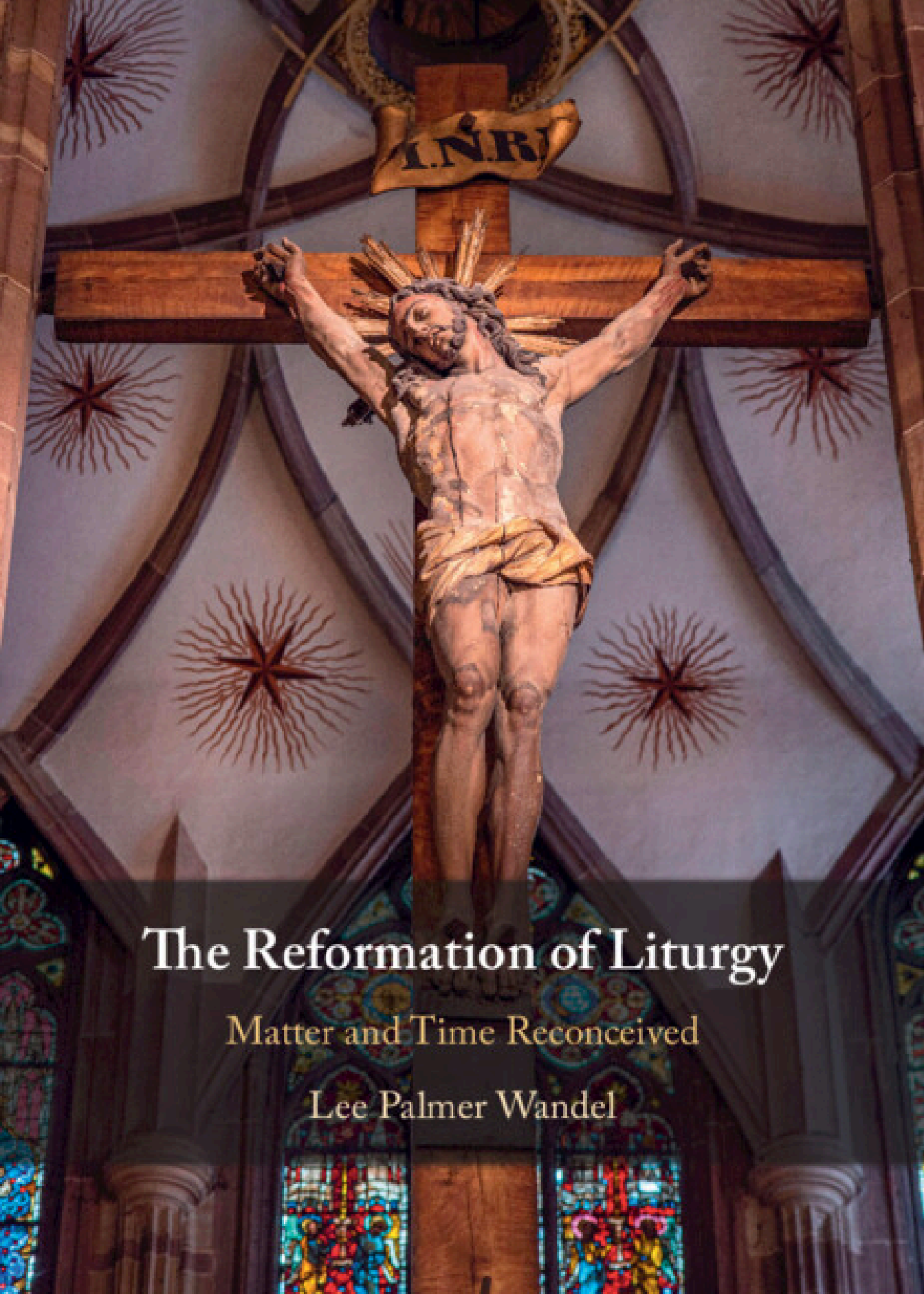

The Reformation of Liturgy

Matter and Time Reconceived

Lee Palmer Wandel

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Why were sixteenth-century Europeans willing to risk their lives to attack "mere matter" – images, lamps, altars, vestments? The most influential medieval liturgical commentary, William Durand's *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, offers an answer. Reading Durand to excavate the meaning of churches, altars, and vestments, this book reveals the stunning scope of the Reformation reconceptualization of worship, time, and matter. For Durand, liturgy was an ongoing praxis in which Scripture and Creation were in constant dialogue, leading to an ever richer understanding of divine revelation. In attacking the made world – what human beings had fashioned from prime matter – Protestants sundered Creation from the liturgy, fundamentally changing how liturgy was understood, and what both Protestants and Catholics held the relationship between divine revelation and matter to be. Altars and vestments became "objects" to which human beings gave meaning. As the sixteenth century redefined liturgy as a verbal practice, time, matter, and worship were realigned.

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Acknowledgments

This book has been long in the making and its debts are many. It has its origin in a question posed in a cafe in Tübingen now more than forty years ago, when Bob Scribner first called my attention to acts that had been labeled iconoclastic, but, as I came to realize, did not fit that name. While I was at Yale, John Boswell and Jaroslav Pelikan taught me to think far more richly about Christianity; Jary's understanding of *traditio* as multivocal informs these pages. Hans-Christoph Rublack drove me into the Swabian and then Hessian countrysides, showing me cloisters, pilgrimage churches, episcopal sees, each with its own distinctive history. With Rolf Kiessling, I found a conversation partner – among so many of our shared fascinations – for the consideration of each church as place, and a singular generosity, to show me such treasures as Proculus in Naturno and the Maria Birnbaum shrine. Christa Kiessling taught me more about the living of Christianity than any book. All are in these pages.

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In 2017, I became the inaugural Linda and Stanley Sher Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin – Madison. The Shers' extraordinary gift enabled me to visit material traces of Durand's made world in Ávila and Toledo, Ravenna and Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Brussels and Tournai, Ortygia, Strasbourg. Stan and Linda became friends, over dinners and a shared sense of enchantment with the wider world. As I came to write the book, they gave me another kind of support, no less essential: Stan read all the chapters, offering his thoughts as an outsider to the field. Those comments helped me to navigate better, albeit not perfectly, the elusive boundary between specialized knowledge and esoterism.

If the Shers enabled me to visit traces of the made world of medieval Christianity, libraries gave me access to printed sources and a wealth of secondary literature. The Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg has long been my research home, and I was able to study editions of the *Rationale*, missals, and sixteenth-century pamphlets in their rich

collections. So, too, I am grateful to the Newberry Library, which has an astonishing array of late medieval missals. As the image credits make clear, I am also grateful to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, whose digital collection made possible ongoing research during Covid.

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More than any other person, Thomas Max Safley has accompanied me in my quest to understand. He has visited so many churches that he has posited *Heinzelmännchen*, carting the same church from one town to the next. He has read and he has listened. This book is for him.

Abbreviations

BSV	*Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*. Stuttgart, 1983.
CO	*Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*. 59 vols. Brunswick and Berlin, 1863–1900.
IFC	Imlin'schen Familienchronik. "Strassburg im sechszehten Jahrhundert (1500–1594) Auszug aus der Imlin'schen Familienchronik." Ed. Rudolf Reuß *Alsatia* (1873–1874); Sonderdruck (Colmar 1875).
Institutes	*Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*. 2 vols. Ed. John T. McNeill. Trans. Ford Lewis Battles. Louisville, KY, 2006 (1960).
Institutio	John Calvin, *Institutio Christianae Religionis* ... 1559. CO 2.
LW	*Luther's Works*. 55 vols. Saint Louis and Philadelphia, 1955–.
NOAB	Michael D. Coogan, Ed. *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*. 2001.
PCC	"La Petit Chronique de la Cathédral." Ed. L. Dacheux. *Bulletin de la Société pour la Conservation des Monuments Historiques d'Alsace*, 2nd series, vol. 13 (1887–1888): 3–20.
PRGD	Durand, William. *Le Pontifical Romain au Moyen-Age*, vol. 3: *Le Pontifical de Guillaume Durand*. Ed. Michel Andrieu. Vatican City, 1940.
RDOE1	Durand, William. *The Rationale divinorum officiorum of William Durand of Mende*. Trans. Timothy M. Thibodeau. New York, 2007.
RDOE4	Durand, William. *Rationale IV: On the Mass and Each Action Pertaining to It*. Trans. Timothy M. Thibodeau. Turnholt, 2013.
RDOL1	*Gvillelmi Dvranti Rationale Divinorvm Officiorvm* I–IV. Ed. A. Davril and T. M. Thibodeau. Turnholt, 2018 (1995).
RDOL2	*Gvillelmi Dvranti Rationale Divinorvm Officiorvm* V–VIII. Ed. A. Davril and T. M. Thibodeau. Turnholt, 2018 (1995).
Reisch	*Natural Philosophy Epitomised: A Translation of Gregor Reisch's* Philosophical Pearl (1503). Trans. Andrew Cunningham and Sachiko Kusukawa. Farnham, 2010.
WA	*D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. Weimar, 1883–.
WADB	*D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Die Deutsche Bibel*. 12 vols. Weimar, 1906–1961.
Z	*Huldreich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke*. Berlin, 1905–.

Introduction

> Whatever belongs to the liturgical offices, objects, and furnishings of the Church is full of signs of the divine and the sacred mysteries, and each of them overflows with a celestial sweetness when it is encountered by a diligent observer who can extract honey from a rock and oil from the stoniest ground [Deut. 32:13]. Who knows *the order of the heavens and can apply its rules to the earth* [Job 38:33]? Certainly, he who would attempt to investigate the majesty of heaven would be overwhelmed by its glory. It is, in fact, a deep well from which I cannot drink [cf. Jn 4:11], unless He who *gives all things abundantly and does not reproach us* [Jas 1:5] provides me with a vessel *so that I can drink with joy from the fountains of the Savior* [Isa 12:3] *which flow between the mountains* [Ps 103:10].
>
> Quecumque in ecclesiasticis officiis, rebus ac ornamentis consistunt, diuinis plena sunt signis atque misteriis, ac singula celesti sunt dulcedine redundantia, si diligentem tamen habeant inspectorem qui norit mel de petra sugere oleumque de durisimo saxo. Quis tamen nouit ordinem celi, et rationes ipsius ponet in terra? Scrutator quippe maiestatis opprimetur a gloria. Si quidem puteus altus est et in quo aquam hauriam non habeo, nisi porrigat ille qui dat omnibus affluenter et non improperat, ut inter medium montium transeuntem hauriam aquam in gaudio de fontibus saluatoris.
>
> William Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, Prologue, 1[1]

In the first paragraph of the modern translation of the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of William Durand (c. 1230–1296) are markers of the change this book seeks to chart. One is immediately visible. The translator, Timothy M. Thibodeau, chose to distinguish through the use of italics what he then identifies, through the use of brackets, as biblical texts. Those italics and those brackets do not simply mark the modern sense of "source," of a particular relationship between Durand and Scripture, that postdates Durand himself.[2] They distinguish Scripture and, in so doing, obscure Durand's understanding of revelation and its relationship to "ecclesiasticis officiis, rebus ac

[1] Prologue, RDOE I, 1; RDOL1, 3.

[2] Carruthers 2008; Carruthers 1998. For an early sixteenth-century example of the text, without such marks, see the 1510 edition published by Jacob Sacon in Lyon: https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV010814304. By 1559, printers in Lyon were producing editions identifying the biblical references in the margins. See, for example, https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV011540178.

ornamentis." There in the opening paragraph of the Prologue and throughout the *Rationale*, Durand presents a different relationship entirely among *ecclesiasticis officiis*, *rebus* and *ornamentis*, and biblical history, prophecies, psalms, Gospels, and Epistles.

