, the evidence from St-Vincent might either represent a counterclaim or a

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<sup>146</sup> Robert Folz has shown that Alpert of Metz explains this surprising disloyalty to the Ottonian dynasty, whom Dietrich I had served for two decades, as revenge for Theophanu's cruelties to Otto II. See Alpert of Metz, *De episcopis Mettensibus libellus*, 698; Folz, "Un Éveque ottonien," 153 n. 81.

<sup>147</sup> He was promptly replaced as bishop of Metz by Adalbert II, son of Duchess Beatrice of upper Lotharingia, who had remained loyal to Otto III and Theophanu.

borrowing of a previously successful strategy. St-Arnoul had asserted its imperial, Carolingian roots and authority through Greek-language performance, and Dietrich I could have done the same for himself and for the Ottonians at the newer monastery.

During Dietrich I's later career, however, such practices could have carried very different symbolic meanings. His hostility to Theophanu and later treachery indicate that the desire for institutional Greek origins did not correspond with a love of all things Byzantine. The presence of actual Byzantines and the direct influence of "Greek" culture may have complicated what had been a passive target for appropriation. Conflict with contemporary Eastern persons or practices could have clouded the simple assertions of previous narratives. Such performance practices could have remained flexible, however, now asserting a new model of authority. As opposed to the new, untrustworthy Byzantines, St-Arnoul could claim an earlier, more "authentic" source of Greek practice and origins. During the period of conflict with Theophanu over the imperial inheritance, for example, the Greek and Latin *Laudes* could model an alternative candidate for emperor who nonetheless integrated both Greek and Latin legitimacy. In the new circumstances, the Greek-language performance texts in Metz 351 might make available an authorized, reputable Greekness that directly contrasted with the unworthy inheritors now present in the Ottonian court.

Overall, the evidence for Greek-language performance in Metz indicates that during the tenth century it gained certain associations that encouraged its use as a kind of shorthand for expressing various institutional ideals. As early as the late ninth century, Greek-language practice at St-Arnoul was linked to imperial and dynastic continuity through the Greek *Laudes*. The preservation of the *Laudes* in Metz 351, alongside other performance texts, shows that the community developed a performance history for itself that claimed Greek origins in the following decades. Perhaps simultaneously, but within a century, similar claims

were made for the Greek origins of the foundation of St-Arnoul through the promotion of Patient, an early bishop of Metz. The *Petit Cartulaire* of St-Arnoul supplies him with a *Vita* that specifies his Greek and apostolic connections. Further evidence from Metz reveals that such ideas were circulating in the larger context of the city, too. Greek-language study and performance were also pursued by the other episcopal institutions of Gorze and St-Vincent. The documentation that survives for Gorze does not permit a fuller picture of the uses to which Greek-language practice was put there, but it is nonetheless clear that such ideas were circulating in Metz in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The record of performance practices under Dietrich I, however, demonstrates the flexibility of performance as a cultural and political mechanism of adaptation. This bishop introduced Greek-language performance to the new community of St-Vincent, perhaps adopting the strategy of Greek and imperial self-creation that had been successfully deployed at St-Arnoul through Metz 351. In the tenth century, the connected ideas of empire and Greekness were deliberately deployed to shape institutional history – performance was the mechanism for their expression.

### Chapter Conclusion

Too often we forget to ask why performance documents have survived, or neglect to examine the context of their production and preservation. The result is a failure to exploit a rich body of evidence for cultural and social history. In this chapter, the study of such material in situated and comparative context has revealed that performance functioned alongside hagiography and other modes of expression to shape history and identity. The consideration of manuscript content and its material composition has made possible an understanding of the complex and continuing history of the Greek *Laudes* at St-Arnoul. Now situated within the history of the community that performed, recorded, and preserved

the text, this once-isolated folio has become identifiable as part of a local and lasting trend. Previous chapters have examined interdisciplinary sources and used them to triangulate a specific historical and cultural moment of performance. Chapter Four has changed tack, however, and instead has followed performance evidence from a single manuscript over a long century. In doing so, it has addressed what have been weaknesses in previous scholarship: the boundaries of periodization and non-comparative work. An awareness of the potential continuity of performance between the early and high Middle Ages has been absent from much work on theater and ritual for this period; this study of the Greek *Laudes* has provided a model with chronological connections. The use of Metz 351 is documented in the ninth and tenth centuries, and reference to Greek authority and origins continued into the twelfth century at St-Arnoul and in Metz. Furthermore, the chapter incorporates forms of documentation that are inadmissible by the definitions of liturgical drama. It has demonstrated how cultural trends were expressed through many areas of cultural production, identifying parallel efforts in performance and hagiography; such findings remain unavailable under the current categories of ritual and drama. These ideas respond to recent critiques of the field and suggest that the search for “original” performance contexts must be joined to the study of material culture, its preservation, and comparative historical development. The integration of such approaches into the performance methodology allows a more complex exploration of the *Laudes*, permitting the chapter to address both the reasons why an imperial, Greek ceremonial text would have retained its value to the community that originally produced it and how such a document fit into the larger cultural context of Messine performance and institutional history.

Starting from the basis of the Greek *Laudes* and expanding outward, Chapter Four has found that performance culture at the monastery of St-Arnoul from the late-ninth to

early eleventh centuries displays unsuspected continuities. Manuscript context and institutional, local, and regional perspectives have revealed these connections to be the product of a deliberate shaping of performance history. Beginning in the late ninth century, the community of St-Arnoul assembled and emended a collection of performance texts that, in its entirety, posited a Greek basis to Messine performance practice. By recording specific and model performances, Metz 351 contributed to the creation of a Metz-based, Greek-authorized performance tradition at St-Arnoul. This manuscript draws on the prestige of the Greek language in the liturgy and its imperial associations, in combination with other imperial performance texts and a general Messine literary prestige, in order to secure narratives of institutional authority, legitimacy, and dynastic inheritance.

What appears on the surface to be the record of a solitary, ad hoc performance points to the ways that a community acted and reacted to the changes of time: how it envisioned itself and by what means it did so. Despite seismic shifts in regional leadership, St-Arnoul was able to re-imagine itself in the post-Carolingian era through the preservation and creation of its performance history – records of performance that doubled as institutional history. The continued political and cultural importance of Metz and of Carolingian ideologies in the tenth century provided new circumstances for St-Arnoul's narrative of Greek and imperial origins. Such claims could be adapted to imagined Greek or real Byzantine cultural influence, through performances and performance histories that promoted affiliation and institutional desirability to suspect heirs, ambitious aristocrats, and a new dynasty. Despite the passing of the Carolingians, their physical remains endured at St-Arnoul, and the Greek *Laudes* provided a compelling narrative that would draw new rulers into a story of imperial, dynastic glory. Performance of the *Laudes* might have been a way to activate imperial presence and its material culture in a later period for the community or for

royal visitors. It also offered a practical way to assert continuing claims to Greek imperial legitimacy under the late Carolingians and then the Ottonians. The renewal of interest in Greek imperial culture in the mid- to late-tenth century has suggested why the record of a Greek-language acclamation for an emperor would remain useful. As time passed, the canons and then monks of St-Arnoul needed to forge new political ties, and the direct Byzantine influence of the later tenth century provided fresh relevance to the older performance practice.

The Greek and imperial ideas expressed in Metz 351 also participated in local concerns and conflicts, presenting a model of performance and history that circulated among the episcopal institutions of greater Metz in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Specifically, the cultivation of an institutional narrative with a Greek basis mirrors other areas of cultural production at St-Arnoul and in the larger city. Hagiographic writings promoted the sanctity of Patient by imagining apostolic and Greek origins for his mission to Metz. This may have been a response to the development of a new foundation myth by the competing monastery of St-Clement that laid claim to St. Peter and Rome. Furthermore, the cultivation of Greek literature and its cultural authority seems not to have been confined to St-Arnoul, since evidence for Greek studies in Metz has suggested that it was present at other episcopal monasteries. A few institutions preserve records of Greek-language performance, such as the late-tenth-century foundation of St-Vincent. Under the guidance of Dietrich I, this monastery may have co-opted the successful Greek-language performance strategy previously employed by St-Arnoul. An overlapping picture of multiple contexts has shown the flexibility of this particular strategy: during a long century of competition and cultural change, performance practice and performance history provided a means of asserting

continuity with the past and of resituating a community in response to local and regional developments.

