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Recontextualizing the Performances of the Drogo Sacramentary
within Ninth-Century Metz¹

This paper will discuss a single church dedication ceremony, from the perspective of performance culture. Why performance? The term can encompass everything from the performance of gender and identity, à la Judith Butler, to the idea of performative language, as seen in legal oaths. I propose a stricter definition of performance as an analytical category. After briefly laying out my methodology, I will demonstrate the productiveness of this new approach through a case study of Messine performance culture. Using performance, I will unpack the complex meanings and functions of an *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae* that was produced in mid-ninth century Metz for the use of its bishop. Disciplinary boundaries have restricted our understanding of this *Ordo*, which has never been analyzed in the context of its production in Metz. Furthermore, it is usually read as a liturgical drama that represents the Harrowing of Hell. I will argue that this interpretation, although not false, is entirely misleading about the goals and symbolism of the church dedication as a whole. Instead, the *Ordo* participates in the cultural context of the ninth century, in which bishops leveraged saintly presence on behalf of episcopal authority.

¹ Portions of this paper were presented on April 1, 2006 at the annual meeting of the Medieval Academy of America in Boston, Massachusetts.

Stated briefly, I define performance as guided motion or action by an individual or community that conveys cultural meaning by citing and creating the past and previous performances within a historically specific moment. In forming this category, I draw on performance theory based in cultural anthropology, revisions of theater studies developed by Carol Symes, and the critique of ritual offered by Philippe Buc.² The methodology of performance emerges from several distinct trends in medieval studies. First, it demands that one go beyond generic distinctions in the consideration of primary sources. The desired goals and symbolism of any specific performance moment can only be fully understood through the overlap of previously isolated texts and images. Second, it is rooted in whole source analysis. In other words, the *mise-en-page* of individual manuscripts must be evaluated for performance information. Third, it requires that all sources be situated against the backdrop of their historical production or performance. This last may seem the most obvious and familiar. But I would suggest that, as a group, we tend to neglect the material culture of historical practices. Furthermore, this approach allows us to study the early Middle Ages, a time period that has been marginalized in the traditional narrative of theater history. By combining the refined tools of several disciplines, performance can provide an entirely new perspective on familiar ceremonies and unfamiliar eras. As I will show, this *Ordo* is especially valuable because it

² See Marvin Carlson, *Performance: A Critical Introduction*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2003), 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, Michal Kobińska, *This is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), Sherry B. Ortner, ed., *The Fate of "Culture": Geertz and Beyond, Representations Books 8* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 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, Carol Symes, "The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Theater," *Speculum* 77, no. 3 (2002): 778-831, Carol Symes, "The Performance and Preservation of Medieval Latin Comedy," *European Medieval Drama* 7 (2003): 29-50, Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

demonstrates how patronage in the arts and performance could mesh with historical circumstance to create contextually specific symbolism and effective action.

The Metz *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae* is located within Paris BNF lat. 9428, known as the Drogo Sacramentary.³ This manuscript was made in Metz for Drogo, its archbishop, sometime between 844 and 855. Its detailed ivory covers, many painted images, and elaborate mise-en-page are all the product of local workshops.⁴ As a sacramentary, the manuscript contains instructions and prayers for a variety of liturgical ceremonies that should be performed personally by the bishop in his diocese. Shared content and iconography indicate that the ivories and illuminations were designed to impart information in close coordination with each other and with the text.

The portion of the Sacramentary that contains the *Ordo* describes a multi-part performance for the dedication of a church.⁵ It is represented both on fols. 100r-105r and in one of the ivory images on the front cover. The text describes the prescribed physical actions and words of the celebrant in varying degrees of detail. Briefly stated, the *Ordo*

³ General and foundational studies of the Drogo Sacramentary include: *Drogo-Sakramentar: Manuscript latin 9428, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris*, ed. Florentine Mütterich, 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 Metzger Handschriften*, vol. 3.2 (Berlin: 1960), Franz Unterkircher, *Zur Ikonographie und Liturgie des Drogo-Sakramentars (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Lat. 9428)*, *Interpretationes ad codices I* (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 Metzger 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.

⁴ The Metz schools of the mid-ninth century are widely acknowledged as being 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.

⁵ I have reproduced the text, in appendix one, as it appears in the manuscript. The text is printed with source references in Unterkircher, *Zur Ikonographie und Liturgie*, 58-61, Jean Baptiste Pelt, *La Liturgie I, Études sur la cathédral de Metz, Vol. 4* (Metz: 1937), 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.

begins with the consecration of holy water and a procession of relics to a new church. Once there, the bishop asperses the doors and sings while he circles the church three times. He engages in a dialogue with a cleric who has hidden inside the church. When the bishop reveals that he speaks on behalf of the Lord, the doors are opened. Entering, the bishop asperses the interior of the church three times. The clergy, presumably having hidden the relics behind a cloth that conceals the space around the altar, process into the church. The bishop and select deacons then process to the area behind the cloth and reveal the relics. The bishop asperses the altar and anoints it with chrism before placing the relics, incense, and pieces of unconsecrated host inside and sealing it. He then consecrates the altar and its vessels. Various prayers are interspersed throughout the *Ordo*, which concludes with prayers to be inserted during the Mass and the remainder of the liturgical day.