A second measure of that change is Thibodeau's choice to translate the Latin phrase, *diuinis plena sunt signis atque misteriis*, into relationships that make sense today: "full of signs of the divine and sacred mysteries." Durand, however, had written "full of divine signs as well as mysteries." For Durand, the *res* and *ornamenta* were not solely signs but were filled with both signs and mysteries. As we shall see, the stone of altars, the linen of albs, rubrics on the pages of missals – "matter" – participated complexly in the communication of divine mystery that took place in the liturgy.[3] As the following chapters reveal, *redundantia* points toward the nature of divine communication, not simply its many different forms and their interreferentiality but also their amplitude, the evidence of divine intent to communicate.

The understanding of the liturgy of which the *Rationale* is evidence has suffered a fate similar to the memory practices Mary Carruthers illumined.[4] As she showed, the modern notion of "memory" does not simply differ from how medieval authors and monks conceived of the human mind and its relationship to texts. The modern frame of reference impedes our ability to hear the monks and to understand their rhetorical practices. Analogously, the understanding of the liturgy set forth in the *Rationale* has largely been read in terms of a sense of liturgy – as preeminently, for many, essentially, verbal, even textual, and as occurring within time governed by clocks – which postdates the fifteenth century. Again, there in the modern translation is a trace of the distance between medieval understandings and modern, in Thibodeau's utterly reasonable decision to translate "rebus ac ornamentis" as "objects and furnishings" – no one word in English can capture the medieval valences of *res* or *ornamentum*.[5] Even as the *Rationale* has been brought into circulation in a welcome modern edition and translation, it has been read in terms of how we have been taught to conceive of matter and time, of modern physics, in the wake of Reformation.

This book is a study of the sea change reflected in those italicized words and translations of *res* as objects, *ornamenta* as furnishings. Beginning with *The Eucharist in the Reformation*, I have held a model of "fragmentation" as capturing the splintering the medieval Western Christian Church into many Churches, all of which traced their roots to the same origins in the person of Christ, his preaching, his parables, his acts. But "fragmentation," chosen as a way to conceptualize simultaneously shared histories and division, accords the splintering of the sixteenth century definitive importance. This book returns to the puzzle that the iconoclasts of Zurich and Strasbourg posed to me years ago: Why risk their lives for mere matter?[6] Smashing as they did eternal lamps and altars as well as altarpieces and panel paintings, carpenters and shoemakers and church assistants committed the capital crime of blasphemy. They knew the penalty, even as they characterized the victims of their violence as "idols." This book offers an answer

[3] For an archaeology of the word, "liturgy," as well as its relative, "office," see Agamben 2013.
[4] Carruthers 2008 and 1998.
[5] On *res*, see foremost, Ohly 2005a. On *ornamentum*, see Fletcher 1982; Wilson 2021.
[6] Wandel 1995.

to that question. In so doing, it recasts the story from fragmentation to one of the most far-reaching ruptures of early modernity, from a sense of matter as a medium of divine revelation to the sense of "mere matter" that, ultimately, translated the violence from an assault against God to property damage.

The *Rationale* proved the key to answering the puzzle of the iconoclasts. Prior to Reformation, it was measurably the most widely produced commentary on the liturgy. It was the fifth book printed in Gutenberg's shop, after the Bible, a missal, a psalter, and a Latin grammar.[7] Some 200 manuscripts and some 44 separate printed editions prior to 1500 have been identified.[8] Before the sixteenth century, it was printed in fifteen cities across Europe. It is the preeminent trace of a way of thinking about the relationship of liturgy and matter before the sixteenth century. Divided into eight books, covering the church, altars, images (Book I) through the Calendar (Book VIII), the *Rationale* is not simply the most comprehensive commentary on the liturgy. It offers the fullest articulation of a sense of liturgy that was gone by the end of the sixteenth century. Book IV, on the Mass, follows Book I on the church, altars, and images, Book II on the clerical orders, and Book III on vestments. The entire *Rationale* concludes with a chapter on time, on the calculus for the calendar which enacts Christian history in the rhythms of each Christian's experience of the year. For Durand, the church, altars, images, vestments and the persons of clergy, and the calendar were not, as they came to be, something apart from the communication of divine mysteries in the liturgy but "full of" those mysteries which they brought in their distinctive ways to collective worship.

The way of thinking about connections among Scripture, liturgy, and matter set forth in the *Rationale* was one of the earliest targets of sixteenth-century Evangelical criticism.[9] In 1520, in one of his most successful and widely disseminated pamphlets, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, Martin Luther encompassed the *Rationale* in his attack on "allegories":

> Similarly, in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, what does this Dionysius do but describe certain churchly rites, and amuse himself with allegories without proving anything? Just as has been done in our time by the author of the book entitled *Rationale divinorum*. Such allegorical studies are for idle men. Do you think I should find it difficult to amuse myself with allegories about anything in creation? Did not Bonaventura by allegory draw the liberal arts into theology? And Gerson even converted the smaller Donatus into a mystical theologian. . . .Who has so weak a mind as not to be able to launch into allegories?[10]

This passage is part of a much larger attack on what Luther called a figurative reading of Scripture, which, he argued, was the foundation for wrong understandings of just what

[7] "Next to the Bible and the two service books, the *Rationale* is the oldest complete printed book to survive. The first printed edition of the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* appeared on October 6, 1459, from the Mainz firm of Fust and Schoeffer, successors of Gutenberg. The second edition was a product of the press of Günther Zainer of Augsburg and appeared on January 22, 1470," White 1974, 49–50.

[8] On the number of manuscripts, see Davril 1992; and Introduction, RDOL1, xxvii–lx, which provides a list of the manuscripts. Clarence Cecil Ménard began the process of identifying surviving manuscripts, Ménard 1967. On the incunabula of the *Rationale*, see Albaric 1992.

[9] In Chapter 5, I explain more fully my use of the term "Evangelicals." Briefly, it serves to name diverse preachers, magistrates, artisans, and peasants, all of whom shared a sense that "the Bible" was a codex, that is, the Word of God had a particular material form; and that the Word of God was contained within that form.

[10] LW 36, 110; WA, 6, 562.

a sacrament is. Evangelicals' rethinking of the relationship among Scripture, liturgy, and matter is the subject of the second part of this book. Here let me dwell for a moment on how Luther deployed the word "allegories" and its cognates.[11] In a line that can be traced to most modern studies of allegory, which locate its origins in classical rhetoric, Luther construed it as an exclusively verbal practice.[12] He also reduced to a single thing, allegory, what Durand and others had held to be rich and dynamic interconnections among scriptural referents to the physical world, that physical world, and divine mysteries.[13] Luther not only vehemently rejected allegory as a mode of biblical exegesis.[14] He rejected the entire way of thinking about divine communication which had construed Creation and Scripture as interreferential. The words of the Bible were where the faithful were to look for divine communication.[15] Meaning was located in a printed text, a codex, clear to its true reader. In this pamphlet and others, Luther laid the foundations for the modern understanding of liturgy as a direct and verbal expression of the "plain" sense of Scripture. In so doing, he recast the relationship between the liturgy and Creation and with it the nature of "revelation."

I do not wish to argue that Luther alone effected the change this book charts. In the sixteenth century, all Evangelicals, from Anabaptists through Anglicans, rejected the interwoven lives of Scripture, matter, and the liturgy. Luther neither called for nor supported the acts of violence that ultimately did transform the landscape of Christianity in Europe, violence not only against images but, more tellingly, also against matter that was not an "image" in the modern sense:[16] altars, eternal lamps, candlesticks, and bells. Many risked their lives to destroy the matter of the medieval liturgy. But Luther did give voice, in one of the most widely disseminated pamphlets of the

[11] "Luther, as we know, has many sagacious criticisms to make of the abuses of allegorism. Quite early in his career he abandoned the use of the 'four senses,' although he had started out by using them. But he does not lose his grasp of the essential elements of spiritual interpretation and continues to follow St. Paul and St. Augustine. For Luther, Christ is really the key to all Scripture," de Lubac 1968, 75. For an introduction to the conceptual richness of allegory as a mode of visual cognition, see Melion and Clifton 2019, especially Melion, "Introduction," 14–39.

[12] "Permutatio est oratio aliud verbis aliud sententia demonstrans. Ea dividitur in tres partes: similitudinem, argumentum, contrarium," Cicero 1954, 344–345. "Allegory says one thing and means another. It destroys the normal expectation we have about language, that our words 'mean what they say,'" Fletcher 1982, 2. On the early history of allegory, see Pépin 1958. On the history of the term, see Whitman 1987, "Appendix I," 263–268. On the difference between literary and biblical allegory, see Ohly 2005a, 15.

[13] In the Prologue, Durand differentiates allegory, anagogy, tropology, and history, Prologue 10–12, RDOE1, 4–5; RDOL1, 7–8.

[14] "For a long time, allegory was taken by theology to mean, and often in the broadest sense, the mysteries of Christ and of the Church as they appeared in Scripture," de Lubac 1968, 12. "It was [De Lubac's] reading of the Church Fathers that gave him the idea that is central to *Medieval Exegesis*, which is that 'spiritual exegesis' or allegory is not a borrowing of literary techniques from the Greeks but rather a distinctly Christian approach to the Old Testament as found in the New Testament, particularly in the letters of St. Paul," Robert Louis Wilken, Foreword to de Lubac 1998, xi–xii.

[15] "Although [God] is present in all creatures, and I might find him in stone, in fire, in water, or even in a rope, for he certainly is there, yet he does not wish that I seek him there apart from the Word, and cast myself into the fire or the water, or hang myself on the rope. He is present everywhere, but he does not wish that you grope for him everywhere. Grope rather where the Word is, and there you will lay hold of him in the right way. Otherwise you are tempting God and committing idolatry," Luther, "The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ – Against the Fanatics" (1526), LW 36, 342. See also Strier 2007.

[16] On the modern notion of the "image," see foremost, Belting 1997; Koerner 2004.

sixteenth century, to a way of thinking that recast the relationship among Scripture, matter, and liturgy. And by the end of the sixteenth century, as we shall see, Luther, Huldrych Zwingli, and John Calvin, whom modern scholars now call "Protestants," articulated a radically new understanding of what the liturgy was, what its relationship to Scripture was, and what the relationship of liturgy to matter was. By the last session of the Council of Trent in 1564, Catholics, too, had come to consider images as objects, things apart from the liturgy. This book seeks to chart, in other words, not a break between Catholic and Protestant but a sea change between the medieval Church and modern Churches, Catholic as well as Protestant.

LITURGY AND TIME

The change runs very deep. It is there in the ways modern scholars approach the two nouns, liturgy and matter, in their separation from one another since the sixteenth century, and in the ways each has been discussed. For Durand, "liturgy" encompassed both the Mass and the Divine Office. Prior to the sixteenth century, the Divine Office shared the space, the site, the images, and the crosses with the Mass. Bells sounded the Office's rhythms across the European landscape, creating a soundscape which encompassed not only the religious but even non-Christians who lived within hearing of the bells.[17] Modern histories tend, at a minimum, to treat the Divine Office and the Mass in discrete chapters; some histories of "liturgy" treat the Mass alone.[18] This book follows that narrower sense of "liturgy," as the collective act of worship of the entire congregation or body of the faithful, and excludes the orthopraxis of those who took vows. The separation of the Divine Office from the Mass and the narrowed definition of liturgy as the Mass reflect, inter alia, the erasure of the Divine Office in a number of sixteenth-century Churches. For this book, that narrower definition reflects foremost the need to set boundaries to a topic that has few natural ones.