Overall, the coagulation of evidence around Greek-language practices in Metz has indicated that ideas about Greek culture carried significant weight and symbolism there between the late ninth and twelfth centuries. The historiography of liturgical drama has disconnected the tenth and eleventh centuries from the ninth century through the exclusive study of new “theatrical” practices. Yet this chapter has shown that Greek-language performance offered a valuable form of stability to the community of St-Arnoul throughout this transitional period. It has demonstrated that the category of liturgical drama limits enormously the understanding of cultural performance prior to the tenth century, and simultaneously has provided a counternarrative to previous histories that now takes ongoing use into account. Older performances practices were given new purposes at St-Arnoul, where there were no clear breaks with the past. Ninth-century performances produced a body or sedimentation of ideas that were consciously adopted and adapted by later generations, who were unconcerned with the modern boundaries of periodization. When the Carolingian dynasty faded, related cultural practices and ideologies proved to be resilient and of ongoing utility. In this instance, performance offered a means to bridge changing political and cultural circumstances. Metz 351 and the Greek *Laudes* it preserves provided one tool among many that sustained, created, and re-imagined a combined Greek and imperial past for the community of St-Arnoul and asserted contemporary relevance for a communal history. Continuing mythologies of empire and Greek origins rendered this performance less ephemeral, and safeguarded it against irrelevance. The Greek *Laudes* operated within numerous contexts, and perpetuation of the *Laudes* formed part of a larger, deliberate attempt to cultivate specific ideologies and authorities in Metz. In its preservation,

this instance of late-Carolingian performance practice became part of a larger narrative of Messine performance history. Study of the Greek *Laudes* through a new lens has demonstrated the enduring usefulness of performance and its history in the construction of institutional histories. Communal performance and a shared performance narrative formed two aspects of an evolving, responsive mechanism that allowed St-Arnoul and other Messine institutions to shape contemporary identity.

### General Conclusion: Performance in Metz over a Millennium

By definition, performance is an ephemeral phenomenon. In its study, we must often rely on lone objects as evidence of a transitory and richer practice. For the early and high Middle Ages in particular, the rare record of performance can seem cut off from the flow of the historical narrative, serving as a solitary reminder of lost histories. Yet the isolation of evidence for performance prior to the twelfth century is more perceived than real. By broadening the scope beyond the traditional confines of the disciplines of ritual studies and theater to include new sources and methodologies, and by fully situating these traces of the past within the specific historical and material culture of a time and place, neglected performances can be recovered. In this way, we can begin to sketch out a more complex picture of the relationship between practice and its consequences in the past.

As a category of analysis, performance has the capacity to illuminate new aspects of cultural and social history. The texts and material culture of the Middle Ages are studied too often within the strict boundaries of modern disciplines and periodization, rendering larger cultural constructs invisible. Despite its vibrant past, Metz is relatively unexamined by medieval historians and its performance traditions have been largely ignored. The preceding chapters each take unknown or under-studied items and bodies of evidence as their focus. Through contextualization, these sources reveal that performance was a flexible cultural technique, able to shape and be shaped by local and immediate needs. It is important to take

care when drawing overall conclusions from evidence that spans a millennium, however. Although some general trends can be identified in the Messine performance tradition, the scope and varying substance of the documentation should be a reminder of the limitations of our perspective. Nonetheless, when examined from this perspective, the frequent interaction of performance practice with individual and institutional identity is unsurprising; performance provides another window into how communities envisioned themselves and their surroundings.

On a basic level, these chapters indicate that performance practices of certain eras were deliberately preserved or recreated, even when the manner of transmission is unclear. Traditions formed in Metz during the Gallo-Roman period were taken up by the Franks under the Merovingian dynasty, for example. The pre-Germanic religious and civic life of the city incorporated public spectacles, Christian ritual, and imperial ceremony, and also gave shape to the local geography through urban planning and monumental architecture. Specific physical structures served as public stages for performances that expressed gendered identity and public authority. This architectural expression of culture was partly sustained in the Merovingian period when the buildings were put to use by their early medieval inheritors, who adapted Gallo-Roman traditions such as beast fights, *adventus* ceremonies, and feasting. Furthermore, the Merovingian wedding of Sigibert and Brunhild employed elements of Latin oratory and Christian ritual. This performance made a claim to the practices of the past that asserted their continuing validity and joined them to current needs. As a whole, the process of ceremonial arrival, celebration, and baptism transformed Brunhild's marital, religious, and political status and transmitted her new authority within the Frankish realm. Although this event drew on previous models of oratory and banqueting, it added new elements of gender and patronage. Peoples of the fifth to seventh centuries thus did more than merely conserve

and transmit Gallo-Roman traditions; under the Merovingian dynasty, the city of Metz integrated earlier practice into new circumstances.

The preceding chapters suggest that cultural practices operated over the long-term, directly and indirectly. Without an awareness of Gallo-Roman performance traditions in Metz, for example, Gregory's narrative of a sixth-century beast fight appears to present a simple critique of the crude and violent tactics of the Merovingian dynasty. Understood within the context of Metz's amphitheater and the *venationes*, however, his description of the event plays upon Roman ideals of masculinity and spectatorship while reversing models of hagiographic martyrdom. Although it might be difficult for the modern reader to see past the brutality of this scene, a consideration of trans-era continuities reveals the adaptation of local Gallo-Roman practice under the Merovingians and an authorial stance that carefully distinguishes between possible interpretive strategies. This same process may be seen in the preservation of the Greek *Laudes* at St-Arnoul four hundred years later. Through reference to earlier performance tradition, the creators of Metz 351 formed links among current institutional history, Carolingian mythologies, and Greek and imperial origins. Prior performance practice is embraced, but incorporated into a new narrative. Like Gregory's account of the beast fight, this manuscript resituates older customs within changed political and cultural circumstances. In both examples, chronological comparison reveals that the persistence of practice was not the result of simple, unconscious inheritance. Instead, contemporary performers and writers chose to preserve specific, useful elements of previous performance conventions.

The deliberate shaping of performance and performance history is another important aspect of the Messine tradition. A comprehensive understanding of later practice, under the Carolingians and then the Ottonians, is impossible without the backdrop of the Gallo-

Roman heritage and its presence in the memories of contemporaries. Much of the evidence for performance examined in Chapters Two and Four calls upon the imagery and mythologies of great cities and places. According to the narratives written for Angilram, the song school established under Chrodegang was rooted in Roman-style chant and liturgy. The same was said of Chrodegang's architectural renovations and creation of a stationary liturgy, both of which modeled a physical connection between Metz and Rome. The historical evidence for travel to Rome by Chrodegang suggests that this claim may have had its origins in the truth, that these practices were directly drawn from contemporary Roman models. Yet it was nonetheless a later generation that, under Angilram, chose to commemorate these actions as being inspired by Roman authority. Additionally, the late-ninth and early tenth century evidence of the Greek *Laudes* indicates that an approach to performance based on geographic citation did not disappear. Its manuscript attests to the creation of a tradition of origins at St-Arnoul that was connected to Greek beginnings. The larger institutional context of textual production demonstrates that performance was one of many strategies employed in this rethinking of the past. As in the program of performance change undertaken by Chrodegang and Angilram, numerous techniques were employed to express and attain intended objectives. Performance practice and its preservation served as a technique for shaping history and current ideas through the mapping of distant places.

The dominant quality of episcopal influence on the evidence from Metz is another common thread that runs through the findings of the chapters. Chapters Two and Three, in particular, document archbishops who introduced and/or validated cultural practices that promoted episcopal authority. Under their guidance, the religious communities of Metz adopted performance practices that specified preferred structures, status systems, and symbolisms. The impact of such performances was broadly conceived, encompassing local

spaces and cultural contexts. The performances and their records that remain are targeted to benefit individual institutions and groups that were under the rule of the bishop, such as the cathedral canons or the monks of St-Arnoul. The stational list documents a practice that privileges the former, for example, literally positioning the canons and their complex at the center of the city. It does so both in terms of geography and of relative importance of the holidays celebrated. In the context of the architectural renovations and the new *Rule*, it becomes clear that Chrodegang used performance to put his stamp on the city and chapter. Later bishops followed this model: Angilram's financial stipends for performers and Drogo's *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae* brought specific aspects of the liturgy under episcopal control. The regularized system of payments exerted economic and social jurisdiction; the *Ordo* modeled an intervention between a community and its saints that reinforced the bishop's authority and power in local, exclusive circumstances. The bishops of Metz used performance to mold their relations with specific institutions and to fashion ideal interactions with communities in Metz and in the larger region.