Despite the level of detail, it is important to keep in mind that the Sacramentary as a whole refers to no specific, historical moment of performance. Like most liturgical manuscripts, it describes and models ceremonies as they *should be* performed by the bishop.⁶ When used, the *Ordo* would be adapted for specific performance spaces, communities, and historical purposes. The manuscript advances a normative, descriptive perspective on a performance that might never have been performed as described. Yet text, mise-en-page, and image combine to specify a desired performance. Although we cannot know how or if the *Ordo* was actually performed, it nonetheless expresses a vision of performance that emerged from the historical circumstances of Metz and its bishop.

⁶ For the distinction between descriptive, proscriptive, and prescriptive performance texts, 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.

Prior analysis of the *Ordo* has been largely restricted to two disciplinary fields and the dialogue between bishop and hidden cleric provides the initial point of interest for both. Liturgists have situated the Metz *Ordo* within the early textual evolution of the liturgy and its manuscript families.⁷ This manuscript preserves the earliest extant example of a church dedication with the dialogue format that later became widespread.⁸ Liturgical scholarship provides comparative textual background, yet is ultimately uninterested in analyzing the full 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 theater. From Karl Young to David Bevington, a tiny excerpt of the dialogue between bishop and cleric is reproduced as an early example of "mimesis" or "impersonation".⁹ These lines appear in isolation both from the manuscript and from the liturgy. This practice of distinguishing and separating "dramatic" elements from the so-called true liturgy in order to identify liturgical drama has come under attack in recent decades.¹⁰ Nonetheless, excerpted editions of the *Ordo* continue to be used and

⁷ 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, Thomas Davies Kozachek, "The Repertory of Chant for Dedicating Churches in the Middle Ages: Music, Liturgy, & Ritual" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1995).

⁸ Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani*, 318.

⁹ See Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), I, 103, David Bevington, *Medieval Drama* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), 4-7, 12-13.

¹⁰ 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: 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, Kobińska, *This is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages*, Nils

to influence newer scholarship. Perhaps because this forlorn scrap of text presents so little of substance, no deeper analysis of the *Ordo* has taken place in the discipline of theater. It disdains the *Ordo* due to its liturgical context, concluding merely that it contains an interpolated liturgical drama that mimes the Harrowing of Hell.

To fully understand how the *Ordo* may have functioned in performance, the text, liturgy, and iconography must be examined together within the specific historical circumstances of its production. Such an approach reveals the misleading effects of decontextualization and excerpting on the interpretation of the *Ordo* as a whole. The damage begins with the isolated passage and its so-called moment of mimesis. In it, the bishop circles the church, knocks on its doors, and demands: *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]. The cleric replies, *Quis est iste rex gloriae?* [Who is this King of Glory?]. The procession and exchange are repeated twice more, with the bishop finally responding, *Dominus virtutum ipse est rex gloriae* [The powerful Lord himself is the King of Glory]. The *Ordo* specifies that the cleric should enter *quasi latente* [as if by stealth] and exit *quasi fugiens* [as if fleeing]. 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 separation from the "purely" liturgical nature of the rest of the *Ordo*.

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), 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.

In the context of the manuscript’s mise-en-page and textual sources, each of these conclusions becomes problematic. First, the language used by the bishop and cleric in their exchange originates in Psalm 23: 7-10.¹¹ Psalm 23 itself contains a dialogue, which the *Ordo* excerpts for the cleric’s question. Thus the transition from biblical to performance text preserves, not produces, the structure of question and response. Second, as can be seen in the appendix below, which attempts to reproduce some of the complex rubrication of these folios, the supposed beginning and end to this mini-drama correspond in no way to the internal divisions prescribed by the *Ordo*’s designers. The excerpt starts in the middle of a sentence, for example. (See Figure 1, below.) Third, as I will argue, the manuscript prescribes the manner of performance for the cleric in order to clarify the proper symbolic interpretation of the scene for the viewer and participants. The emphasis on how to perform appears throughout the *Ordo*. It reflects a larger cultural interest in proper conduct and manner, as exemplified in contemporary discussions of the Mass.¹² Ultimately, performance detail reinforces the most desired and important presence in the whole *Ordo*, that of the saints of the newly dedicated church.

The larger context of the lines reveals multiple interpretive possibilities. As has been noted by theater scholars, one tradition of psalm commentary identifies lines 7-10 of

¹¹ Psalm 23:7-10: *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.]

¹² Contemporary thinkers such as Amalarius of Metz showed great interest in the symbolism the Mass and the manner of its performance. See Donnalee Dox, *The Idea of the Theatre in Latin Christian Thought: Augustine to the Fourteenth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004). Writers of the ninth century addressed the proper manner of behavior in lay contexts, too. See Buc, *Dangers of Ritual*, 6.