The very notion that the Mass has a history may well be a product of the sixteenth century, with its rethinking of the relationship among living community of the faithful, "this do," what was encompassed in "in remembrance of me," and time. As we shall see when we turn to altars, excising the matter of the liturgy also contributes to a sense of time as linear and encoded in texts, chronological in the way texts exist in relationship to one another. Altars abide as sites at which divine presence occurs rhythmically. More critically, those histories trace a direct line from the words of institution as found in Scripture, here, for example, First Corinthians, to contemporary practice, excising both matter and Creation:

> The first holy Mass was said on "the same night in which He was betrayed" (1 Cor. 11:23). Judas' resolution had been taken, the next few steps would bring our Lord to the Mount of Olives where an agony would overtake Him and His enemies seize Him. In this very hour He gives His disciples the Holy Sacrament which for all time would be the offering of the Church. The setting was significant – the paschal meal. Since the withdrawal of the people

[17] Le Goff 1988; Adler and Strohm 2023, 9–28.

[18] For an example of the former, see Jones, Wainwright, Yarhold, and Bradshaw, 1992. For an example of the latter, see Klauser 1979.

> out of Egypt the paschal lamb had served year after year to prefigure the great expectation. The fulfillment, too, would serve to recall the exodus not only from Egypt but from the land of sin, and the arrival not into a promised land but into God's kingdom. From this hour on it was to continue as a fond reminiscence from generation to generation. But the records of the Last Supper contain few details concerning the ceremonial of the meal, probably because this ceremonial was not meant to be the lasting setting of the celebration.
>
> Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*[19]

In a study encompassing hundreds of textual sources, Joseph A. Jungmann accorded one brief section to "Accommodations of Space," which he held to be "an outer frame surrounding the celebration of Mass."[20] He echoed Luther in designating a group of medieval liturgical commentators as applying "the allegorical method"; for him, as for Luther, medieval commentators on the liturgy from Pseudo-Dionysius through Durand did not seek to link matter, Scripture, and the liturgy but "to put an allegorical interpretation on sacred texts whenever they appeared mystifying."[21] "Allegory," as for Luther, was a fiction imposed; Durand was an allegorist, not a liturgist connecting Creation and liturgy.[22]

[19] Jungmann 1986 I, 7. Herder published five editions of Jungmann's *Missarum Sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der Römischen Messe* in German, the last in 1962; the Verlag nova & vetera reissued the 1962 edition in two volumes in 2003. All German citations in this book are from the nova & vetera edition. The only English translation of the full German edition remains that of Francis A. Brunner, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, 2 vols., first published in 1951, thus before the final Herder edition, and reissued by Christian Classics, Allen, TX, in 1986. All English citations are from the 1986 Christian Classics edition.

[20] Jungmann 1986, I, 252.

[21] Jungmann 1986, I, 87. Jungmann takes up the "allegorisierende Deutung," of commentators in the "Gothic" period, among whom he numbers Durand, as well as John Beleth, Ivo of Chartres, Sicard of Cremona, and Rupert von Deutz, in Jungmann 2003, I, 143–156. Even Thibodeau, in his Preamble to the modern edition of the *Rationale*, places it "in the grand tradition of the allegorical interpretation of the liturgy, inaugurated in the West by Amalar," Timothy Thibodeau, "Préambule," RDOL1, viii. Paul Rorem offers a different criticism, equally grounded, however, in the separation of liturgy from Creation, Rorem 2010.

[22] See, foremost, Jungmann's discussion of "The Gothic Period," 2003, I, 137–168; 1986, I, 103–127. Gregory Dix, in another influential twentieth-century study, takes up vestments, lights, and incense in a chapter tellingly titled "The Development of Ceremonial"; like Jungmann, his conception of the essence of the Mass is verbal, neither gestural nor material, the "action" of the Mass, theological, not corporeal, Dix 1945. Even scholars as attentive to the physical environment of worship as Klauser neither acknowledge that their sources might have seen that environment as divinely created nor construe the Bible as having physical referents that were present in the space of worship. See, for example, Klauser's careful reconstruction of a Roman bishop's Mass, c. 700, in which he acknowledges the presence of the altar but does not explore how it participated in the meaning of the liturgy at that moment, in Klauser 1979, 59–72. Recent handbooks on the history of the liturgy have chapters on music or liturgical art, but they, too, remain rooted in that post-Reformation conceptualization of the made world and therefore of its relationship to liturgy: Those chapters remain discrete from considerations of either the theology of the liturgy or liturgical practice. For example, the iconic *The Study of the Liturgy* has a section, "The Setting of the Liturgy," with chapters on "Ceremonial" (Hugh Wybrew), music and singing (J. Gelineau), hymnody (Alan Dunstan), architectural setting (Peter G. Cobb), and vestments (W. Jardine Grisbrooke). There are chapters, "Liturgical Music" by William T. Flynn, "The Spatial Setting" by James F. White, "Visual Arts" by Marchita Mauck, and "Vestments and Objects" by Joanne M. Pierce in Wainwright and Westerfield Tucker, 2006, 769–857, fewer than 100 pages in a 900-page book, and treated apart from the chapters on liturgy, both historical and confessional. In Meyer 1989, there is one section on "Elemente der Gestaltung" (221–226), which accords a little over one page to the "Raum der Feier," and roughly two pages each to "Gesang und Musik" and "Mitfeier der Gläubigen." So, too, histories that approach the

It is not simply that these histories of the liturgy privileged clerical sources: Church Fathers, the books produced for monasteries, the books authorized by bishops, the commentaries of canon lawyers such as Durand or theologians such as Thomas Aquinas. For these historians, liturgy itself *is* textual. The movements of the priest, as well as his vestments, were, for Jungmann as for Gregory Dix and others, "ceremonial," something added on to liturgy.[23] The altar, as Jungmann wrote, "[t]he heart of the church, the focal point at which all lines converge, ... the place of the sacrifice," nonetheless for him, as for others, brought nothing to the Mass, neither scriptural allusion nor temporal complexity.[24]

LITURGY AND MATTER

Reformation led to the study of liturgy in terms of texts – missals, hymnals, psalters, the Book of Common Prayer, and service books. That we speak of altars, altarpieces, eternal lamps, crucifixes, candlesticks, or liturgical books as objects is the clearest evidence of how deeply Evangelical violence and sixteenth-century liturgies severed all of them from worship. They have become discrete from one another – a sense of object we shall see more fully in Part II. The deepest severance is the least visible to modernity: For Durand, all were forms of *materia*, that is, they belonged to Creation. Sixteenth-century Evangelicals smashed altars into pieces of stone, stripped pigments from wooden panels, and melted precious metals, revealing the stuff of Genesis as things apart from human hands, as indeed vulnerable to human hands, and not a place to discern revelation.

A broad range of modern fields of scholarship trace their origins to that severance, from a notion of "art" that is to be found in museums through work in "material religion" and "sensational religion" to theorizing about the "agency" of matter.[25] The scope of the transformation of one form of matter, images, can be traced in their transposition to museums, their reconceptualization as art, as well as in the studies, in the hundreds, of individual altarpieces and panels as both detachable from their original location and defined by the human being who designed them.[26] David Morgan, one of the most influential scholars of "material religion," in a recent article mapped "a process that consists of at least nine aspects or moments, each of which captures a key aspect of an object's materiality and its relevance for those who put the object to religious use."[27] There, in the formulation of one of the most sympathetic scholars, is that Reformation

Mass through the lens of social history construct that history through textual sources. See, for example, de Thorey 1994. An important exception is Palazzo 2000.

[23] Manuel Vásquez has protested the absence of the human body in so much theorizing of religion, Vásquez 2011.

[24] Jungmann 1986, I, 254.

[25] The fields of work on "materiality" and on "material culture" are protean. For an introduction to "materiality," see foremost, DeMarrais, Gosden, and Renfrew 2004; Miller 2005. On medieval and early modern material culture, see, for example, Richardson, Hamling, and Gaimster, 2016; Lahti and Räsänen 2008. For a critique of the concept of the "agency of matter," see Jung 2018.

[26] On the argument about the origins of "art," see foremost Belting 1997; and Koerner 2004.

[27] Morgan 2017, 15. For introductions to the field, see, for example, Engelke 2011; Houtman and Meyer 2012; Tim Hutchings and Joanne McKenzie, "Introduction," Hutchings and McKenzie 2017, 1–13. Uta

separation: An "object" is put to human "use."[28] So, too, does the study of religion and the senses or sensational religion take as its point of departure the physics of the Evangelicals: "Matter" is not an autonomous medium of divine communication but what human beings take up, in the materiality of their own bodies, to express something about a transcendent being.[29] That sense of a dynamic limited to matter and human being also informs the extraordinarily rich variety of conceptualizations of the "agency" of matter.[30]

Late medieval European Christians held a sense of divine Creation that was dismantled over the centuries following the sixteenth, in the wake of Reformation reconceptua lizations of the relationship of matter to liturgy.[31] They shared, as we do not, some version of Aristotle's notion of "prime matter" or *prima materia*.[32] Aristotelian physics was primarily concerned not with the composition of the physical world – what Robert Pasnau has called "integral parts" – but with change in it, "generation" and "corruption," and with what did not change.[33] Materiality could take different "forms" – and just what "form" encompassed and its relationship to "matter" were themselves

Karstein and Thomas Schmidt-Lux offer a different history and orientation in Karstein and Schmidt-Lux 2017, 3–22. Plate 2011 and 2015, each present key words in the field.

[28] So, too, does Kirstin Faupel-Drevs conceive of the relationship as "use," Faupel-Drevs 2000. A volume David Morgan edited in 2010 took up "various ways that belief should be studied as taking place in material practices. Belief should not be understood as coming only before such things as the veneration of relics or the ecstatic drudgery of pilgrimage, but as being constituted by them," "Introduction," in Morgan 2010, 11. So, too, Arweck and Keenan state as "its essential subject matter – the human quest to give voice, sight, form and shape to the sacred or numinous or transcendent," "Introduction," Arweck and Keenan 2006, 6. Arweck and Keenan do allow for "insiders" to perceive the matter of their religion differently (9), but their conceptualization of "material religion" remains exclusively human in origin and communication. One rich vein of consideration of "matter" in the wake of Reformation iconoclasm concerns "the fetish." See Keane 1998; Pietz 1985 and 1987. Matthew Engelke is also engaged in a critique of "primitive religion" in his work.

[29] "Matter is all around us: we cannot escape it. We are literally material beings in a material environment, populated with material objects, situated amidst the material stuff of nature, bound in intimate and more distant relations with other persons through shared material habits and habitats. Objects, images, and a proliferation of material substances engage, shape, and interact with human bodies, events, and ideas just as profoundly, subtly, and emphatically as the words with which scholars generally exercise more comfortable interpretive familiarities. Pictures and things surround us, and people work with them, and they with people, to construct selves, communities, and worlds. The entities thus formed include, along a mutually invested continuum, *immaterial* compositions and worlds and thus embodied, unbodied, and imagined habitations of soul and spirit," Promey 2014a, 4. For an introduction to work on the early modern period, see Boer and Göttler 2012. For an introduction to the senses as a field of historical research, see, for example, Howes 2005; and Newhauser 2019. Cf. "Any treatment of religion that fails to consider bodies is guilty of ignoring the materiality of religions," Meyer, Morgan, Paine, and Plate 2011: 6.