The study of performance in Metz also unveils the essential usefulness of physical practice. The marriage of Sigibert and Brunhild had concrete cultural and political functions. A mixture of Gallo-Roman and newer performance practice integrated Brunhild into the Frankish elite and its religion, "performing" the work of cultural assimilation. Later, production and use of liturgical ceremony transformed various Messine contexts. Through stational liturgy, performance shaped the cathedral complex and the geography of the wider urban sphere. The financial document highlights contemporary attention to performance as a means of introducing or reinforcing specific ideas within a community. These could be linked to prior action, liturgical change, and episcopal control. Monetary stipends for performance endorsed a desired social model, prescribing internal structure and hierarchy

among the canons. The Drogo Sacramentary also imagines performance as a technique for implementing episcopal authority. As depicted in its text, mise-en-page, and ivory plaque, the *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae* projects a symbolic image of the bishop as an intercessor to the saints. This message of episcopal mediation could address the context of a weakening see through the translation of Messine relics, creating a lineage of Messine episcopal saints that extended outside of Metz. Last, the creation of the Greek *Laudes* manuscript provided a form of testimony to the monks of St-Arnoul: material proof of their longstanding imperial heritage. This narrative of Greek origins allowed them to compete with local institutions and to build new bonds of patronage in the Ottonian era. Performance was a tool for the development of intra- and intercommunal relations, expressing and exporting the perspective of the bishop to the city and beyond. It shaped cultural and social participation by individuals to practical purposes and effects.

This study demonstrates that performance and its record must be situated and understood within multiple layers of context. Without this richer perspective, performance texts are doomed to languish as incomprehensible relics of lost cultural mechanisms. Primary sources like the Greek *Laudes*, originally produced for a specific occasion and audience, may seem to “mirror” a limited historical moment. Yet the ongoing history of this text suggests how performance practice participates in a wider tradition and in the formation of community identity and history more broadly. Performances evoke and respond to larger trends, but ultimately they must originate with and express themselves to smaller groups. It is here that the most subtle meanings may be found. In Metz, prior to the twelfth century, the evidence for performance closely corresponds with the individuals and institutions that kept the historical record. Performance and its documentation survive as modes of making history, of imagining and preserving the past. The extant evidence illuminates this process

among the cathedral canons of St-Étienne and the monks of St-Arnoul, in particular.

Centuries after the direct influence of the historical empire, both episcopal institutions drew on ideals of Gallo-Roman performance. The Merovingian rulers of Metz had renewed some imperial practices in the city within a changed context; we cannot know the full extent. The bishops Chrodegang, Angilram, Drogo, and Dietrich I also found use for the complex symbolism of Rome and empire, authorizing certain individual, institutional, and urban identities. Performance in Metz was not a passive cultural mechanism that blindly expressed the inner lives of unconscious participants; it should not be surprising that communities developed performance practices that produced symbolic meanings and effects to their advantage. The survival of other evidence for study would produce other perspectives on religious and social life in the city.

In the end, the methodology of performance provides an extraordinary perspective on familiar histories. Without this approach, the full wedding celebration of Sigibert and Brunhild would remain concealed and Gregory's beast fight text would merely recount a murder. Angilram's payment system would continue to gather dust, Drogo's early "play" would fill a few lines in an undergraduate textbook, and the Greek *Laudes* would record a single visit to Metz in the 880s and nothing more. Instead, through performance, the Merovingian marriage can be seen to intertwine imperial and Frankish traditions in order to integrate a foreign bride into a new cultural and political context. The story of the beast fight can be reread for its appropriation of Gallo-Roman models, critiquing contemporary masculinity and spectatorship. The financial stipends now reveal the implantation of ecclesiastical controls within the cathedral chapter through liturgical performance; the *Ordo* provides evidence for a physical practice that exported episcopal intervention and created a lineage of local saintly bishops. The Greek-language acclamation shows its participation in

the retelling of institutional history in a new imperial era, decades after its original composition. From century to century, writers and performers explored the capacity of performance to mold the present and the past. Ultimately, performance and its record supplied a means of expressing and shaping cultural meaning; we must incorporate its possibilities into our narrative of medieval history.

**Appendix One:** *Rule of Angilram*

British Library Additional 15222, Fols. 70v-73r.

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[Fol. 70v]

Anchilramnus presul dum summum conscendit honorem cathedramque presidens ecclesiae sancti stephani protomartyris ciuitatis mediomatrice coepi inspirante [fol. 71r] divina gratia animo percunctari qualiter studia in ecclesia psallentium clericorum in melius prouherem atque exercitia illorum accendi ad utiliora potuissem iuxta euangelicam consolationem in qua dicitur Dignus est operarius mercede sua. Ita tamen ut hoc cum summa uigilantia radicitus ab omnibus amputetur nequod pro studio religionis in melius augmentauimus cupiditatis morbo aliquis hoc adgredere videatur.

Censuimus namque ut in circulo anni diaconus qui illam passionem maiorem in palmas legit accipiat de cubiculo atque sacello pontificis aut uno mancuso aut solidos II

Subdiaconus autem qui ipso die epistolam legit solidum I.

Cantor qui illum<sup>1</sup> tractum cantat Deus Deus meus solidum I.

Et ille qui in feria IIII ebodomada maiore [fol. 71v] responsum gradale cantat id est Domine exaudi denarios IIII accipiat.

Et qui in sexta feria.

Et qui ipsa die illo tracto Qui habitat cantat solidum I accipiat.

Illi uero octo cantores qui in sabbato sancto cantica greca quam et latina dixerint unusquisque accipiat denarios VI. Et hoc colligit ad illos VIII cantores solidi IIII.

Qui enim alleluia cantat denarios IIII.

Qui uero tractum [L]audate dominum omnes gentes cantat similiter accipiat.

In dominica uero sancta que est dies magne resurrectionis domini subdiaconus qui ipso die epistolam legit solidum I. accipiat.

Diaconus sicut superius de illa passione domini in palmis aut I mancuso aut solidos II accipiat.

Primus scole accipiat ipsa die solidum I. Secundus uero denarios VIII. Tertius autem denarios VI. Quartus denarios IIII.

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<sup>1</sup> In the Latin of this text, *ille*, *illa*, and *illud* can function as definite articles, mirroring the vernacular use of the time. RA, 351 n. 3.

Notarius [fol. 72r] uero qui nomina baptizatorum recitat solidum I.

Subdiaconi uero II qui per totam ebodomadam in albis ante pontificem cereostata deferunt solidi II.

Primus scole accipiat denarios VIII. Secundus denarios VII. Tertius et quartus denarios IIII.

A pascha usque in octabas sunt solidi XX et denarii X.

In sabbato pentecosten sicut et in sabbato pascho de lectoribus et de cantoribus similiter observare decreuimus.

Illi uero qui illa letania per illas ecclesias in triduo ieiunio faciunt unusquisque solidum I accipiat.

In crastinum uero de diaconis et subdiaconis sicut et in pascha accipiendum statuumus.

Nam per illa quatuor tempora anni qui illam benedictionem in ambone cantat solidum I accipiat.

Et diaconus qui in natali domini euangelium legit similiter solidos II accipiat.

Sed et subdiaconus solidum I accipiat. [fol. 72v] Et in crastinum missa sancti stephani pro reverentia ipsius domni et patronis nostri diaconus et subdiaconus similiter accipiant.

Et cantor qui in ambone initio quadragesime tractum Qui habitat cantat solidum I accipiat.

Stationarii namque XV qui per totam quadragesimam stationes suas suas [sic] iuxta consuetudinem sedis apostolice custodiunt constituimus ut pro eo quod illis ipsam religionem melius secundum deum observare delectet ut illi presbiteri duo qui totam quadragesimam ipsas stationes custodiunt et missam celebrant completa ad ultimum stationes suas denarios VI iussu pontificis accipiant. Diaconi similiter. Subdiaconi duo unusquisque denarios IIII. Cantores II. Similiter acolytus qui illum euangelium cum capsula defert denarios III. Reliqui omnes unusquisque denarios II. [fol. 73r] Colligitur in totum ad illos stationarios unciae II et denarii XI.

Et super totum annum sicut constitutum est de lectoribus et cantoribus uel stationariis colliguntur solidi XL et denarii VII.

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At the time when he ascended the highest office:<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Andrieu interprets this clause as a later interpolation, due to the third-person verb describing Angilram. He connects it with a type of heading that appears in some Gregorian antiphonaries. See *Ibid.*, 350 n. 2.