Psalm 23 with the descent to Hell.¹³ Christ descends to the underworld and is challenged by a demon at its gates. This meaning could underlie the *Ordo*'s dialogue. Musical and liturgical context provide further options for the symbolism of the scene, however. The cleric's question quotes the Psalm text directly, but the bishop's statements differ in wording from the respective portion of the Vulgate and a musical and liturgical source provide a clearer textual match. The bishop's repeated lines incorporate the wording of the *Tollite portas* antiphon, which is itself based on Psalm 23.¹⁴ The *Ordo*'s choice of antiphon text connects it to the broader liturgical associations of the chant. These included Advent, Christmas Eve, and the moment of church reentry for Easter Saturday and Palm Sunday processions.¹⁵ Thus the possible musical, exegetical, and liturgical meanings of the dialogue varied widely but centered on moments of arrival or entry.

The numerous uses of Psalm 23 external to the *Ordo* suggest why the manuscript details the appropriate manner of performing, here and elsewhere. When the proper symbolism of church consecration might be confused, the many directions for performance supply interpretive clues. In the case of the dialogue, descriptive text

¹³ The fourth-century *Gospel of Nicodemus* identifies the Psalm dialogue with the descent of Christ to Hell, and the Latin tradition of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* presents the triple dialogue that appears in the psalm and the *Ordo*. 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. See St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 27, pages 107-8, dating to between 850 and 860.

¹⁴ The antiphon—*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]—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].

¹⁵ In the Gregorian chant tradition, *Tollite portas* was sung during Matins on the first Sunday in Advent and during the Christmas Eve offertory. In Arles, Bourges, Poitiers, and Tours it accompanied the moment of during the Palm Sunday procession when the bishop halted outside the doors with the laity and exchanged the lines of Psalm 23 with the choir, who stood behind the closed doors. In the regional liturgies of Trier and Augsburg a procession on the night of Easter Saturday incorporated *Tollite portas* when it re-entered the church. See René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonale Officii*, 6 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1963-79), Rose, "Attollite portas," 471-2 and 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). Malherbe, unfortunately, supplies only examples from the seventeenth century for Trier.

indicates that the cleric should enter the church *quasi latente* and exit *quasi fugiens*. The performance of stealth and flight, respectively, symbolize secrecy in arrival and departure in defeat. Performance detail also specifies that the cleric should exit the new church after re-robing in ecclesiastical garments.¹⁶ This implies that he has removed the community's shared costume of vestments for the dialogue, which sets his role apart from that of the larger group. The cleric's manner of performing, in this case gesture and costume, communicates that he represents something secretive, defeated, and unecclesiastical.

How does this connect to the larger performance? The *Ordo* envisions a full day of activities as necessary to consecrate a church. Descriptive detail from the rest of the *Ordo* makes clear that the intended symbolism of the scene at the doors connects to the bishop's first action at the new church: sprinkling consecrated water. The first full prayer delivered by the bishop celebrates the cleansing power of holy water. It describes how aspersion will purify the places of the faithful: *discedant omnes insidiae latentis inimici, ... aspersionem huius aquae effugetur* [Let all the hidden snares of the enemy depart, ... let it be put to flight by the sprinkling of this water]. The *effugetur* and *latentis* of this blessing are repeated in the descriptive terms that characterize the role of the cleric in the dialogue: *fugiens* and *latente*. The prayer narrates what will happen: the bishop asperses the doors, putting the hidden traps of the Devil to flight. The cleric's manner of performance then visually reaffirms the spoken symbolism. Although the scene at the doors might refer also to the descent to Hell, the *Ordo* offers an internal reading centered upon the cleansing effect of the bishop's ceremonial aspersion.

¹⁶ *Iterum...vestitus vestimentis ecclesiasticis* [clothed anew in ecclesiastical garments].

The practical goal of purification drives the symbolism and action of the whole first part of the *Ordo*. After blessing the water, a prayer begs the Lord to remove the sins of the community so that the participants may enter into the holy place of the saints.¹⁷ Another expresses the desire that the saints will remain near and serve as protectors.¹⁸ Psalm 50, sung repeatedly during the processions around the church, addresses personal purification and purging of sins.¹⁹ The prayers and actions leading up to the aspersion center on cleansing, and they do so in service of a clear cause. Performance creates bonds between the community and the saints of the newly dedicated church.

The participation of the saints suggests a potential performance emphasis for the fuller ceremony, as well. This interpretation is confirmed by a second authoritative source for the *Ordo*. As noted before, one of the nine ivory carvings on the front cover of the manuscript represents the *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae*. (See Figure 2, below.) This image depicts the *Ordo*’s participants mid-performance. It shows an ideal practice within a liturgical space, rather than the abstract imagery evoked by the words and actions of the performance. Recent decades have seen more attention to the mutual implications of the Sacramentary’s ivories and text, yet this image has only been mined for positivistic facts.²⁰ This is especially unfortunate since medieval depictions of performance are quite

¹⁷ *Aufer a nobis domine quaesumus, iniquitates nostras, ut ad sancta sanctorum puris mereamur mentibus introire. Per Dominum* [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....].

¹⁸ *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 members [of the church] with the help of your saints, whom we long to have as ceaseless protectors].

¹⁹ *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 hysopo 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].

²⁰ 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

rare.²¹ The ivory provides a valuable second perspective on the desired goals and practices of the *Ordo*.