[30] Brown 2001; Bennett 2010; Ingold 2013; Vedeler 2019; Hodder 2021. There is a series of volumes based on conferences held by the McDonald Institute; the most important of those for this volume is DeMarrais, Gosden, and Renfrew 2004. For an introduction to work on "fetishism," see Speyer 1998.

[31] Kukkonen 2014.

[32] "Even with respect to what is most central to the Aristotelian project – prime matter, sensible qualities, and substantial forms – we have a woefully poor understanding of what exactly the scholastics thought. . . . It is emblematic of the poverty of our knowledge in these areas that even with regard to our topic's central organizing concept – substance – scholars have labored under the most grievous misunderstandings, even with respect to the canonical figures of the seventeenth century," Pasnau 2011, 5.

[33] "Our starting-point is a world in which material things apparently come into being, change and disappear spontaneously; and over which we have acquired a certain degree of control," Toulmin and Goodfield 1962, 22.

disputed.[34] In one of the most popular late medieval textbooks, the *Philosophical Pearl*, for example, first published in 1503, Gregor Reisch wrote: "The prime matter truly remains the same which was first under the form of air, now under the form of fire; but this [prime matter] is not a sensible."[35] Everything that could be tasted, touched, seen, heard, or smelled had its origin in "prime matter," which, for Christians, conformed with Creation, as set forth in Genesis 1: "In the beginning when God created the heavens and the earth, the earth was a formless void [In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram terram autem erat inanis et vacua]."[36] That is, altars and vestments may have had different textures, weights, colors, and rigidities, but both had their origin in *prima materia* – and not in stone or marble or silk or linen, which were formed of that original nonsensible *materia*.

Throughout this book, when referring to buildings, altars, vestments, and images in the aggregate, I use the phrase *the made world*. Among the many legacies of Reformation, as we shall see in Part II, is the distinction so commonly made between the natural world and the things human beings have made.[37] The line between that which God had created and what human beings fashioned was not as hard for Durand as it was for Luther, Zwingli, or Calvin.[38] For Durand, the matter of the liturgy was formed from matter God had created.[39] Human hands had not changed that matter; they had fashioned it into forms that, in the case of churches, altars, and vestments, were scripturally authorized. The phrase, the made world, intentionally aims first to blur the distinction between Creation and human fashioning, to erase some, but not all, of the importance that came to be accorded human hands in the making of places of worship. It also aims to blur the distinction among the things human beings made that has so shaped their study in the past two centuries: churches as separate from the images that were in them, vestments as separate from the persons who wore them, altars as separate from the places in which they were used.

LITURGY, MATTER, SCRIPTURE

> non solum voces, sed et res significativae sunt [not only words, but things too are significative]. Hugh of St.-Victor[40] Quaelibet enim res, quot habet proprietates, tot habet linguas

[34] See, for example, Gregor Reisch's *Philosophical Pearl*: "MASTER: You conclude nicely from what was said that there are three principles of things, namely Matter, Form and Privation. Because these are primary [principles], they do not come to be from other things, nor are they constituted of each other, but everything else is constituted of them. But we say that form is drawn out of the potency of matter, not because something of the form is hidden inside matter, but because without such matter as its subject, a natural agent would not produce the form," Reisch, 25. Reisch also provides an overview of divergent conceptions of matter and form, Book 8, chapter 34. Thus, even sympathetic studies of "material Christianity" in America are predicated on a different conception of matter. See, for example, McDannell 1995.

[35] Reisch, Book 8, chapter 7, 75.

[36] All biblical quotations are from NOAB and BSV. On *prima materia* and Creation, see, for example, Reisch, Book 8, chapter 7, 27.

[37] A protean body of research has detailed the "craft" diverse materials demanded for their forming. Iconic of these studies is Baxandall 1980. For more recent work, see, for example, Anderson, Dunlop, and Smith 2014.

[38] Martindale 1972. See also Kruse 2000.

[39] Kukkonen 2014.

[40] Quoted in Ohly 2005a, 4.

> aliquid spirituale nobis et invisibile insinuantes, pro quarum diversitate et ipsius nominis acceptio variatur
>
> [Indeed every created thing has as many meanings suggesting to us something spiritual and invisible as it has properties, in proportion to the diversity of which even acceptance of the name itself varies].
>
> Peter of Poitiers[41]

In 1958, in his inaugural lecture at Kiel, Friedrich Ohly called attention to the Latin word *res* and how medieval theologians construed its relationship to *vox*, which he translated as the sound of a word. In the article from that lecture, first published in 1977 in German, he argued: "Whereas antiquity ... had been concerned only with the meanings of words, the Christian philology of the Middle Ages goes beyond that and is concerned with the 'thing significations' of everything present in creation."[42] Drawing on a range of medieval authors, Ohly identified a way of conceptualizing the relationship between Creation and Scripture, which, he argued, defined medieval Christianity.[43] In the following chapters, my use of the term *scriptural res* is rooted in Ohly's work.

Marie-Dominique Chenu, Mary Carruthers, and Caroline Walker Bynum have argued compellingly that the boundaries we draw are not those of medieval monks, theologians, nuns, or laity.[44] For the twelfth-century theologians Chenu studied, there were two books of Revelation: the Bible and nature.[45] A similar sense of revelation, as not exclusively verbal and to be read in the surrounding world, pervades the *Rationale*. For sixteenth-century Evangelicals, the Bible was the preeminent, even exclusive, locus of revelation. Even as they continued to acknowledge divine design and intentionality in Creation, they severed what human hands had fashioned from Creation and divine design, and they accorded Scripture sole authority in determining worship.

The boundary sixteenth-century Evangelicals placed between the made world and revelation has also shaped the conceptual models we bring to bear on the material traces of past worship. Modern scholars tend to posit one of two relationships between God and matter: either absence – and matter is inert, mute, and "presence" is a subjective perception on the part of the human viewer – or a "presence" which is *in* the matter.[46] Or, to put it in another modern bipolarity, "transcendence" and

[41] Quoted in Ohly 2005a, 5.
[42] Ohly 2005a, 5.
[43] Ohly 2005a, 29–30.
[44] Chenu 1968; Carruthers 1998 and 2008; Bynum 2011.
[45] "[I]t was still true that knowledge of God and his designs was derived both from nature and from history. These, men said, were the two 'books' in which God taught us; for creation, in its metaphorical manner, was a book even as it was a mirror:

> Omnis mundi creatura
> Quasi liber et pictura
> nobis est speculum

'Every creature in the world is, for us, like a book and a picture and a mirror as well.' So wrote Alan of Lille, and before him Hugh of Saint-Victor had said: 'The entire sense-perceptible world is like a sort of book written by the finger of God." Chenu 1968, 117.
[46] Here I am mindful of Robert Orsi's careful articulations of the relationships among a Christian God, Catholic devout, and their rosaries, statues, prayer cards, and other haptic and visual media. See, foremost, Orsi 2005; and Orsi 2016. Peter Pels offers a fruitful critique of the reduction of possibilities Pels 1998.

"immanence."[47] Durand, however, posited neither. From that opening paragraph he construed matter as created: not simply by God but with divine intentionality; not embodying God, which was doctrinally distinct and unique in the person of Christ, but originating in divine design and, for Durand, consisting in an ongoing divine communication with humankind. Durand did not argue that God was "present" in the matter of, say, stone or linen – though God was indeed present for Durand in the matter of the elements, the Host and the wine, after the words of consecration. For Durand, matter was a *medium* between God and humankind, in ways explicitly analogous to Scripture.[48] Divine mysteries were communicated through and in altars and vestments, for those devout who could discern them. Revelation was not the same as presence but communication with humankind, communication which was multiform and oblique – mysteries and signs.

Scripture and Creation were not discrete from one another, nor was their relationship verbal description and materialization, as Luther would posit.[49] Scripture and the made world were complexly interreferential – in ways that the chapters on churches, altars, and vestments detail. The same fourfold approach to Scripture could be applied to the made world:

> Similarly, Jerusalem is understood historically as that earthly city that pilgrims seek; allegorically, it represents the church militant; tropologically, any faithful soul; anagogically, the heavenly Jerusalem, or our homeland.
>
> William Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, Prologue, 12[50]

Jerusalem was a biblical site, both word and place, simultaneously. That same sense of layers of meaning of the scriptural text as Henri de Lubac set forth in his study – the four senses: historical, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical – the *Rationale* applies to the made world.[51]

In a 1993 article, Thibodeau argued for the expansion of Lubac's definition of allegory, from a strictly textual practice to one encompassing "every element of the liturgy, from the vestments of the priest to the thurible and candles used at lauds and vespers."[52] He offered one example in his analysis of Durand's choice of title:

On "animism," see, for example, Chidester 2018, 23–29. Bynum has explored "how God acts through matter" in Bynum 2011, here at 33.

[47] See, for example, Christian Kiening's "Introduction," Dauven-van Knippenberg, Herberichs, and Kiening 2009, 7–20.

[48] In this, my use differs from that proposed by Engelke 2011, 227–229; Meyer 2015; and Meyer 2020. Meyer, for example, "approach[es] religion as a set of human ideas and practices with regard to another, non-empirical sphere – a beyond – which can only be rendered tangible through mediation, and thus requires some sort of media" Meyer 2020, 6. Meyer's term of choice for referring to an ontological other is "transcendence" (19–28), a sense she shares with Engelke, who studies modern Friday Apostolic in Zimbabwe.

[49] Strier 2007.

[50] Prologue, 12, RDOE1, 5; "Similiter Ierusalem intelligitur ystorice ciuitas illa terrestris quam peregrini petunt; allegorice ecclesia militans; tropologice quelibet fidelis anima; anagogice celestis Ierusalem siue patria," RDOL1, 8. "An example which is constantly given in the Middle Ages is the word Jerusalem: historically, it is a city on earth; allegorically, it is the church; tropologically, it is the soul of the believer; anagogically, it is God's heavenly city," Ohly 2005a, 17.

[51] De Lubac 1959–1964.

[52] Thibodeau 1993, 78.

> Even the unusual and hitherto unused title of his work, the *Rationale*, reveals Durand's preoccupation with making manifest the hidden or deeper meaning of the divine offices. The ornate pectoral to which Durand compared his commentary is described in Exod 28:15–30, and in Jerome's Vulgate translation it is called the rationale iudicii (Exod 28:15). Aaron wore this pectoral over his priestly vestments; attached to it was a pouch or burse containing two circular stones, the Urim and Thummim – literally, "lights" and "integrity," translated as *doctrina* and *veritas* by Jerome (Exod 28:30) – which the ancient Israelites used as an oracle for determining God's will.[53]

Thibodeau shared both Luther's and Lubac's sense that allegory is a system of hermeneutics, while for Durand it was one of four modes of discerning divine communication. Thibodeau also shared the preeminence Luther and Lubac gave the text of Scripture, but he offered the kind of densely layered analysis, an ongoing interweaving of Scripture and matter, that one finds throughout the *Rationale*. His one example points toward something of Durand's dialectical hermeneutic, Scripture leading to discernment in Creation, Creation leading to other places in Scripture, which in turn accrued more layers of meaning to both text and matter.