I, Bishop Angilram, inspired in the mind with divine grace while watching over the bishop's seat of the church of St-Étienne Protomartyr in the city of Metz, began to investigate how I might promote greater zeal for psalm-singing among the clergy of the church and how I might kindle the pious exercises of those [clergy] to better purpose, according to the consolation of the Gospels in which it is said, "The laborer is worthy of his reward." Consequently, in order that this place should be pruned to the roots through the highest vigilance of all the clergy, we greatly increased zeal for the religious life, so that no one with the affliction of greed should be seen to approach this place.

For indeed we determined<sup>3</sup> that in the cycle of the year the deacon who recites the Major Passion on Palm Sunday should receive from the chapel inside the church and also the treasury<sup>4</sup> of the bishop either one gold coin [*mancusus*] or two gold coins [*solidi*].

Moreover, the subdeacon who on that day recites the Epistle, one *solidus*.

The singer who sings the chant *Deus Deus meus*,<sup>5</sup> one *solidus*.

And he who in the feria IIII major<sup>6</sup> week sings the responsory gradual, that is the *Domine exaudi*, should receive four silver coins [*denarii*].

And he in feria VI.<sup>7</sup>

And he who sings the chant *Qui habitat* on that day should receive one *solidus*.

The eight singers who on Holy Saturday will have spoken the Psalms in Greek as in Latin should each individually receive six *denarii*. And this totals for the eight singers four *solidi*.

Certainly, he who sings *Alleluia*,<sup>8</sup> four *denarii*.

He who sings the chant *Laudate dominum omnes gentes*<sup>9</sup> should receive similarly.

On Holy Sunday,<sup>10</sup> which is the great day of the resurrection of the Lord, the subdeacon who reads the Epistle that same day should receive one *solidus*.

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<sup>3</sup> *Censere* can also mean to assess or tax, giving the decision a more financial coloring.

<sup>4</sup> Or "small sanctuary"—the two terms became confused. See entries for *sacellus* and *sacellus*: Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, 925.

<sup>5</sup> Sung on Palm Sunday in Gregorian antiphonaries. *RA*, 352 n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Wednesday of Holy Week. *Ibid.*, 352 n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Good Friday. Andrieu suggests that the full line has been lost. See *Ibid.*, 352 n. 5 and 4.

<sup>8</sup> This follows the Epistle on Easter Saturday. *Ibid.*, 353 n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Psalm sung at the mass of Easter Saturday.

<sup>10</sup> Easter Sunday.

Just as before, for the Passion of the Lord on Palm Sunday, the deacon should receive one *mancusus* or two *solidi*.

The first of the choir<sup>11</sup> should receive the same day one *solidus*, the second, eight *denarii*, the third, six *denarii*, moreover the fourth, four *denarii*.

The clerk who reads out the names of the baptized, one *solidus*.

The two subdeacons who carry the candelabra in front of the bishop through the whole week of Easter,<sup>12</sup> two *solidi*.

The first of the choir should receive eight *denarii*, the second seven *denarii*. The third and fourth, four *denarii*.

From Easter until the eighth day after Easter there are twenty *solidi* and ten *denarii*.

We decided to celebrate similarly for the readers and singers on the Saturday of Pentecost, just as on Easter Saturday.

Those who make the litany through the churches for the three days of fasting<sup>13</sup> should each individually receive one *solidus*.

On Ascension Day<sup>14</sup> we instituted receiving for the deacons and subdeacons just as on Easter.

Through the Ember Days of the year when he sings the benediction<sup>15</sup> in the pulpit, he should receive one *solidus*.

And the deacon who reads the Gospels for the Nativity similarly should receive two *solidi*.

But also the subdeacon should receive one *solidus*. And for the Pentecost mass of Saint-Étienne, for reverence of the Lord himself and for our defender, the deacon and subdeacon should receive similarly.

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<sup>11</sup> *Scole* could also refer to the cathedral canons as a whole. Since the rest of the text limits itself to performers, I have chosen the more specific sense of the word.

<sup>12</sup> From the mid-sixth century, the term *alba* could refer to the white liturgical garment of recently baptized neophytes. It was also used to mean Easter week from the early ninth century. See Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, 32. Given the date and manuscript context, both meanings seem possible here.

<sup>13</sup> *Triduanum ieiunium* refers to the three days of Rogations. RA, 355 n. 1.

<sup>14</sup> *In crastinum* refers to Ascension. Ibid., 355 n. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Andrieu notes that *illam benedictionem* refers to *Benedictus es, Domine*, which is introduced by the conclusion of the preceding lesson, “*et benedicebant Deum in fornace dicentes*,” and sung on Saturday. Ibid., 355 n. 3.

And the singer who sings the chant *Qui habitat* in the pulpit for the beginning of Quadragesima<sup>16</sup> should receive one *solidus*.

Indeed, we firmly establish the fifteen processional performers who observe their stations all through Lent according to the custom of the apostolic see, because through these [stations] each one delights to better observe that religious life of following God. By order of the bishop, the two priests who keep all the Lenten stations and celebrate the Mass at the furthest of their stations by Compline should receive six *denarii*. The deacons similarly. The two subdeacons, each one individually, four *denarii*. Singers, two. Similarly, the acolyte who carries the Gospels with the reliquary, three *denarii*. All remaining, each individually, two *denarii*. That makes a total of two twelfth-weights of gold [*unciae*] and eleven *denarii* for the processional performers.

And just as it was agreed, that makes a total of forty *solidi* and seven *denarii* collected during all the year for the readers and singers and for the processional performers.

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<sup>16</sup> The first Sunday of Lent. Ibid., 356 n. 2.

## Appendix Two: *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae*

Drogo Sacramentary, BNF latin 9428, Fols. 100r-105r.

The layout below reproduces the mise-en-page of the manuscript as closely as possible, excepting my use of italic and roman fonts to distinguish spoken text from instructions.

Notation Legend:

**Bold** = gold lettering

Underline = decorated or large letter that starts a line or is located in margin

Double Underline = empty space for incomplete gold, decorated, or larger letter

˘Insertion˘ = text added above the line

*Italic* = text that I have interpreted as providing instructions or explanations to the performer

Roman = text that I have interpreted as meant to be spoken aloud during performance

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[Fol. 100r]

### **Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae**

*Primo eundem est ad locum ubi reliquiae positae sunt priori die, in quo etiam loco vigiliae prius sollempniter implendae sunt sub honore ipsorum sanctorum quorum reliquiae in novam ecclesiam ponendae sunt. Deinde sacrandae est aqua a pontifice et mittenda est chrisma in aqua cum hac benedictione:*

**Deus** qui ad salutem humani generis maxima quaeque sacramenta in aquarum substantia condidisti, adesto invocationibus nostris, et elemento huic multimodis purificationibus praeparato virtute tuae benedictionis effunde, ut creatura mysteriis tui tibi serviens ad abiciendos daemones morbosque pellendos divinae gratiae sumat effectus, ut quicquid in domibus vel in locus fidelium haec unda resperit, careat inmunditia, liberetur a noxia; non illic resideat spiritus pestilens, non aura corrumpens; [fol. 100v] **dis**cedant omnes insidiae latentis inimici, et si quid est, quod aut incolomitati habitantium invidet aut quieti, aspersionem huius aquae effugetur, ut salubritas per invocationem tui nominis expetita ab omnibus sit inpugnationibus defensa. Per dominum. *Et canenda est ibi interim laetania.*

#### ***Post quam sequitur oratio.***

**A**ufer a nobis domine quaesumus, iniquitates nostras, ut ad sancta sanctorum puris mereamur mentibus introire. Per Dominum.

#### ***Alia.***

**F**ac nos, Domine sanctorum tuorum auxilio specialiter dicata membra contingere, quorum cupimus patrocina incessanter habere. Per Dominum nostrum.

*Hac finita sublevantur reliquiae cum feretro a sacerdotibus, canente clero antifonam Cum iocunditate exhibitis vel ceteras antifonas, ad deducendas reliquias usque ad hostium novae edificationis ad occidentem.*

#### ***Post quas dicit pontifex orationem:***

**Deus** qui ex omni coaptatione sanctorum aeternum tibi condidit [fol. 101r] habitaculum, da aedificationis tuae incrementa caelestia, et quorum hic reliquias pio amore complectimur, eorum semper meritis adiuvemur. Per dominum.