On a general level, this plaque presents an interpretative guide to the desired meaning of the full performance. Its three scenes complement and supplement portions of the *Ordo* text. At the far left of the frame, two overlapping figures stand outside the interior space demarcated by the columns. The size of the larger figure, his placement above the cleric, and his pallium identify him as an archbishop. He raises a palm frond above his head and gestures toward the church he is consecrating. This represents the aspersion of the church doors, an action that requires the holy water carried by the cleric in a small container. This scene visually reinforces the symbolic importance of purification in the performance, connecting the cleansing power of water to the initial actions of the archbishop.

The center scene of the ivory depicts two figures who carry a cloth-covered object on a bier from left to right through the middle arch. This represents the carrying of the

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, Elfenbeintafeln, Miniaturen, Schriftproben aus Metzger Liturgischen Handschriften*, 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: Die Gruppe des Wiener Krönungs-Evangeliars und die Metzger Handschriften*, 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, Carol Heitz, "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, François Héber-Suffrin and Eric Palazzo, "Introduction aux dispositifs liturgiques du haut moyen âge en Lorraine (VIII-IX^e s.): Sources archaéologiques et liturgiques," *Cahiers Lorrains* 2 (1988): 199-204.

²¹ 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. For a discussion of such images, see 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): 129-154.

relics from one space to another. The text of the *Ordo* does not specify when the reliquary should enter the building, so this could show either the initial entry or a transition deeper into the church. It might show the placement of the relics in the restricted area around the altar. Although the precise textual correspondence is unclear, relics dominate this grouping.

In the right-most scene, the archbishop bends over an altar in a space that is sharply demarcated from the rest of the image by two columns and the aforementioned cloth. The performance action corresponds to the extended portion of the text in which the bishop anoints and consecrates the altar. Since the archbishop looks down at his hands, which rest on the altar, he may be spreading chrism. The absence of a characterizing performance object, however, suggests that the scene may depict the relationship between bishop and altar more generally.

Taken as a whole, then, the ivory visualizes three essential performance elements and relates them to one another. It creates temporal simultaneity, with important ceremonial actions represented in the same visual moment. As the viewer's eyes move from left to right, the scenes skip forward in time. This is a relative sequence, since other actions interrupt in the textual version. The ivory also establishes spatial relationships between the *Ordo*'s main performers, actions, and spaces. It divides the dedicated church into exterior, threshold, and interior. A sense of functional progress is created through the depiction of motion. From left to right, the viewer moves deeper into the church, sharing in the hidden ceremonies at the altar that are dominated by the archbishop.

Each of the scenes in the ivory draws attention to a particular performer: on the left, the archbishop sprinkles the doors; on the right, the archbishop consecrates the altar.

Yet 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. This scene highlights the most desired and important presence in the whole performance, that of the saints of the newly dedicated church. It is they who must pass into the new church; the reliquary-bearers are simply the means. The ivory visually reinforces the centrality of the saints' presence by literally placing their relics 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 are directed toward the manner of handling the reliquary. Directions guide the movement, timing, and precedence of the relics, and spoken and sung portions of the performance address the saints directly and indirectly. Examples like those leading up to the aspersing of the doors appear throughout the *Ordo*. A group prayer reinforces the idea that the full community desires the help and protection of the saints.²² An antiphon narrates how the saints will simultaneously walk and be carried into the church.²³ Another antiphon suggests that the placement of the relics in the altar symbolizes the nearness of the saints to God and their power of intercession.²⁴ Much as directions for the hidden cleric reveal a desire to control the potential meaning of his presence, text and image in the full *Ordo* guide the viewer and participant toward a correct understanding of the saints'

²² 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* [O Lord, cause us...].

²³ *Ambulate sancti Dei, ingredimini in domum Domini* [Walk, you saints of God, enter into the house of the Lord...].

²⁴ *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].

participation. Through this performance, the community could activate a model of saintly patronage and intercession.

The *Ordo* centralizes the saints, yet the bishop often stands between them and the community. For example, the ivory situates the image of the saints entering their new home between two episcopal performances. In all three scenes, spatial and material divisions visualize a social hierarchy within the performance community based on costume and action. In the rightmost scene, the columns and archway frame the archbishop's physical body. Unlike in the other groupings, the architecture functions to isolate the performer, with columns demarcating a restricted space. No other persons are depicted, even though the text describes select deacons as being present. The ivory limits this space to the archbishop alone, screening his actions with the hanging cloth. In text and image, only the select may see the lengthy portion of the ceremony focused on the altar. At this moment, the status of the viewer correlates with the ability to see the performance.

Performance hierarchy elevates the bishop throughout the *Ordo*. It assigns him the important prayers and physical actions that lead to consecration and the protection of the saints. For example, descriptive text specifies that the hidden reliquary should be returned to the sight of the audience only when the bishop enters the restricted space of the altar.²⁵ In the causative progression of the performance and its summary in the ivory, the bishop purifies the church so that the saints may enter and then introduces the saints

²⁵ *Tunc iterum incipiet clerus laetaniam positis 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.* [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].

to the greater community. 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* stresses the community's need for the saints and visualizes their presence, while simultaneously modeling the bishop as an intercessor to the saintly intercessors.