READING REVELATION

Reading the made world was, as Durand made clear in his opening paragraph, a question of what any one person brought to acts of looking, touching, smelling, listening, and tasting. If we set aside the editorial interventions, the italics and the brackets, Durand modeled a kind of living familiarity with Scripture such as Carruthers delineated for monastic orthopraxis: not a sense of chapter and verse, which postdates Durand, but of embodying and being able to recollect at will those ways of speaking that in turn acquire new referents in each person's experience.[54]

Durand's intended readership was clergy, both the religious who would live the rhythms of the Divine Office and the celebrants of the Mass, monks, canons, friars, deacons, and priests. But the sense of the interreferentiality of Scripture and the made world articulated in the *Rationale* was not restricted to those who had taken vows, those who were ordained, those who preached, or even those who could read. The "diligent observer" suggests another relationship, of attentiveness to divine communication. The liturgy, for Durand, did not parse between text and thing, word and *materia*, but was itself an orthopraxis teaching a way of discerning divine communication and its multilayered meanings, its complex composition of the world. Perhaps the most unintended consequence of Reformation was the abstracting of the liturgy from Europeans' experience of time and space: "liturgy" became something one attended on Sundays, not an orthopraxis for discerning God's design in the world.

Carruthers opened her study of monastic meditative practices and rhetoric, *The Craft of Thought*, with a definition of orthopraxis she adopted from Paul Gehl, who had developed it as an analytic concept for considering the monastic practice of silence.[55]

[53] Thibodeau 1993, 70.

[54] On orthopraxis, see, Carruthers 1998, 1–2; Gehl 1987, 157–160.

[55] "In an essay of 1967 [Raimundo] Panikkar outlined a distinction between Buddhist *orthopraxis* and Christian *orthodoxy* and suggested that this represents a fundamental difference between the two traditions

For Carruthers and Gehl, "orthopraxis" offered a particularly fertile way to conceptualize monastic rhetorical practices. In Gehl's words,

> certain individuals and groups within the church have tended to create for themselves an orthopraxis, that is, one or another Christian experience which, though never independent of orthodox teaching, is essentially a reaching out for immanent experience of God without necessary or direct reference to the teaching of Christ embodied in Scripture, liturgy, and orthodox theology.[56]

Gehl and Carruthers did not take up liturgy in their conceptualizations of orthopraxis. The sense each developed, however, of an ongoing embodied praxis, a discipline, "a reaching out for immanent experience of God," which deepens understanding over time, brings us very close to Durand's conception of the liturgy in dynamic with the made world, both as ongoing and dialectical and also as a process of ever greater discernment and illumination. Gehl's and Carruthers' conceptualizations of orthopraxis help us to see the made world as present over time, in ongoing dynamic with the liturgy. The concept of orthopraxis helps us to conceive of the liturgy, not as recurring or repeating, but as a *process* of potentially infinite discernment of revelation. For Durand, in other words, revelation was never instantaneous but ongoing and protean. Meaning was not fixed but constantly acquiring newly discerned layers, dimensions, allusions, associations, and connotations. Perhaps most critically, a concept of orthopraxis moves us from any notion that the liturgy was, as in modern conceptions of ritual, repetitious, to a sense that it was progressive and cumulative, an accrual over time of an ever-increasing discernment of the sheer magnitude and complexity of revelation. As we shall see, this particular way of conceptualizing the temporality of liturgy also helps us to discern more fully the different kinds of time that the missal, the altar, vestments, and the person of the priest brought to the liturgy.

From the opening of the *Rationale*, Durand emphasized attentiveness, that is, the orientation of the participant in the liturgy to it and to its matter. As we now know, he wrote at a time when other theories of optics were at play, and also when other conceptions of "vision" and "sense" informed thinking about what we now call "perception."[57] "Species" has come to be a category of organization, one tier in the modern construction of the relationships among animals or plants. In medieval Europe, however, the term was at the center of debates on the relationship among the made world, the human eye, and the human mind.[58] As with "prime matter," "species" had no one universally accepted definition, no consensus as to what it referred. As with

insofar as each defines itself. Very briefly, Panikkar distinguishes between religions of orthodoxy in which the normative element is the teaching of a founder, and religions of orthopraxis in which religious experiences are normative," Gehl 1987, 157.

[56] Gehl 1987, 158. See also, Gehl 2002.

[57] Medieval "perception" is a protean field. In addition to work on theories of optics and cognition, see Hatfield and Epstein 1979; Baltuta 2020.

[58] Katherine H. Tachau most fully explores the connection between "species" and cognition, Tachau 1988. "Despite the strength of Olivi's and Ockham's arguments, few Scholastics were persuaded to follow them in giving up the doctrine of species. The dogma of inner representations as objects of apprehension lived on throughout the fourteenth century; consequently, there was no countervailing medieval tradition strong enough to influence early modern treatments," Pasnau 1997, 291. See also Pasnau 2014, vol. 1, Part IV. On the eye, see foremost Lindberg 1976; Smith 1981; Camille 1996 and 2000; Simon 2003. On Renaissance theories of vision, see, for example, Hendrix and Carman 2010. For a succinct

prima materia, the word marks a way of thinking at once alien to us and endemic in late medieval Europe. Critically for our purposes, species was at the center of debates which took as their predicates: (1) that light is the medium of sight; (2) that light is material; and therefore (3) that the made world is materially connected to the human eye and, with it, the human mind. Those debates did not agree on the nature of mind or of senses, but they all held a radically different relationship between the made world and the mind.[59] The eye and the seen object were linked either, on the one hand, through a mathematical line or a continuous ray or, on the other, through a series of multiplications or "species" that traversed the distance between eye and object.[60] Not until Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) would light be construed as nonmaterial and therefore the eye as physically autonomous from the made world.

Throughout the period this book covers, Europeans broadly held that the made world was itself a participant in visual cognition – connected through the materiality of light, which traversed what we now hold to be a cognitive as well as spatial distance between "object" and eye and mind.[61] Even more critically important for our purposes, as A. Mark Smith summarized it, "concepts are immanent in objective reality."[62] Not until René Descartes (1596–1650) would the made world be construed as both fully external to us and receiving its meaning from us, "objects" in the more common modern sense.[63]

Durand's focus was not the eye itself, perception, or cognition. As the opening paragraph suggests, his focus was an orientation, a preparedness to see God's communication in stone and linen, gold and sapphires. In the *Rationale*, and especially in the first three books of it, he traced interplays of matter and Scripture which were woven into the liturgy, at times, as in the case of vestments, in the regularity of the liturgy, at times, as in the stone of altars, in the ongoing presence of specific kinds of matter within the space of the liturgy. But, in keeping with medieval theories, in the plural, of perception, Durand never treated the matter of the liturgy as objects.[64] They did not receive meaning from their human observers; they revealed it to them.[65] The permeability that is at the center

introduction to the concept of "visuality," see Nelson 2000b. On the "distinction between what appears and what exists," I have found especially helpful Denery 2005.

[59] "There must, in short, be a mediating formal cause – the so-called physical *species*, consisting of *lumen* and illuminated color – to link the object and the visible *species* in the eye," Smith 1981, 587. See also, Camile 2000; and Nelson 2000b.

[60] Smith 1981 provides a succinct summary of this, 579–580.

[61] For a thoughtful discussion of the shifting constellation of referents for "object" and "subject," see Denery 2005. On the disconnect between medieval optics and, say, Martin Jay's concept of "optic regimes," see Biernoff 2002. For an introduction to "objects" in early modern culture, see the first volume of the research group, "Premodern Objects: An Archaeology of Experience," Cordez, Kaske, Saviello, and Thürigen 2018.

[62] Smith 1981, 571.

[63] The chronologies are those of Robert Pasnau on theories of matter and David C. Lindberg on optics, Pasnau 2011; Lindberg 1976. For a brief history of conceptions of matter, see Mainzer 1996.

[64] Recent work of historians of medieval art has interrogated "matter" and "materiality." For an introduction to matter/"materiality" and medieval art history, see Kessler 2000; Kessler 2004; Kumler 2019. For a brief history of work on the matter of art, see Raff 2008, 13–17. "The present volume . . .explicitly addresses materials as active components in the conception, production and interpretation of artworks," Lehmann 2013, 7.

[65] Christopher Nygren, for example, acknowledges "the artist recognized incipient 'images' embedded in the stone and conscripted these mineral formations into his pictorial composition," but he then construes that

of medieval theories of perception also operates implicitly in Durand's discussion of the matter of the liturgy: The revelation of meaning occurred in dialogue with each person's specific familiarity with Scripture, within the orthopraxis of liturgy, and with the sense of complex layers he sets forth in the example of Jerusalem.

Durand directed his reader to look *at* the matter of the liturgy – at the stone of churches and altars, at the linen and silk of vestments. He did not direct them to look beyond the matter. He directed his reader to look at it, as itself a site of divine communication, to which the same approach as to Scripture can be applied. For him, there was no boundary between the made world and revelation, and that changed not only the nature of the made world but also Scripture.

INCARNATION

> Thus liturgical objects and images are not to be considered solely as participant in the ritual from the point of view of their concrete function in the liturgy and their possible general theological and historical significance, but as essential elements of the liturgy destined to be activated by the five senses in order to render really present in the ritual the Incarnation of the Word according to different modalities.
>
> Éric Palazzo, *L'invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l'art au Moyen Âge*[66]

Martin Luther not only lumped the *Rationale* among the "allegorical studies" he excoriated. He reconceived the matter of the liturgy as adiaphora, things indifferent, to which human beings gave such meaning as was accorded them.[67] In rejecting the matter of the liturgy as itself a mode of divine communication, he offered a radically different conception of Incarnation, centered on the printed word of Scripture and materially discrete from human experience. "Liturgy" became speaking and singing and listening; the Incarnation was no longer to be a mystery engaging all the senses. Liturgy and Incarnation were realigned.

The *Rationale* invites us to ask not only what liturgy is or what the relationship between Scripture and matter is. It invites us to ask what the relationship of Incarnation to the world is. The insistence of so many modern scholars that Incarnation is a thing apart from matter is perhaps the most compelling evidence of just how completely Evangelicals separated God from the materialities of late medieval Christianity.

At the center of this book is a shift from a sense that God communicates through the made world and in the cadences of the liturgy to one which locates that communication almost exclusively in a codex, a physically bounded and bound thing, a text. At its center, in other words, is a fundamental reconceptualization of revelation. Both Luther

as "invention," not discernment of a design, intentional and communicative, originating outside the artist's mind, Nygren 2019b, 91.

[66] "Ainsi les objets liturgiques et les images ne sont pas uniquement considérés comme participant au ritual du point de vue de leur fonction concrete dans la liturgie et de leur éventuelle signification théologique et historique au sens large, mais comme des éléments essentiels de la définition de la liturgie destinés à être activés par les cinq sens afin de rendre réellement présente dans la ritual l'incarnation du Verbe selon différentes modalités," Palazzo 2014, 26.

[67] Luther, "Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntnis, 1528," 514.

and Durand shared the "foundational tenet" of pre-modern Christian thinkers: God had brought everything, time as well as matter, into being.[68] For Durand, however, God communicated not only through words but also through matter and in time. Revelation was not restricted to Scripture, nor was Scripture a thing apart from Creation – as the following chapters show, the interplay of the matter of the liturgy and Scripture was richly complex, multivalent, and dynamic. Those signs and mysteries were not "clear": Their interreferentiality was ongoing, a dialectic rather than a closed loop, generative of new insights through the orthopraxis of liturgy.

For Durand, meaning originated in God, that is, entirely outside of human imagination or intellection: It was external to and exceeded the capacity of any one viewer. The human viewer, for Durand, was not an active participant in meaning-making, in contradistinction, say, to reader response theory or hermeneutics.[69] Durand wrote of an "observer"; mysteries "overflow." That sense of the made world was lost in the sixteenth century.