*Qua finita incipit pontifex aquam aspergere consecratam a foris, sequendo feretro reliquiarum, cleroque canente antiphonam Asparges me Domine cum psalmo Lmo. Sed uno ex clericis in nova ecclesia clausis hostiis quasi latente. Nam pontifex circumit ecclesiam ab hostio in partem aquilonarem prima vice usque iterum ad idem hostium; et cum illic perventum fuerit pulsat hostium tribus vicibus, dicendo: Tollite portas, principes, vestras et elevamini, portae aeternales, et introibit Rex gloriae. Ille deintus respondens dicat: Quis est iste rex gloriae? Iterum circumianda est ecclesia secunda vice sicut prius, cum eadem antiphona et eodem psalmo, usquedum perveniatur ad hostium, atque iterum pulsetur sicut prius eisdem verbis et idem respondente deintus latente. Tunc tertio iterum circumianda est eodem modo cum eodem cantu usque iterum ad hostium. [fol. 101v]*

*Tunc dicenti pontifice et pulsanti respondendum est ei sicut prius: Quis est iste rex gloriae? Pontifex respondeat: Dominus virtutum ipse est rex gloriae.*

*Tunc aperientur hostia et canenda est antiphona Ambulate sancti Dei, ingredimini in domum Domini, cum psalmo Laetatus sum in his quae dicta sunt mihi et cetera. Et ille qui prius fuerat intus quasi fugiens egrediatur ad illud hostium foras, iterum ingressurus per primum hostium vestitus vestimentis ecclesiasticis.*

*Dum ingreditur pontifex ecclesiam dicit orationem:*

**Domum** tuam Domine clementer ingredi et in tuorum tibi cordibus fidelium perpetuam constitue mansionem ut cuius aedificatione subsistit, huius fiat habitatione praeclara. Per Dominum... *Illa finita incipit iterum ab hostio ad partem aquilonarem ab intus aspergere aquam, antiphonam canente Beati qui habitant in domo tua, Domine, cum psalmo Quam dilecta tabernacula tua, Domine, usquedum prius circumeundo sicut a foris pervenerit ad hostium.*

*Et dicit orationem:*

**Deus** qui in omni loco tuae dominationis dedicator adsistis, [fol. 102r] exaudi nos quaesumus et inviolabilis huius loci permaneat consecratio et beneficia tui muneris universitas quae supplicat mereatur. Per Dominum nostrum.

*Et sic iterum circumianda est cum supradicta antiphona et eodem psalmo usque ad idem hostium et dicenda est oratio:*

**Deus** qui loca nomini tuo dicata sanctificas tribuae quaesumus ut quicumque hic ingredienti postulerint, misericordiae tuae auxilium sibi gaudeant adfuisse. Per.

*Et cum tertio lustrata fuerit ab intus sicut primo et secundo, dicenda est oratio:*

**Deus** qui sacrandorum tibi auctor es munerum, effunde super hanc orationis domum benedictionem tuam ut ab omnibus invocantibus nomen tuum defensionis tuae auxilium sentiat. Per Dominum nostrum.

*Tunc iterum incipiet clerus laetantiam positus reliquiis extra velum quod extensum est inter aedem et altare.*

*Quo canente ingreditur pontifex cum deputatis ministris intra velum et facit maldam de aqua sanctificata unde recludantur reliquiae in confessione. Tunc veniens ad altare aspargens illud tribus vicibus [fol. 102v] aqua sanctificata. Inde sequitur benedictio tabulae his verbis:*

**S**ingulare illud repropitiatorium quod se in altare crucis nobis redimendis obtulit immolandum cuius in praefiguratione patriarcha Iacob lapidem erexit in titulum quo fieret sacrificium et porta caeli desuper aperiretur oraculum, suppliciter tibi Domine preces fundimus ut metalli huius expoliata materia supernis sacrificiis imbuenda ipse suae dotare sanctificationis ubertate precipiat qui quondam lapideis legem scripsit in tabulis. Per Dominum. *Inde asparsio confessionis simul cum unctione chrismatis per quattuor angulos confessionis. Postea ponentur reliquiae in confessione cum tribus particulis corporis Domini ac tribus particulis thimiamatis canendo antiphonam.*

**S**ub altare Domini sedes accepistis, intercedite pro nobis apud quem gloriari meruistis. *His expletis, superponendus est lapis super quem infundendum est oleum sanctificatum et expandendum in modum crucis. Similiter per quattuor angulos altaris modus crucis de eo [fol. 103r] dem oleo significandus est. Inde benedictio altaris simul cum consecratione eiusdem.*

**D**eprecamur misericordiam tuam omnipotens aeternae Deus ut hoc altare sacrificiis spiritalibus consecrandum vocis nostrae exoratus officio praesenti benedictione sanctifices ut in eo semper oblationes famulorum tuorum studio suae devotionis inpositas benedicere et sanctificare digneris et spiritali placatus incenso precanti familiae tuae promptus exauditor adsistas. Per Dominum.

### **Consecratio altaris.**

**D**eus omnipotens in cuius honore hoc altare sub invocatione tui nominis consecramus, clemens et propitius preces nostrae humilitatis exaudi et praesta ut in hac mensa sint tibi libamina accepta, sint gratia, sint pingua et spiritus sancti tui semper rore perfusa ut in omni tempore in hoc loco supplicantis tibi familiae tuae anxietates releves, aegritudines cures, preces exaudias, vota suscipias, desiderata confirmes, postulata concedas. Per Dominum nostrum.

*Inde benedictio lintheaminum altaris et aliorum [fol. 103v] indumentum necnon et vasorum sacro ministerio usui apta his verbis:*

**E**xaudi Domine supplicum preces et haec lineamina aliaque indumenta necnon et vasa sancto altari tuo atque ecclesiae tuae cunctoque sacro ministerio usui preparata benedicere et sanctificare dignare. Per Dominum nostrum.

*Et post hoc velatur altare. Post velatum vero sequitur oratio:*

**D**escendat quaesumus Domine Deus noster spiritus sanctus tuus super hoc altare, qui et populi tui dona sanctificet et sumentium corda dignanter emundet. Per Dominum.

**Ad missam ...**

**Super oblata ...**

[fol. 104r] **Praefatio ...**

**Ad complendum ...**

**Ad capsam benedicendam ...**

[fol. 104v] **Benedictio corporalis ...**

**Ad crucem benedicendam ...**

**Ad consecrandam patenam ...**

[fol. 105r] **Ad calicem benedicendum ...**

**Missa in anniversario dedicationis basilicae ...**

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*Ordo* for the dedication of a church

*The ordo [ritual/ ceremony/ manner of proceeding] should first proceed to where the relics were put on a previous day. Vigils ought first to be solemnly completed in this place, simultaneously with the rite of the saints whose relics shall be put in the new church. Afterwards, the water should be consecrated by the bishop and the chrism should be put in the water with this blessing:*

“God, you established the greatest sacraments for the health of the human race in the substance of water. Be present in our prayers and pour out the virtue of your blessing with this matter, prepared for many types of purification, so that your creation, serving you in your mysteries, may take up the accomplishment of divine grace to drive away demons and dislodge affliction so that all things in the homes and particularly in the places of the faithful are sprinkled with this water. Let them be without all foulness and free from harm. Let no noxious spirit reside there, nor tainted air. Let all the hidden snares of the enemy depart, and if something exists which begrudges the safety and quiet of the residents, let it be put to flight by the sprinkling of this water. Let health, reached through the invocation of your holy name, be defended from all attacks. Through the Lord...” *Meanwhile, the litany should be sung there.*

*The prayer follows:*

“Remove our sins from us, O Lord we beg, that we should be worthy to enter into the holy place of the saints with pure souls. Through the Lord...”

*Another prayer:*

“O Lord, cause us to be near to the specially dedicated limbs [relics] with the help of your saints, whom we long to have as ceaseless protectors. Through our Lord...”

*After this has been finished, the relics on the bier are raised up by the priests, while the clergy sing the antiphon “You will go forth with rejoicing...” and perhaps other antiphons, in order to lead the relics all the way to the door of the new building toward the west.*

*After that the bishop says the prayer:*

“God, you who establish an eternal dwelling for yourself in all joining of the saints, deliver the heavenly benefits of your religious edification. We embrace the relics of those here with pious love. Let us be assisted always by their merits. Through the Lord...”