This model of episcopal power and authority is based on the performance role of the bishop as mediator between his community and their saints. On a structural level, the *Ordo* depicts the bishop as the prime participant in every part of the ceremony. He acts as liaison between the community of human participants and the saints to whom the church will be dedicated. The bishop delivers prayers in which he calls on the Lord on behalf of his fellow performers. He brokers the participation of the saints and their presence in the new church. 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. In embodied performance, all of these would naturalize the conflation of episcopal with heavenly power.

If we are dealing with saintly presence and episcopal authority, what do the specific circumstances of the *Ordo*'s production add to the picture? The ceremony is prescriptive and idealized, yet the manuscript was made for the use of a known historical figure. Why might Drogo have wanted an *Ordo* with these particular emphases? Although no one event may be said to directly inspire its production, the political and episcopal backdrop of Metz provides a fruitful context for an *Ordo* that elevates a Messine bishop and his saints.

To begin with, the episcopal history of Metz is strongly connected to local performance culture. The previous holders of the bishopric, Chrodegang and Angilram, both contributed in significant ways to the performance culture of Metz and the greater Frankish realm.²⁶ Among other things, they introduced a stationary liturgy and Roman-inspired liturgical reform. So, performance as an expressive mode was an integral part of Messine urban identity, and its bishops had a tradition of shaping local practice. 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*. One pair of dedications is affiliated with the monastery of St-Arnoul, located several hundred yards south of the city's Roman walls. Drogo is credited with the renovation of its church and with the translation of Ste. Glossinde, the founder of another Messine monastic institution, to the nearby monastery that later carried her name.²⁷ Glossinde was

²⁶ When elevated to the archbishopric in 754, Chrodegang introduced a program of ecclesiastical reforms to Metz that came to influence religious practice throughout the Frankish kingdoms. These reforms aimed to transform Metz into a symbolic Rome and a symbol of urban and ecclesiastical harmony. They included the rebuilding of existing churches, a new *Rule* and new liturgy for the cathedral canons of Metz, and the creation or regularization of a stationary liturgy for the city. For Chrodegang's reforms, see Jerome Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules: The Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), M.A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula canonicorum in the Eighth Century, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series 61* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Angilram focused his energies on promoting Metz as a religious and political center. Among other things, he produced a set of regulations for liturgical performance practice that demonstrate the power of the bishop and which implement desired reforms. He also commissioned Paul the Deacon's *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, a history that 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. See 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.

²⁷ For the renovations of St-Arnoul, see Karl Wichmann, "Adalberos I. Schenkungsurkunde für das Arnulfskloster und ihre Fälschung," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte* 2 (1890): 306-8, René S. Bour, "Die Benediktiner-Abtei St. Arnulf vor den Metzger Stadtmauern, I," *Annuaire de la*

translated from St-Arnoul, a burial site for female members of the Carolingian dynasty. Previous scholarship has shown the importance of St. Arnoul, a seventh-century bishop of Metz, to Carolingian claims of saintly lineage.²⁸ As Drogo was an illegitimate son of Charlemagne and half-brother of Louis the Pious, he had much to gain from advancing a shared saintly, episcopal ancestor. 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.

Outside of Metz, Drogo's potential dedications all center on a particular type of saint. Sources claim that he translated the relics of Auctor, Celeste, and Adelphe—three previous bishops of Metz—to Marmoutier and Neuwiller.²⁹ He may have also sent the relics of St. Rufus, another bishop of Metz, to an unknown institution near Odernheim.³⁰ Each of these is one of his saintly predecessors. If the *Ordo* were intended for use in the translation of Messine episcopal saints to other locations, it would mean the creation of satellites connected through current and past episcopal power. In the context of the *Ordo*, the desired image of episcopal mediation would be doubled by the presence of Drogo and

société d'histoire et d'archéologie de la Lorraine 19 (1907): 44. For the translation of Glossinde, see *Gesta episcoporum Mettensium*, ed. G.H. Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores in folio*, 10 (Hanover: 1852), 260-70, *Historia S. Arnulphi Mettensis*, ed. G. Waitz, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores in folio*, 24 (Hanover: 1870), 545, John of St-Arnoul, *Vita sanctae Glodesindis abbatissae metensis*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae* 137: 211-18 (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1895), John of St-Arnoul, *Historia translationis sanctae Glodesindis abbatissae metensis*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae* 137: 217-40 (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1895).

²⁸ See, for example, Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulf," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967): 250-364.

²⁹ For Auctor and Celeste, see *Chronicon sancti Clementis Mettense*, ed. G. Waitz, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores in folio*, 24 (Hanover: 1879), 493, Franz Xaver Kraus, *Kunst und Alterthum in Elsass-Lothringen*, 4 vols., vol. 1 (Strassburg: C. F. Schmidt, 1876-92), 146-8, Sophie Glansdorff, "L'Évêque de Metz et archichaplain Drogon (801/802-855)," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 81, no. 4 (2003): 1007. For Adelphe, see *Translatio et Miracula S. Adelphi episcopi Mettensis*, ed. L. de Heinemann, *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores in folio*, 15.1 (Hanover: 1887), 293-6, Glansdorff, "L'Évêque de Metz," 1007.