This book seeks to excavate the sense of the matter of the liturgy for which Durand is the fullest source. Chapters on churches, altars, and vestments explore different ways that stone, marble, relics, linen, colors, and the human body materialized sacred mysteries. The chapter on missals takes up time and Creation; while Durand did not write about missals, they are the most concise access to the thinking about time that informed the medieval liturgy and that one can find throughout the *Rationale*. Each chapter explores specific ways particular kinds of matter served as media of divine mysteries. This book seeks to bring to the liturgy not "objects" or "things" in the modern sense of them – however complex and rich that sense might be – but the active participation of diverse media. In so doing, this book also seeks to delineate a fundamentally different sense of "liturgy": not as essentially words and sound but as enacted within Creation and in dynamic with all that human hands fashioned using matter God had created. Once we have these in place, we turn in Part II to Reformation and the many ways Evangelicals rejected those ways of thinking, reconceived worship, and with it the relationship among the Bible, Creation, human hands, and human minds. This second part charts how Evangelical repudiations of medieval understandings of the Mass altered the relationship between the made world and revelation for all Churches, Catholic as well as Evangelical. Only with an archaeology of late medieval understandings of the liturgy can we then see just how radical a rethinking of the liturgy the sixteenth century witnessed, such that one of the most sympathetic readers of Durand would typographically distinguish the text of Scripture from *rebus ac ornamentis*.

[68] Kukkonen 2014, 232.

[69] On reader response theory, see, for example, Iser 1978. Most influential for my thinking about hermeneutics has been Gadamer 1990 and 1993.

PART I

1

Ecclesia

Sometime around 1593, William Claxton (d. 1597) gathered memories of Durham cathedral in a scroll.[1] Although he titled it *Discription or Breef Declaracion of all the Auncyent Monuments, Rytes and Customs Belonging or Beinge within the Monasticall Church of Durham before the Suppression*, it has come to be known as *The Rites of Durham*, reflecting its primary interest for scholars. It is one of the earliest testimonies to the conceptual shift Evangelicals effected. Individuals remembered specific altars, windows, chapels – discrete things. The "church" had become a box containing objects and dead bodies,[2] within which the faithful gathered. It was no longer a *place* of worship.[3] It was no longer a made world.[4] In Part II, we turn to the acts that sundered. Here let me simply underline, Evangelicals did not simply recast altarpieces and eternal lamps as mere matter, "objects." They tore apart the fabric of what Durand and medieval European Christians understood *ecclesia* to be. Far more than altar or vestment, the word – *ecclesia*, iglesia, église, Kirche, kerk, kirk, church – altered irrevocably in its content in the sixteenth century.[5]

[1] Claxton 2020, 1. On the text, see the Introduction. See also Spinks 2019.

[2] In the following analysis, I have chosen to preserve the Latin words *ecclesia*, *res*, *gesta*, *ostium*, and *ornamenta* to retain the distance of Durand's use from our shared understanding of the English words usually used to translate them. In the case of *materia*, I preserve the Latin word for Durand's use, but use the modern English translation, matter, for modern understandings.

[3] The conception of place I develop in this chapter has its roots in conversations with Robert D. Sack. Most immediately pertinent among his work is Sack 1997. As will become clear, my use of the term differs from Sack's, principally in that, for Durand, place-making was never an exclusively human activity. The place that medieval Christians made was inseparable from the world God had created. But the concept of place helps us to overcome the severances both of human beings from where they worship and of images from buildings, naves from altars, vestments from choir screens. Jonathan Z. Smith articulates a different sense of "place," and its relationship to Scripture, than I do here: "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre requires relations of equivalence, indeed, of identity; . . . the *loci* of text and topography become one," Smith 1987, 86, 89.

[4] For a sense of the sheer density and also physicality of churches in the landscape, see Morris 1989 and Jürgensen 2018.

[5] "In my translation, I have made a distinction between Durand's two senses of the word *ecclesia*. The lowercase spelling (church) is reserved for the generic church building, while the uppercase (Church) applies to the universal Church, or body of believers," footnote 1 to chapter 1, William Durand, RDOE1, 111. Unless otherwise noted, I have relied on Thibodeau's translations, but I have set as lower case *all* uses of the word, "church."

We are, all of us, heirs to sixteenth-century severances. They are the bedrock of modern scholarship, beginning with the disciplinary division of church history from the histories of architecture, art, and music.[6] Sixteenth-century severances are the necessary antecedent to the approach to the material traces of past devotional life in terms of "style," from John Ruskin's efforts to delineate national styles through those dozens of art books that gather sumptuous photographs of exteriors and interiors in volumes titled Romanesque or Gothic.[7] Hans Sedlmayr's conception of a "Gesamtkunstwerk," a whole work of art, which sought to restore a lost integrity, construed that integrity in terms of human intention and what can be seen.[8] The emphasis on style does not simply direct our eyes to the shape of a window, the height of a nave, or the buttressing of walls. It approaches the place as fixed, set, as well as intentionally homogenous. It obscures the essential dynamism of "church" – the ongoing making of the place of worship which the Abbot Suger documented so famously.[9] It severs the building from its living community spatially, conceptually, and temporally. As Michael T. Davis wrote some twenty years ago, it is to conceptualize churches "as a neat developmental arc of form and structure into which an enormous number of buildings can be slotted."[10] A focus on style thus also reinforces a sense of the place as diachronic: Its history is linear and coterminous with the construction of the building and the "addition" of images. Evangelicals did not simply dismantle altarpiece from clerestory, altar from nave, choir from choir; they severed the building from liturgy and Scripture and the multiple kinds of time that each articulated – for all of us.

Erwin Panofsky's *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* formed a bridge from one line of analysis, rooted in aesthetics, to another, grounded in Luther's conception of allegory – as the human imposition of meaning on inert matter. In *Gothic Architecture*, Panofsky drew on principles of scholasticism, the method of theologians, to interpret features of cathedrals such as Saint-Denis, Reims, and Durham.[11] In work on images, Panofsky developed the method of "iconography," which shared with work on "symbolism" the fundamental assumption that meaning is something human beings give to matter.[12] That meaning, as Joseph Sauer argued, might be found in Scripture, but it was the transposition of a human reading of the text to inert matter; matter itself did not

[6] There are path-breaking exceptions to these divisions. See, for example, Wright 1989; Weilandt 2007; Fassler 2010a; Jung 2013; Nickson 2015.

[7] For a recent discussion of approaching churches in terms of style, see Murray 2015. On the problems of correlating glass and architectural style, see Pastan 2019.

[8] Hans Sedlmayr provides a genealogy of this understanding of the cathedral, Sedlmayr 1950, 13–20. More recently, Roland Recht has argued for "the cathedral as a system of seeing," preserving the sense of the unity of building, images, and thought, Recht 2008. "The copious chaos which so many medieval buildings present us always proves resistant to our attempts at unifying reorganization because fragmentation and semiotic overlay are part and parcel of their historical reality," Crossley 2009, 172. For succinct and compelling critiques of approaching churches as unities, see also Crossley 1988; Caviness 1995.

[9] Suger 1979 (1946).

[10] Davis 1999, 415.

[11] Panofsky 1957.

[12] See, for example, Panofsky 1955. For a succinct summary of critiques of iconography, see Crossley 2009, 158–162. For an exploration of the relationship between Panofsky's study of Gothic architecture and iconography, see Sherer 2020.

communicate.[13] In work on both iconography and symbolism, matter was the inert recipient of human meaning-making. "Meaning" was dense, multilayered, interreferential among a wide array of texts, but it was both human in origin and applied to stone, pigment, wood, precious metals, and glass.

Recovering what "the church" was for late medieval Christians, then, requires more than simply putting back together what we now construe as discrete pieces – images and nave, altar and clerestory. It requires more than restoring the living connections between place and people, though that, too, is essential to the work of this chapter. It requires that we set aside modern categories of architecture, art, or church history. It requires that we set aside more fundamentally modern physics and recall that, for medieval European Christians, *materia* was shared by all that we now treat discretely: person and place, image and altar, window and stone. For Durand, "the church" was no box, nor was it inert.

As we can see in these two examples of early printed editions of the *Rationale* (Figures 1 and 2), for Durand, *ecclesia* was the entrance to the liturgy: *De ecclesia et eius partibus*, "On (the) church and its parts," is the first book of the *Rationale*, immediately following the Proem.[14] He accorded the place of worship far more significance than had Amalar of Metz (c. 775–c. 850), who had taken up the interplay of the body of the faithful and their place of worship very briefly in his discussion of Terce, or Jean Beleth in the twelfth century, who was more concerned with time than with place.[15] He shared with Sicard of Cremona (1155–1215) a sense of the "parts of the church" as encompassing stones, mortar, windows, doors, chancel, columns, beams, cemeteries, towers, and the rooster on the roof, as well as preachers, but Sicard treated altars, the word "church," as well as the dedication and the reconciliation of a church apart from the "parts" of a church.[16] Durand offered a different conceptualization.

As these two fifteenth-century editions make visible, Durand's sense of "church" was more expansive. Indeed, it is not possible in the limited space of a single chapter to consider all that Durand held to belong to church: We shall not be looking at the hall, towers, dome, beams, stalls, timber, roof tiles, spiral stairs, sacristy, basin next to the altar, cloister, work area, episcopal seat, or convent, all of which Durand treats in the first chapter of Book I, all of which are encompassed in his sense of church. I treat altars in a separate chapter, because they are the site of the Eucharist and because they were themselves complex materially; Durand encompassed them within the book on the church.

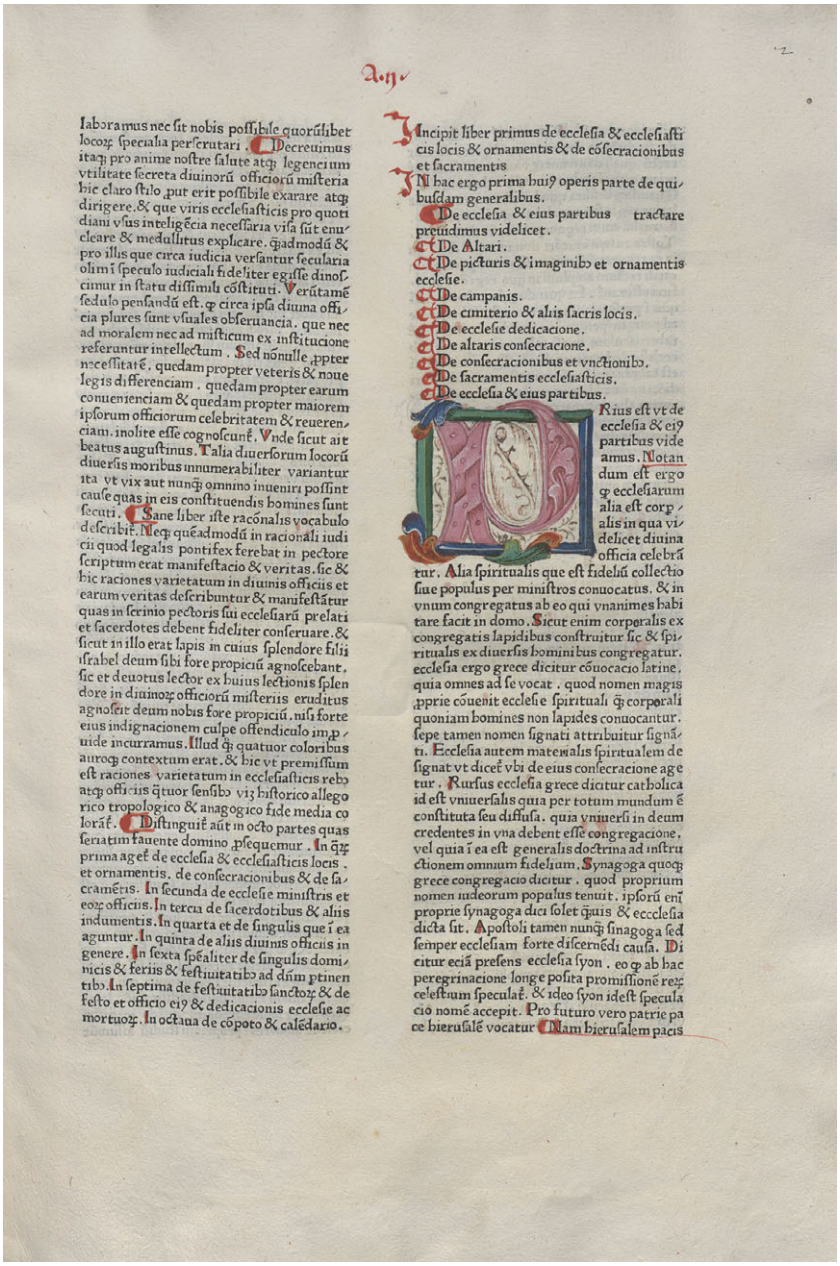
As these two editions also intimate visually, Durand encompassed in his sense of church "parts" that presented a puzzle. What *is* the relationship of church to parts? Is it discrete bullet points, a list, as in the Strasbourg edition, or a whole that moves from first sentence to last, a paragraph, as in the Rome edition? The parts are discrete chapters;