*When finished, the bishop begins to sprinkle consecrated water at the doors. He is followed by the bier of the relics and by the clergy. They sing the antiphon “You will sprinkle me, O Lord...” with Psalm 50, except for one from the clergy [who enters] into the new church by the doors to the cloister as if by stealth. In the first iteration, the bishop proceeds all the way around the church starting from the door into the northern section to the very same door again. When he is about to come through, he strikes the door three times in succession, saying: “Raise your gates, princes, and be raised up, Eternal Gates, and the King of Glory will enter.” Responding from within, he says: “Who is this King of Glory?” In the second succession, the church should be marched around a second time just as previously, to the same place, with the same antiphon and psalm sung the entire way, until the door is reached. The door is knocked on a second time, just as previously, with the same words and the same [cleric] responding afterwards from hiding. Next,*

*the church should be marched around a third time, in the same manner and with the same song being sung continuously, until the door is reached.*

*Next, the bishop speaks and knocks and should be answered just as before: “Who is this King of Glory?” The bishop should reply: “The Lord of Miracles himself is the King of Glory.”*

*Then the doors are opened to view and the antiphon “Walk, you saints of God, enter into the house of the Lord...” should be sung with the psalm “I was gladdened by these things that were spoken to me...” and so forth. And he who previously was inside comes outside as if fleeing towards that door, proceeding through the first door clothed anew in ecclesiastical garments.*

Now the bishop enters the church and says the prayer:

“O Lord, gently enter into your house. Set a perpetual dwelling into the hearts of your faithful, which remains standing for religious edification, and from this let it become a brilliant dwelling.” *This finished, he again begins to sprinkle water before him while entering within, moving from the door to the northern section. He continuously sings the antiphon “The blessed who live in your house, O Lord...” with the psalm “How greatly you esteem your tabernacle...” just like when he arrived at the door outside.*

*He says the prayer:*

“God, you who stand as founder in all places of your rule, we beg you to hear us. This prayer beseeches that the consecration of this inviolable place should endure and that the *beneficia* [favours/pious gifts] of your office should be merited. Through our Lord....”

*And the church should be marched around in this way a second time, toward the same door, with the above-mentioned antiphon and the same psalm sung continuously. The prayer should be said:*

“God, you who sanctify to peace places devoted to your name, we beg that anyone entering here should ask that they may rejoice to be present through the aid of your mercy. Through....”

*When the church has been purified from within for the third time, just like the first and second, the prayer should be said: “God, you who are father of consecrating offices to you, pour out your blessing upon this house of prayer so that the assistance of your defense is perceived in all invocations. Through our Lord....”*

*Then the clergy will begin the procession in turn, the relics having been placed beyond a tapestry that has been spread out between the chapel and the altar.*

*The bishop should enter, singing, this space within the tapestry with the appointed deacons. He produces a measure taken from the water that had been blessed. The relics are revealed in this space in the tomb beneath the altar. Then he comes toward the altar and sprinkles it for three successions with the consecrated water. The blessing of the altar is followed by these words:*

“That re-atoner alone offered himself on the altar of the cross for our redemption, in prefiguration of which the patriarch Jacob erected a stone in memory. He makes a sacrifice and the prophecy/chapel<sup>17</sup> was revealed from above by the gate of heaven. We humbly pour

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<sup>17</sup> In addition to its classical meaning of prophecy, *oraculum* could also mean a chapel or church by the early Middle Ages.

out prayers to you, O Lord, that the saturating of this stone with smooth substance from heavenly offerings should work beforehand to endow it with the richness of its blessing, which once engraved the law on tablets of stone.” *After that, sprinkle the martyrs’ tomb at the same time as you anoint the chrism throughout the four corners of the tomb. After this, the relics will be placed in the tomb with three little pieces of the Lord’s body and three little pieces of incense, while singing the antiphon:*

“You received a seat beneath the altar of the Lord. Intercede for us before the Lord, by whom you deserved to be glorified.” *You finish with these [steps]: the stone should be placed upon the tomb and the blessed oil should be poured on and spread in the manner of a cross. Similarly, the motion of a cross should be made by signs throughout the four corners of the altar with the same oil. After that, [say] the blessing of the altar at the same time as its consecration:*

“We beg your mercy, O almighty eternal God, that you should sanctify this altar with a blessing, having been appeased by the present service, with the spiritual sacrifice of our voice consecrating. In this you always assist the offerings of your servants, placed with the zeal of piety, O visible one who listens. You deign to bless and to sanctify, having been soothed in spirit by the inflamed entreating of your family. Through the Lord....”

*Consecration of the altar.*

“Gentle and gracious almighty God, in whose honor we consecrate this altar beneath the invocation of your name, hear and fulfill the prayers of our humility that the libations to you on this table should have been accepted and should be fertile with grace. Let the spirit of your holiness always sprinkle it with dew, so that, your family praying to you for all time in this place, you lift troubles, care for the suffering, hear prayers, receive vows, strengthen desired things, and remove burdens. Through our Lord....”

*Then you prepare for blessing the linen cloths of the altar and the other garments and the vessels for use in the divine service with these words:*

“O Lord, hear the prayers of humble ones. These linen cloths and other garments and the vessels for your holy altar as well as for your church, equip the whole to be blessed, be made holy, and be honored for use in the divine service. Through our Lord....”

*After this the altar is covered. When it is covered, the prayer follows:*

“Let your Holy Spirit come down upon this altar, we beg, O Lord our God, and sanctify it and the gifts of your people and gently purify the hearts of the chosen. Through the Lord....”

*At Mass...*

*Over the unconsecrated host...*

*Preface of the Mass...*

*At Compline...*

*At blessing the pyx...*

*The blessing of the Eucharist...*

*At blessing the cross...*

*At consecrating the paten...*

*At blessing the chalice...*

*Mass on the anniversary of the dedication of the church...*

### Appendix Three: *Commentary on Psalm 23: 7-10*

St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek Codex 27, Pgs. 107-8.

The transcription is my own; abbreviations are expanded with ().

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[p. 107]

Precipit enim propheta portas mortis auferre id est cupidate(m) (et) malitia(m) qu(a)e principe diabolo port(a)e erant qu(a)e ideo port(a)e apellat(a)e [sic] sunt quia p(er) eas transeant peccatores sua facta portantes. Et iterum elevare portas id est fidem (et) caritatem qu(a)e (et)ernales dict(a)e quia per eas christus introivit in ecclesiam.

Vox d(a)emonum ac si dicerent, nostru(m) regem habemus diabolu(m), iste rex quis e(st)? Vox veru(s) angelorum bonoru(m), fortis est quia alligavit zabulum potens cum vicit infernu(m). In proelio potens cum spoliavit tartarum.

[p. 108]

Ammon (et) iterum degentes in diversis erratibus auferre clastra mortis hoc e(st) sup(er)biam (et) cupiditate(m) (et) avaritia(m) quia p(er) has tres omnis homo ad infernu(m) descendeat [sic]. Elevate [sic] sunt port(a)e (a)eternales. Id est gratia baptismatis, honor chrismatis, salus p(er) dicationis per quas rex glori(a)e dignatus est introire.

Merito virtutu(m) d(omi)n(u)s dictus quia virtute sua conculcans inferos cu(m) triumpho recliens ad superos. Rex glori(a)e qui facit se glorificando gloriosos.

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Namely, the prophet begins to carry away the gates of death, that is, the desire and ill-will that were gates from the Devil Prince. The gates have been called this for this reason, because sinners should pass through them, bearing their deeds. And again to raise the gates, that is, the faith and love that affirm eternally because through them Christ enters the Church.

As if the voice of demons were saying, we hold the Devil as our king, who is this king? The true voice of good angels [would respond, saying], he is powerful who held the Devil fast, with might he conquered Hell. He stripped the infernal regions with might in battle.

And again Ammon,<sup>18</sup> passing through the separated wanderers to carry away the dead through the barriers. This means pride and desire and avarice, because through these three, all men were descending to Hell. The eternal gates were raised, that is, the grace of baptism, the rite of chrism, the soundness of praise, through which the King of Glory was worthy to enter.

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<sup>18</sup> Ammon was an Ethiopian god who took the form of a ram.

The Lord affirmed the value of miracles, because he trampled Hell with his own power, supported with triumph up toward the heavens. He is the King of Glory who creates the glorious ones by glorifying himself.

**Appendix Four:** Selected Texts from Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale 351

Greek *Laudes*, Fol. 78r.

The layout below reproduces the mise-en-page of the manuscript as closely as possible, including punctuation and possible musical markings.