³⁰ Glansdorff, "L'Évêque de Metz," 1008.

this kind of relic. The *Ordo* might seek to create a lineage of powerful episcopal saints, of which Drogo was the direct inheritor.

Political events of the 840s and 850s, when the manuscript was produced, suggest why the creators of the *Ordo* might have shown such concern for lasting Messine episcopal authority. Drogo's role as negotiator and peacemaker during the decades of civil war fits well with the *Ordo*'s overall model of the bishop as an intermediary.³¹ Yet his status was under dispute. In 844 the new pope, Sergius II, named Drogo as his representative north of the Alps.³² Bishops living in the lands under the control of Charles the Bald refused to recognize Drogo's new title, however, and only the eastern bishops ever confirmed it. Read against the backdrop of Drogo's appointment as papal legate, the *Ordo* might express an interpretation of historical events favorable to its bishop. In presenting him as mediator of heavenly and saintly authority, the performance would reinforce Drogo's claim to speak for the Pope, God's representative on earth.

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. The seat of Metz lay empty for three decades after Angilram's death, during which time the standing and influence of the office faded.³³ The authority that Drogo returned to the

³¹ Drogo served as ambassador for Louis the Pious before the emperor's death in 840, dealing in particular with Louis' rebellious sons, and after this date he continued to mediate between his nephews over the partition of the empire. For background to the political conflicts during Drogo's episcopacy, see Egon Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1996), Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London and New York: Longman, 1992).

³² Glansdorff, "L'Évêque de Metz," 970-2.

³³ Angilram died in 791; the next bishop of Metz was not appointed for another 27 years, in 818. Bibliothèque-Médiathèque de la Ville and Bibliothèque Nationale (France) Metz, *Metz enluminée: Autour de la bible de Charles le Chauve: Trésors manuscrits des églises messines* (Metz: Serpenoise, 1989), 14-15.

long-empty seat resided in his person and did not long outlast him.³⁴ Practical tools that asserted the bishop's supremacy on the local or national level, such as liturgical performances, may have been seen as necessary. Drogo might have commissioned the Sacramentary with the prestige of future bishops of Metz in mind. The *Ordo* could transmit episcopal authority from bishop to bishop through performance, offering each man a model of the ideal ceremony. It also offered the opportunity to transform space through performed and performative action, making possible the complex symbolism that ultimately reflected and focused the light of performance on the bishop himself.

As scholars, the types of questions that we ask give form to our answers. The category of performance provides specific, overlapping methods for approaching evidence that both avoid the shortcomings of narrow, disciplinary practices and assimilate early medieval practices. When applied to the *Ordo*, performance rehabilitates this misunderstood ceremony. The complex integration of Psalm 23, the *Tollite portas* antiphon, and descriptive detail reveals sophisticated attention to the manner of performing in order to control symbolic meaning. The examination of the ivory and text as equally authoritative sources shows the saints as fully present participants and the bishop's monopoly on performative action. The *Ordo* also provides a way to address real historical concerns including episcopal decline, a contested papal appointment, and the desire for a lineage of bishops linked to the Carolingian dynasty. The medieval creators of the *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae* used material and historical context to create a multifaceted performance model; our analysis should do the same.

³⁴ Other powerful churchmen rose to dominance in the generation after Drogo, eclipsing subsequent Messine bishops. Hincmar of Reims presided over Adventius of Metz during the coronation of Charles the Bald in 869, for example, even though the ceremony took place in Metz. Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, 145-6.

Appendix 1: *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae*, Drogo Sacramentary
Fols. 100r-105r, Paris BNF lat. 9428

Key:

Bold = gold lettering

Underline = decorated or larger letter starting line or in margin

Double Underline = empty space for gold, decorated, or larger letter

∞ = interlinear addition

[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] **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. Et canenda est ibi interim laetania.

Post quam sequitur oratio:

Aufer a nobis domine quaesumus, iniquitates nostras, ut ad sancta sanctorum puris mereamur mentibus introire. Per Dominum.

Alia.

Fac nos, Domine sanctorum tuorum auxilio specialiter dicata membra contingere, quorum cupimus patrocinia incessanter habere. Per Dominum nostrum.

Hac finita sublevantur reliquiae cum feretro a sacerdotibus, canente clero antifonam
Cum iocunditate exhibitis vel celeras antifonas, ad deducendas reliquias usque ad hostium novae edificationis ad occidentem.