[13] "Symbol ist nichts anderes als ein Bild zur Darstellung eines Gedankens oder eine Thatsache (sic), die nicht notwendig und ohne weiteres aus dem Begriff jenes Bildes sich ergeben," Sauer 1964, 2. Sauer collected "symbolist" readings of churches and their parts from a wide range of medieval sources, foremost Honorius, Sicard, and Durand, as well as Rabanus Maurus, Amalar, and others. Van der Ploeg locates liturgy within Siena Cathedral, but, again, the church is the product of human choices, Van der Ploeg 1993.

[14] Figure 1 is held by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV035636096. Figure 2 is held by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV035636209, both accessed August 18, 2024. On Book I as "a treatise on ecclesiology," see Holmes 2011.

[15] Amalar of Metz, *On the Liturgy*, 322–327; *Ioannis Beleth Svmma de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*.

[16] *Sicardi Cremonensis Episcopi Mitralis de Officiis*, 13–23.



laboramus nec sit nobis possibile quorūlibet locoꝝ specialia perscrutari. ¶ Decreuimus itaq; pro anime nostre salute atq; legencium vtilitate secreta diuinorū officiorū misteria hic claro stilo ,put erit possibile exarare atq; dirigere. & que viris ecclesiasticis pro quotidiani vsus intelligēcia necessaria visa sūt enucleare & medullitus explicare. q̄admodū & pro illis que circa iudicia versantur secularia olim i speculo iudiciali fideliter egisse dinoscimur in statu dissimili cōstituti. Verūtamē sedulo pensandū est. q̄ circa ipsa diuina officia plures sunt vsuales obseruancia. que nec ad moralem nec ad misticum ex institucione referuntur intellectum. Sed nōnulle ,ppter necessitatē, quedam propter veteris & noue legis differenciam. quedam propter earum conuenienciam & quedam propter maiorem ipsorum officiorum celebritatem & reuerenciam. inolite esse cognoscunt. Vnde sicut ait beatus augustinus. Talia diuersorum locorū diuersis moribus innumerabiliter variantur ita vt vix aut nunq̄ omnino inueniri possint cause quas in eis constituendis homines sunt secuti. ¶ Sane liber iste racōnalis vocabulo describit. Nec q̄ quē admodū in racionali iudicii quod legalis pontifex ferebat in pectore scriptum erat manifestacio & veritas. sic & hic raciones varietatum in diuinis officiis et earum veritas describuntur & manifestātur quas in scrinio pectoris sui ecclesiarū prelati et sacerdotes debent fideliter conseruare. & sicut in illo erat lapis in cuius splendore filii israhel deum sibi fore propiciū agnoscebant, sic et deuotus lector ex huius lectionis splendore in diuinoꝝ officiorū misteriis eruditus agnoscit deum nobis fore propiciū. nisi forte eius indignacionem culpe offendiculo imp̄uide incurramus. Illud q̄ quatuor coloribus auroq; contextum erat. & hic vt premissum est raciones varietatum in ecclesiasticis rebus atq; officiis q̄tuor sensibus vi3 historico allegorico tropologico & anagogico fide media colorāt. ¶ Distinguit aūt in octo partes quas seriatim fauente domino ,psequemur. In q̄z prima agit de ecclesia & ecclesiasticis locis. et ornamentis. de consecracionibus & de sacrāmēntis. In secunda de ecclesie ministris et eoꝝ officiis. In tercia de sacerdotibus & aliis indumentis. In quarta et de singulis que i ea aguntur. In quinta de aliis diuinis officiis in genere. In sexta spēaliter de singulis dominicis & feriis & festiuitatibus ad dim̄ ptinentibus. In septima de festiuitatibus sanctoꝝ & de festo et officio eiꝝ & dedicationis ecclesie ac mortuoꝝ. In octaua de cōputo & calēdario.

Incipit liber primus de ecclesia & ecclesiasticis locis & ornamentis & de cōsecracionibus et sacramentis

In hac ergo prima huiꝰ operis parte de quibusdam generalibus.

¶ De ecclesia & eius partibus tractare preiudimus videlicet.

¶ De Altari.

¶ De picturis & imaginibꝰ et ornamentis ecclesie.

¶ De campanis.

¶ De cimiterio & aliis sacris locis.

¶ De ecclesie dedicacione.

¶ De altaris consecracione.

¶ De consecracionibus et vnctionibꝰ.

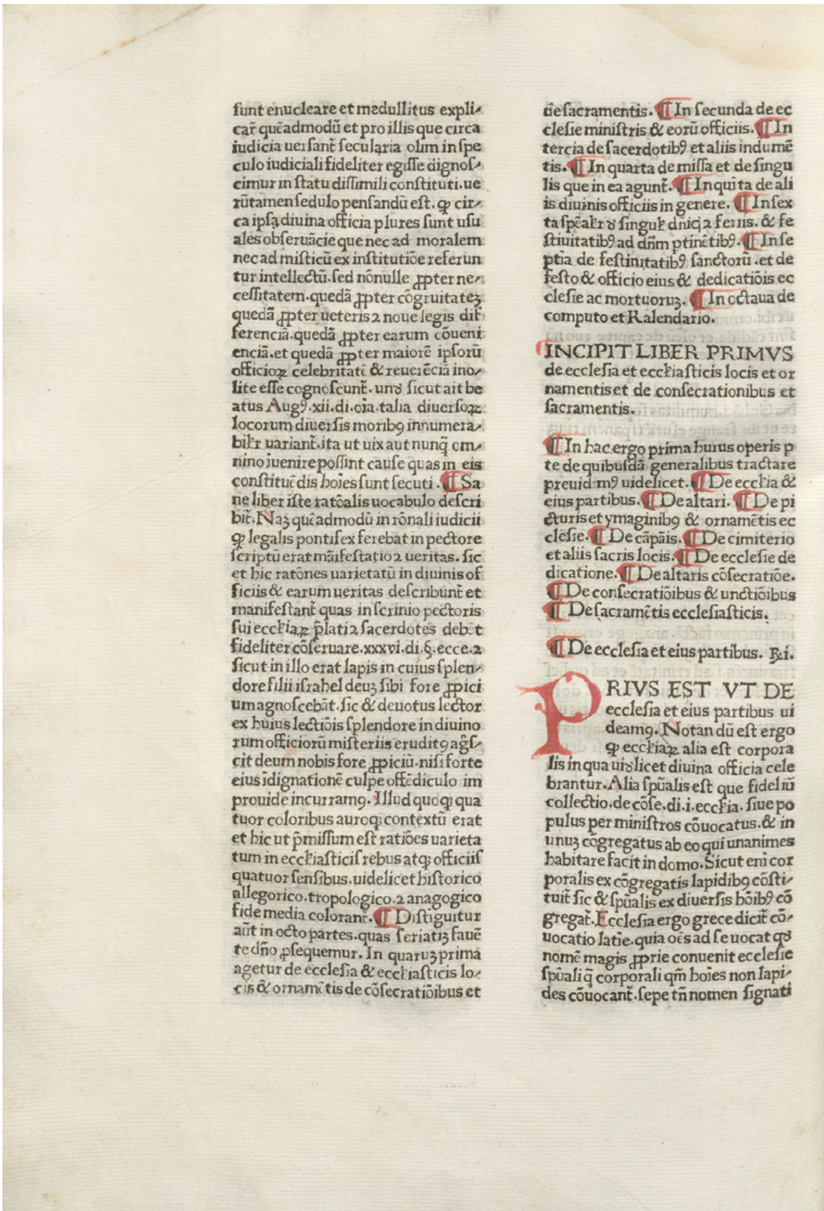
¶ De sacramentis ecclesiasticis.

¶ De ecclesia & eius partibus.

Rius est vt de ecclesia & eiꝰ partibus videamus. Notandum est ergo q̄ ecclesiarum alia est corporalis in qua videlicet diuina officia celebrātur. Alia spiritualis que est fidelium collectio siue populus per ministros conuocatus. & in vnum congregatus ab eo qui vnanimes habitare facit in domo. Sicut enim corporalis ex congregatis lapidibus constituitur sic & spiritualis ex diuersis hominibus congregatur. ecclesia ergo grece dicitur cōuocacio latine. quia omnes ad se vocat. quod nomen magis ,pprie cōuenit ecclesie spirituali q̄ corporali quoniam homines non lapides conuocantur. sepe tamen nomen signati attribuitur signāti. Ecclesia autem materialis spiritualem designat vt dicet vbi de eius consecracione agetur. Rursus ecclesia grece dicitur catholica id est vniuersalis quia per totum mundum ē constituta seu diffusa. quia vniuersi in deum credentes in vna debent esse congregacione. vel quia i ea est generalis doctrina ad instructionem omnium fidelium. Synagoga quoq; grece congregacio dicitur. quod proprium nomen iudeorum populus tenuit. ipsorū enī proprie synagoga dici solet q̄uis & ecclesia dicta sit. Apostoli tamen nunq̄ synagoga sed semper ecclesiam forte discernēdi causa. Dicitur ecia presens ecclesia syon. eo q̄ ab hac peregrinacione longe posita promissione rez celestium speculat. & ideo syon idest speculacio nomē accepit. Pro futuro vero patrie pace hierusalē vocatur ¶ Nam hierusalem pacis

FIGURE 1 William Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum* ([Strasbourg], not after 1474), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Inc. s.a.386, f. aii *Source*: Photo courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

they also constitute the whole of Book I, the title of which binds them all together. And modern readers may be even more puzzled when we turn to just what the "parts" were for Durand: altars; pictures, images, and ornaments of churches; bells; the cemetery and other sacred and religious loci; the dedication of the church; the dedication of the altar;