Notation Legend:

*Italics* = interlinear gloss

~~Single strikethrough~~ = correction

~~Double strikethrough~~ = erasure

^Insertion^ = linear, interlinear, or marginal addition

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	<i>vincit</i>	<i>regnat</i>	<i>sup(er)laudabilis</i>
Xp <sup>o</sup> s()	· nicha · Xp <sup>o</sup> s()	· Uasileuge · Xp <sup>o</sup> s()	· epenos ·
<i>nos</i>	<i>servi</i>	<i>regis</i>	
Emis duli · ton · uasileon ·			
	~ ~	<i>multi</i>	<i>anni</i>
E	RP Iohanni apostolicu papa · polla <sup>^</sup> · ta eti		
	<u>—</u> <i>serva illum</i>		
·A	RP · Filaxon autu ·		
	<u>—</u>	<i>regi</i>	<i>(et) ei(us) potestati multi anni</i>
Ei	RP. Polla <sup>^</sup> · ta ehi · ; Ludouuicu uasileon keaptu kratoron · pollata egi ·		
	<u>—</u> <i>magno</i>	<i>salus</i>	<i>in se(cu)l(u)m</i>
Ei	RP Uualon megalu episcopu sothiria · eiston · eona		
	<u>—</u> <i>tu illu(m) ad iuva</i>		
S	RP · Si <sup>^</sup> · auton · uo etheson ·		
	~ ~ <i>serva illu(m)</i>		
PANAGIA ·	RP Filaxon autu ·		
	<u>—</u>		
A	RP Filax <sup>^</sup> · on autu ·		
	<u>—</u> <i>con serva illu(m)</i>		
Ioh() ap()li()	RP Diafilaxon autu ·		
	<i>multiplica tu d(eu)s tempora illius</i>		
Polietisi otheos · tus chronos autu ·			
Epiplion p <sup>l</sup> ithini oth <sup>e</sup> os · tus q <sup>e</sup> rus · tis zoisautu ·		<i>augeat plenitudine(m)</i>	
<i>laus tibi</i> <u>—</u>		<i>temporis vit(a)e eius</i>	
Enosi ·	RP Filaxon autu ·		
	<i>gloria</i>	<i>laus</i>	<i>sup(er)laudatio</i>
Xpo() doxa · Xpo() · eno · Xpo() <sup>^</sup> · epenos ·			
<i>regi</i>	<i>regum</i>		
Uasileu · Uasileon · Xpo() · doxa · ut sup(ra) <sup>^</sup> u <sup>^</sup>			
<i>spes</i>	<i>n(ost)ra</i>		
Elpis · Imon · xpo() doxa · sim(i)l(ite)r ·			
<i>gl(ori)a</i>	<i>n(ost)ra</i>		

Doxa · Imon · Xpo() doxa · sim(i)l(iter) ·  
*auxilium n(ost)r(u)m*  
 Hiuo · ethia · Imon · Xpo() doxa · sim(i)l(iter) ·  
*miser(icordi)a et · ly redemptio n(ost)ra* *fortitudo ^virt(us) ^ et vita n(ost)ra*  
 Tueleu · keautrosin · Imon · xpo() doxa · sim(i)l(iter) · Ischis · kae zoi · Imon · xpo() · doxa  
 ·  
*omne(m) patriam ^familiam^ et urbem et om(ne)s urbes et villas ^ + regiones^*  
 Tampatrida chepolin · chepasan · polin · chechora

Kyrrie · sistison ·  
*et nos*  
 ^+^Keimas · RP · Xpos() diafilaxi.  
*nunc (et) in se(cu)la se(cu)lorum*  
 Nin cheistus · eonas · ton · eonom · Amin ·  
 · *d(eu)s elegit*  
 Aut RP · Otheos · exelexon · Poll() · RP · AMIN ·  
 · *conservet*  
 The RP · Otheos · diafilaxe · kaeaptu kratoroe ·  
 · · *multiplicet*  
 Eti RP · Otheos · eplethin ·

*Trisagion*, Fol. 66r.

Agius otheos · S(an)c(tu)s D(eu)s ·  
 Agius iskyros · S(an)c(tu)s fortis ·  
 Agius atanatos · S(an)c(tu)s inmortalis ·  
 Heleyson imas · Miserere nob(is) TA

Latin *Laudes*, Fol. 76r.

(Christus) vincit · (christus) regnat · (christus) imp(er)at · III ·  
 Exaudi (christ)e · III · Ill(i) sum(m)o pontifici (et) universali pap(a)e vita ·  
 Salvator mundi Tu illu(m) adiuva  
 S(an)c(t)e Petre Tu ill(um)  
 S(an)c(t)e Paule tu il(lum)  
 S(an)c(t)e Andrea tu il(lum)  
 S(an)c(t)e Clemens tu il(lum)  
 S(an)c(t)e Syxte tu il(lum)  
 Exaudi (christ)e · III · Il(li) Imperatori vita (et) victoria ·  
 Redemptor mundi · Tu illu(m) adiuva ·  
 S(an)c(t)a Maria tu il(lum)  
 S(an)c(t)e Michahel tu il(lum)  
 S(an)c(t)e Gabrihel tu il(lum)  
 S(an)c(t)e Raphahel tu il(lum)

S(an)c(t)e Johannes	tu il(lum)
Exaudi (christ)e · III ·	Il(li) regin(a)e salus (et) vita ·
S(an)c(t)a d(e)i genitrix	tu il(lam) adi(uva) ·
S(an)c(t)a Perp(et)ua	tu il(lam)
S(an)c(t)a Agatha ·	tu il(lam)
S(an)c(t)a Eulalia	tu il(lam)
Exaudi (christ)e · III ·	Il(li) pontifici salus p(er)p(et)ua
S(an)c(t)e Stephane	tu illu(m) adiuva ·
S(an)c(t)e Silvest(er)	tu il(lum)
S(an)c(t)e Laurenti	tu il(lum)
S(an)c(t)e Pancrate	tu il(lum)
S(an)c(t)a Petronilla	tu il(lum)
S(an)c(t)a Agnes	tu il(lum)
S(an)c(t)a Cecilia	tu il(lum)
S(an)c(t)a Anastasia	tu il(lum)
S(an)c(t)a Genofeva	tu il(lum)
S(an)c(t)a Columba	tu il(lum)
Exaudi (christ)e · III ·	Om(n)ib(us) iudicib(us) vel cuncto
exercitui francoru(m) vita (et) victoria ·	
S(an)c(t)e Hilari	Tu illos adiuva ·
S(an)c(t)e Martine	tu il(los)
S(an)c(t)e Maurici	tu il(los)
S(an)c(t)e Dionisi	tu il(los)
S(an)c(t)e Gereon	tu il(los)

(Christus) vincit · (Christus) regnat · (christus) imperat ·	
Lux via (et) vita n(ost)ra ·	(christus) vinc(it)
Rex regum	(christus) vincit
Gloria nostra	(christus) vincit
Misericordia n(ost)ra	(christus) vinc(it) ·
Spes n(ost)ra	(christus) vincit
Auxiliu(m) n(ost)r(u)m	(christus) vinc(it)
Fortitudo (et) vita n(ost)ra	(christus) vinc(it) ·
Prudentia (et) temperantia n(ost)ra ·	(christus) vinc(it)
Arma n(ost)ra invictissima	(christus) vinc(it)
Liberatio (et) rede(m)ptio n(ost)ra ·	(christus) vinc(it)
Murus n(oste)r inexpugnabilis ·	(christus) vinc(it)
Victoria n(ost)ra	(christus) vinc(it) ·
Defensio (et) exaltatio n(ost)ra	(christus) vinc(it)
Ipsi soli imperiu(m) gloria (et) potestas p(er) immortalia secula seculorum amen ·	
Ipsi soli honor laus (et) iubilatio p(er) infinita secula seculorum amen ·	
Ipsi soli virtus fortitudo (et) victoria p(er) om(ni)a sec(u)la sec(u)lorum amen	
(Christ)e audi nos · III · Kyrie eleyson ·	
(christ)e eleyson · kyrie eleyson ·	
Te pastorem · III ·	R(esponsum) D(eu)s elegit ·
Te in sede · III ·	R(esponsum) D(eu)s conserv(et) ·
Annos vit(a)e · III ·	R(esponsum) D(eu)s multiplic(et) · Simul om(ne)s
Felicit(er) · felicit(er) · felicit(er) · Tempora bona habeas ·	

te(m)pora bona habeas · te(m)pore bona habeas  
 Multos annos · R(esponsum) · Amen ·