Post quas dicit pontifex orationem:

Deus qui ex omni coaptatione sanctorum aeternum tibi condidisti [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 aspargere consecratam a foris, sequendo feretro reliquiarum, cleroque canente antifonam 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: **T**ollite portas, principes, vestras et elevamini, portae aeternales, et introibit Rex gloriae. **I**lle deintus respondens dicat: **Q**uis est iste rex gloriae? **I**terum circumienda 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. **T**unc tertio iterum circumienda est eodem modo cum eodem cantu usque iterum ad hostium. [fol. 101v]*

***T**unc dicenti pontifice et pulsanti respondendum est ei sicut prius: **Q**uis est iste rex gloriae? **P**ontifex respondeat: **D**ominus virtutum ipse est rex gloriae.*

***T**unc aperientur hostia et canenda est antiphona **A**mbulate sancti Dei, ingredimini in domum Domini, cum psalmo Laetatus sum in his quae dicta sunt mihi et cetera. **E**t ille qui prius fuerat intus quasi fugiens egrediatur ad illud hostium foras, iterum ingressurus per primum hostium vestitus vestimentis ecclesiasticis.*

***D**um ingreditur pontifex ecclesiam dicit orationem:*

***D**omum tuam Domine clementer ingredi et in tuorum tibi cordibus fidelium perpetuam constitue mansionem ut cuius aedificatione subsistit, huius fiat habitatione praeclara. Per Dominum... **I**lla finita incipit iterum ab hostio ad partem aquilonarem ab intus aspergere aquam, antiphonam canente **B**eati qui habitant in domo tua, Domine, cum psalmo Quam dilecta tabernacula tua, Domine, usquedum prius circumeundo sicut a foris pervenerit ad hostium.*

***E**t dicit orationem:*

***D**eus 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.*

***E**t sic iterum circumienda est cum supradicta antiphona et eodem psalmo usque ad idem hostium et dicenda est oratio:*

***D**eus qui loca nomini tuo dicata sanctificas tribuae quaesumus ut quicumque hic ingredienti postulaverint, misericordiae tuae auxilium sibi gaudeant adfuisse. Per.*

***E**t cum tertio lustrata fuerit ab intus sicut primo et secundo, dicenda est oratio:*

***D**eus 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.*

***T**unc iterum incipiet clerus laetantiam positus reliquiis extra velum quod extensum est inter aedem et altare.*

***Q**uo canente ingreditur pontifex cum deputatis ministris intra velum et facit maldam de aqua sanctificata unde recludantur reliquiae in confessione. **T**unc veniens ad altare aspergens illud tribus vicibus [fol. 102v] aqua sanctificata. **I**nde sequitur benedictio tabulae his verbis:*

Singulare 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:*
Sub 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:*

Deprecamur 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.

Deus 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 pinguis et spiritus sancti tui semper rore perfusa ut in omni tempore in hoc loco supplicantis tibi familiae tuae anxietates relevas, 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:

Exaudi 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:

Descendat 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 ...