\*\*\*\*\*

Christ conquers, Christ rules, Christ commands. III  
 Hear, O Christ! III For him, life for the highest pontiff and universal pope  
 Savior of the world You help him  
 Saint Peter You help him  
 Saint Paul You help him  
 Saint Andrea You help him  
 Saint Clement You help him  
 Saint Sixtus You help him  
 Hear, O Christ! III For him, life and victory for the emperor  
 Redeemer of the world You help him  
 Saint Mary You help him  
 Saint Michael You help him  
 Saint Gabriel You help him  
 Saint Raphael You help him  
 Saint John You help him  
 Hear, O Christ! III For him, health and life for the queen  
 Sainted Mother of God You help her  
 Saint Perpetua You help her  
 Saint Agatha You help her  
 Saint Eulalia You help her  
 Hear, O Christ! III For him, the constant health for the bishop  
 Saint Étienne You help him  
 Saint Silvester You help him  
 Saint Lawrence You help him  
 Saint Pancrate You help him  
 Saint Petronilla You help him  
 Saint Agnes You help him  
 Saint Cecilia You help him  
 Saint Anastasia You help him  
 Saint Genofeva You help him  
 Saint Columba You help him  
 Hear, O Christ! III Life and victory for all the great men and the whole army of  
 the Franks  
 Saint Hillary You help them  
 Saint Martin You help them  
 Saint Maurice You help them  
 Saint Dionysis You help them  
 Saint Gereon You help them

Christ conquers, Christ rules, Christ commands.  
 Our light, way, and life Christ conquers  
 King of kings Christ conquers  
 Our renown Christ conquers  
 Our mercy Christ conquers

Our hope	Christ conquers
Our help	Christ conquers
Our strength and life	Christ conquers
Our judgment and self-control	Christ conquers
Our unconquerable defense	Christ conquers
Our delivery and redemption	Christ conquers
Our wall that cannot be taken	Christ conquers
Our victory	Christ conquers
Our defending and lifting	Christ conquers

For him alone, empire, renown, and power through undying ages of ages, amen.  
 For him alone, honor, praise, and rejoicing through infinite ages of ages, amen.  
 For him alone, excellence, strength, and victory through all ages of ages, amen.  
 O Christ, hear us! III Kyrie Eleison,  
 christe eleison, kyrie eleison.  
 In you, the shepherd III Response: May God choose  
 In you, enthroned III Response: May God preserve  
 The years of life III Response: May God increase All simultaneously  
 Happily, happily, happily. May you have good times,  
 may you have good times, may you have good times,  
 for many years. Response: Amen

Imperial *Adventus*, Fol. 77v.

Ave sacer ^et alme^ ·	Imperator Carole ^excelse^ ·
D(eu)s rex caeli ·	te conserv(et) ·
D(eu)s aeternus ·	te tuos que ·
Filiis que	et filiabus ·
Ovans polle	sine fine ·
Colla gentium	tibi sternantur ·
Regna mundi	Tibi subdantur ·
Ut in perp(et)uum	Regnes p(er) aevum ·
Exulta polus	laetare tellus ·
Constantinus novus ·	effulsit in mundu(m) ·
^it(em)^ Carolus praeclar(us)	progenie s(an)c(t)a ·
Quem d(eu)s elegit	regere gentes ·
Gaude civitas	L(a)etare polus ·
Exulta mettis	de adventu regis ·
Rex pacificus	advenit tibi ·
Laetitia(m) ferens	gaudiu(m) q(ue) p(er)p(et)uu(m)
Exaltare ecclesia(m)	Stephani martyr is
Eamque revocare	In pristinu(m) gradu(m) ·
Indutus loricam	scutum fidei ·
Ad expugnandas	gentes p(er) orbem ·
Laetantur om(ne)s	occu^r^rtntes ei ·
Ingredere	benedicte · ter ·

^Ite(m)^ Vale vale	Imperator p(re)clare
D(eu)s rex caeli	te conserv(et)
D(eu)s aetern(us)	te tuos que ·
Filiis q(ue)	(et) filiabus ·
Ovans polle	sine fine ·
Ingrederere benedicte d(omi)ne ·	

^It(em)^ Ave digne	Imperator benigne ·
S(an)c(ta)e crucis	triumphator
Te exalt(et)	imperator ·
Intercedat	pro te s(an)c(tu)s
Protomartyr	Iamque stephan(us) ·

^Regnum c(a)eli  
 post hoc regnu(m)  
 Ut capesses · in aet(er)nu(m) ·  
 Felicit(er) felicit(er) felicit(er)  
 te(m)pora bona habeas  
 tempora bona hab(eas)  
 te(m)pora bona habeas  
 te(m)p(o)ra bona habeas.  
 In aet(er)nu(m) · Am(en)^

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Hail, holy and indulgent,	distinguished Emperor Charles.
God, king of the heavens,	may he keep you safe,
Eternal God	you and yours,
And for your sons	and for your daughters.
Rejoicing in might	without limit,
The necks of the people	are extended to you,
The kingdoms of the world	are subjected to you,
So that in perpetuity	you shall reign through eternity.
Exult, heavens,	land be gladdened.
A new Constantine	shone in the world.
Item: Noble Charles,	from holy lineage,
Whom God chooses	to guide the people.
City, rejoice,	heavens be gladdened.
Exult, Metz,	at the arrival of the king.
The peaceable king	comes to you,
Carrying joy	and unbroken gladness
To elevate the church	of the martyr Étienne
And to recall it	to its original station,
Dressed in a cuirass,	a shield of faith,
In order to subdue	people throughout the world.
Everyone is gladdened,	running to meet him.
Enter, blessed. Thrice.	

Item: Farewell, farewell,	noble emperor,
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God, the king of the heavens, may he keep you safe.  
 Eternal God                      you and yours,  
 And for your sons                      and for your daughters.  
 Rejoicing in might                      without limit.  
 Enter, blessed Lord.

Hail, o worthy,                      kind emperor!  
 The conqueror                      of the holy cross  
 Shall elevate you,                      emperor.  
 May the holy Protomartyr,                      Étienne,  
 henceforth                      intercede for you.

So that you might possess forever,  
 after this kingdom,  
 the kingdom of heaven.  
 Happily, happily, happily.  
 May you have good times,  
 may you have good times,  
 may you have good times,  
 may you have good times,  
 forever. Amen.

Episcopal *Adventus*, Fol. 77v.

^^ = added in below line

^^ = added in above line or in margin

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Ite(m) in Adventu P(re)sul(is)	
Ave alme ·'	pat(er) excelse
D(eu)s rex c(a)eli ·'	te conserv(et)
Ovans polle ·'	sine fine
Exulta pol(us) ·'	L(a)etare tell(us)
Ille ·p(re)clar(us) ·'	p(ro)genie s(an)c(t)a
Que(m) d(eu)s elegit ·'	regere pop[ulum]
Exulta mettis ·'	de adventu ^p(as)tor(is)^
P(re)sul pacific(e) ·'	advenit tibi
Exaltare ec(c)l(esi)am ·'	stephani [martyris]
Ea(m)q(ue) revocare	In pristinu(m) gra(dum)
L(a)etan(tur) om(nes)	occurrentes ei
Ingredere benedicte d(omi)ne ·	

^It(em)^ Ave digne ·'	pat(er) benigne
S(an)c(t)ae cru(cis)	'trionphator
D(eu)s rex c(a)eli ·'	te c(on)serv(et) ·
Intercedat ·'	p(ro) te s(an)c(tu)s ·

Protomartyr ·	iamq(ue) stephan(us)
Regnu(m) c(a)eli ·	post hoc regnu(m) ·
Ut capesses ·	In (a)et(er)nu(m) ·
Felicit(er) · felicit(er) · felicit(er) ·	

\*\*\*\*\*

Item at the Arrival of a Bishop

Hail, indulgent ,	distinguished father.
God, king of the heavens,	may he keep you safe,
Rejoicing in might	without limit.
Exult, heavens,	land be gladdened.
Noble one,	from holy lineage,
Whom God chooses	to guide the people.
Exult, Metz,	at the arrival of the shepherd.
The peaceful bishop	comes to you,
To elevate the church	of Étienne [the martyr]
And to recall it	to its original station.
Everyone is gladdened,	running to meet him.
Enter, blessed Lord.	

Item: Hail, o worthy,	kind father.
The cross of the holy	conqueror.
God, king of the heavens,	may he keep you safe.
May the holy Protomartyr,	Étienne,
henceforth	intercede for you.
So that you might possess forever, after this kingdom,	
the kingdom of heaven.	
Happily, happily, happily.	

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