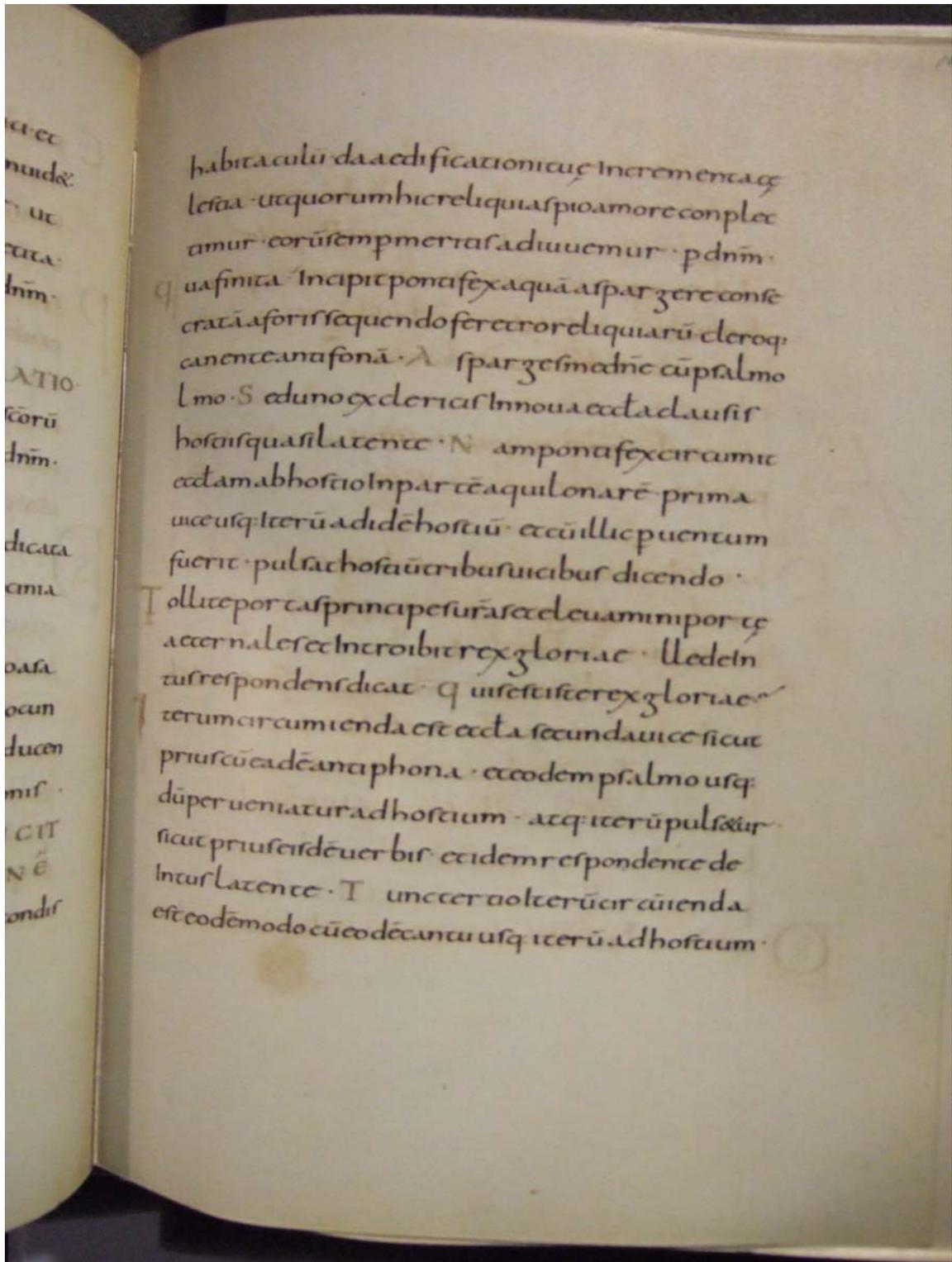


Figure 1: The *Tollite portas* passage of the *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae*, The Drogo Sacramentary, Folio 101r, BNF ms lat 9428

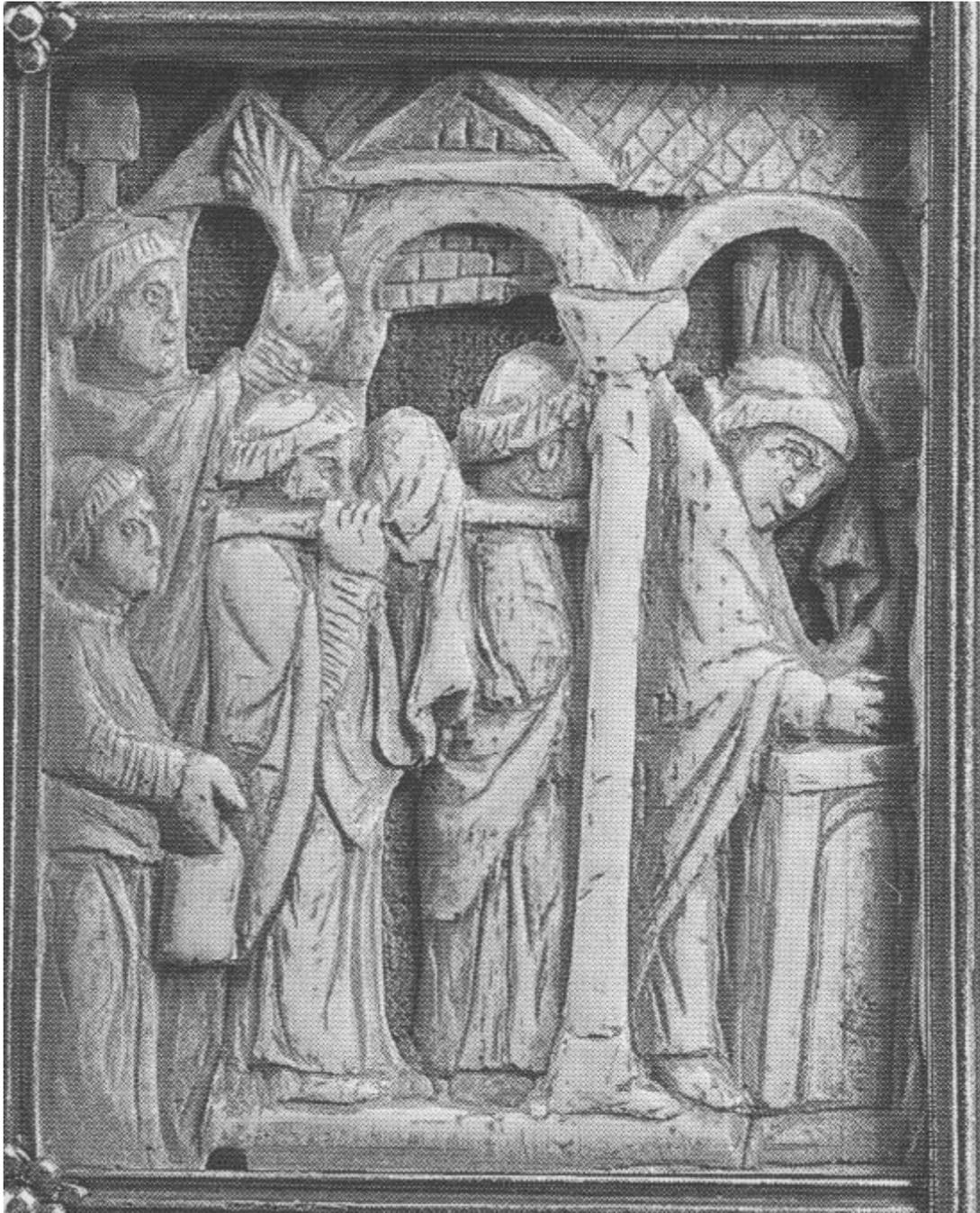


Figure 2: The *Ordo dedicationis ecclesiae* Ivory from the Drogo Sacramentary, BNF ms lat 9428 (approximate size: 50 x 65mm)