ſunt enucleare et medullitus expli-
caṙ queadmodũ et pro illis que circa
iudicia uerſanṫ ſecularia olim in ſpe
culo iudiciali fideliter egiſſe dignoſ-
cimur in ſtatu diſſimili conſtituti. ue
rũtamen ſedulo penſandũ eſt. ꝙ cir-
ca ipſa diuina officia plures ſunt uſu
ales obſeruãcie que nec ad moralem
nec ad miſticũ ex inſtitutiõe referun
tur intellectũ. ſed nõnulle ꝓpter ne-
ceſſitatem. quedã ꝓpter cõgruitateꝫ
quedã ꝓpter ueteris ⁊ noue legis dif
ferenciã. quedã ꝓpter earum cõueni
enciã. et quedã ꝓpter maiorẽ ipſorũ
officioꝝ celebritatẽ & reuerẽciã ino-
lite eſſe cognoſcunṫ. unđ ſicut ait be
atus Aug9. xii. di. oĩa. talia diuerſoꝝ
locorum diuerſis moribꝰ innumera-
biłr uarianṫ. ita ut uix aut nunq̃ om-
nino iuenire poſſint cauſe quas in eis
conſtituẽdis hoĩes ſunt ſecuti. ¶ Sa
ne liber iſte ratõalis uocabulo deſcri
biṫ. Naꝫ queadmodũ in rõnali iudicii
ꝙ legalis pontifex ferebat in pectore
ſcriptũ erat mãifeſtatio ⁊ ueritas. ſic
et hic ratõnes uarietatũ in diuinis of
ficiis & earum ueritas deſcribunṫ et
manifeſtanṫ quas in ſcrinio pectoris
ſui eccłiaꝝ p̃lati ⁊ ſacerdotes debet
fideliter cõſeruare. xxxvi. di. §. ecce. ⁊
ſicut in illo erat lapis in cuius ſplen-
dore filii iſrahel deuꝫ ſibi fore ꝓpici
um agnoſcebãt. ſic & deuotus lector
ex huius lectiõis ſplendore in diuino
rum officiorũ miſteriis eruditꝰ agſ-
cit deum nobis fore ꝓpiciũ. niſi forte
eius ĩdignationẽ culpe offẽdiculo im
prouide incurramꝰ. Illud quoq; qua
tuor coloribus auroq; contextũ erat
et hic ut p̃miſſum eſt ratiões uarieta
tum in eccłiaſticiſ rebus atq; officiiſ
quatuor ſenſibus. uidelicet hiſtorico
allegorico. tropologico. ⁊ anagogico
fide media coloranṫ. ¶ Diſtiguitur
aũt in octo partes. quas ſeriatiꝫ fauẽ
te dño ꝓſequemur. In quaruꝫ prima
agetur de eccleſia & eccłiaſticis lo-
cis & ornamẽtis de cõſecratiõibus et
de ſacramentis. ¶ In ſecunda de ec
cleſie miniſtris & eorũ officiis. ¶ In
tercia de ſacerdotibꝰ et aliis indumẽ
tis. ¶ In quarta de miſſa et de ſingu
lis que in ea agunṫ. ¶ In quinta de ali
is diuinis officiis in genere. ¶ In ſex
ta ſpẽałr đ ſinguł dnicꝭ ⁊ feriis. & fe
ſtiuitatibꝰ ad dñm ptinẽtibꝰ. ¶ In ſe
ptĩa de feſtiuitatibꝰ ſanctorũ. et de
feſto & officio eius & dedicatiõis ec
cleſie ac mortuoruꝫ. ¶ In octaua de
computo et Kalendario.

INCIPIT LIBER PRIMVS
de eccleſia et eccłiaſticis locis et or
namentis et de conſecrationibus et
ſacramentis.

¶ In hac ergo prima huius operis p
te de quibuſdã generalibus tractare
preuidimꝰ uidelicet. ¶ De eccłia &
eius partibus. ¶ De altari. ¶ De pi
cturis et ymaginibꝰ & ornamẽtis ec
cleſie. ¶ De cãpãis. ¶ De cimiterio
et aliis ſacris locis. ¶ De eccleſie de
dicatione. ¶ De altaris cõſecratiõe.
¶ De conſecratiõibus & unctiõibus
¶ De ſacramẽtis eccleſiaſticis.

¶ De eccleſia et eius partibus. R̷i.

PRIVS EST VT DE
eccleſia et eius partibus ui
deamꝰ. Notandũ eſt ergo
ꝙ eccłiaꝝ alia eſt corpora
lis in qua uiđlicet diuina officia cele
brantur. Alia ſpũalis eſt que fideliũ
collectio. de cõſe. di. i. eccłia. ſiue po
pulus per miniſtros cõuocatus. & in
unuꝫ cõgregatus ab eo qui unanimes
habitare facit in domo. Sicut eni cor
poralis ex cõgregatis lapidibꝰ cõſti-
tuiṫ ſic & ſpũalis ex diuerſis hõibꝰ cõ
gregaṫ. Eccleſia ergo grece diciṫ cõ-
uocatio latie. quia oẽs ad ſe uocat qđ
nomẽ magis ꝓprie conuenit eccleſie
ſpũali q̃ corporali qm̃ hoĩes non lapi-
des cõuocanṫ. ſepe tñ nomen ſignati

FIGURE 2 William Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (Rome: Georg Lauer, 1477), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Inc. c.a.611, f. ii^{v} *Source*: Photo courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

consecrations and unctions; the sacraments of the church.[17] Altars are one part of a church, bells another, but so too are unctions, dedications, and sacraments. What is "the church" that all these constitute?

[17] "In hac ergo prima huius operis parte de quibusdam generalibus tractare preuidimus, uidelicet: De ecclesia et eius partibus. De altari. De picturis et ymaginibus et ornamentis ecclesie. De campanis. De cimiterio

ECCLESIA

In the first paragraphs of Book I, Durand took up the Greek word, *ecclesia*, and its valences. For him, from the outset, one word referred sometimes to the "corporeal, namely in which the Divine Office is celebrated," sometimes (*alia est . . . alia est*) to "the spiritual which is the gathering of the faithful, or the people called together through ministers by him who makes them to live of one accord in [his] house [*domo*]."[18] The corporeal was no mere symbol of the spiritual, and certainly not in merely textual terms.[19]

In his opening paragraphs, Durand built a sense of the word, *ecclesia*, as a locus for referents, allusions, affiliations, and connotations.[20] He gathered and did not seek to order, organize, or prioritize an abundance of scriptural referents: the Body of Christ, a virgin, the bride of Christ, a mother, a daughter, a widow, a city.[21] For him, *ecclesia* recalled, evoked, and instantiated scriptural loci. For him, place and people were woven together through references that cast the relationship between them variously. There was not, in other words, just one relationship between place and people but a density of distinctive relationships.

Durand affiliated a range of human acts with *ecclesia*: pilgrimage, contemplation, peace, moral uprightness, subjecthood to God, the offering of sacrifices, eating and drinking, martyrdom, celibacy, enclosure, vesting, refuge, prayer, living under a rule, preaching.[22] The relationship between human action and place was not one of definition – neither pilgrimage nor prayer, for example, were restricted to any physical

et aliis sacris et religiosis locis. De ecclesie dedication. De alteris consecration. De consecrationibus et unctionibus. De ecclesiasticis sacramentis." Book I, RDOL1, 11. In the modern translation, the Proem, given the more familiar translation, "Prologue," is separated from Book I, which is preceded by a page with the title of Book I, "On the Church Building and Ecclesiastical Property and Furnishings; On Consecrations and the Sacraments," RDOE1, 9.

[18] "1. Prius est ut de ecclesia et eius partibus uideamus. Notandum est igitur quod ecclesiarum alia est corporalis in quia uidelicet diuina officia celebrantur, alia spiritualis que est fidelium collectio, siue populus per ministros conuocatus et in unum congregatus ab eo, qui unamimes habitare facit in domo," Book I, I, RDOL1, 11. On the many conceptions of *ecclesia* in terms of *convocatio*, see Congar 1968. See also, Dix 1945, 19–27. For other readings of Book I of the *Rationale*, see Sauer 1964; Suntrup 2018.

[19] Kendall takes up the church building as allegory, but, following Henri de Lubac, construes allegory as a textual practice, Kendall 1998, 3–18.

[20] Carruthers takes up "The place of the Tabernacle" to explore monastic rhetoric and the buildings themselves, Carruthers 1998, ch. 5.

[21] Book I, 1, 4, RDOL1, 13. On Mary as a symbol of the church, see foremost Fassler 2010a, 205–241.

[22] Book I, ch. 1, para. 4, RDOE1, 12. "4. Dicitur etiam presens Ecclesia Syon, eo quod ab hac peregrinatione longe posita promissionem rerum celestium speculator, et idea Syon, id est speculatio, nomen accepit. Pro futura uero patrie pace Ierusalem uocatur, nam Ierusalem uisio pacis interpretatur. Dicitur etiam ecclesia domus Dei, sic dicta a dogmate quod grece dicitur rectum, quasi dans maxime unanimes in se. Dicitur etiam quandoque kyriaca, id est dominicalis; quandoque basilica, quod uerbum grece sonat latine regia seu regalis a rege, scilicet basilio; carnalium enim regum palatia sic dicta sunt, nostra autem orationis domus regia dicitur quia in ea regum regi seruitur. Quandoque templum, quasi tectum amplum, in quo regi Deo sacrificial offeruntur. Quandoque Dei tabernaculum quia in presenti uita peregrina est et in intinere ad patriam pergens ut iam dicetur; uel dicitur tabernaculum, quasi taberna Dei, prout sub *Ecclesie dedicatione* dicetur; quare etiam dictum est tabernaculum uel archa testimonii sub Altari dicetur. Quandoque martyrium quando in honorem alicuius martyris sit; quandoque capella prout in secunda parte sub tractatu *De sacerdote* dicitur; quandoque cenobium, quandoque sacrarium, quandoque sacellum, quandoque domus orationis, quandoque monasterium et quandoque oratorium," RDOL1, 12–13.

structure, nor did any one of these acts define the space. Pilgrimage, for example, was both a somatic, spatial practice, of human beings moving across the face of the earth, and also one of the ways medieval Christians, following Augustine, conceptualized the movement of the soul.[23] A cornucopia of meanings connected living human community and place complexly and dynamically.

Durand took up the *res* of stone to articulate other dimensions of the complex relationship between living human communities and place.[24] There was the analogy between the corporeal church built from stones and the spiritual church built from diverse human beings.[25] But Durand did not leave the relationship as one of analogy.[26] The *res* of stone far more complexly linked human action, place, and Scripture:

> 9. Indeed, the material church in which the people have come to praise God signifies the holy church in heaven, constructed of living stones. This is the Lord's house, firmly built, whose foundation is Christ, the cornerstone; the foundation upon whom have been placed the Apostles and Prophets, just as it is written: His foundations on the holy mountains. Those built up walls are the Jews and the Gentiles, coming to Christ from the four corners of the world, who have believed, continue to believe, and will believe in Him. Moreover, those faithful who are predestined for life are the stones in this structure whose walls will continue to be built until the end of this world. Stone is placed on top of stone when the teachers of the church attend to the education of her children, for their teaching, correction, and fortification in the holy church. He who takes upon himself the burden of his brother carries a stone, so to speak, for the construction of the church. The bigger stones, and the polished or square ones that are placed on the outside wall – in the middle of which lie the smaller ones – are the more perfected men whose merits and prayers sustain the weaker men in the holy church.[27]

Res gestae, a term Durand invokes in his discussion of images and to which we return later,[28] also helps us to conceive of *ecclesia* not as stone walls within which human beings meet but as encompassing both human acts and place. The tomb of San Vicente in Ávila, to take one example, depicts the *gesta* of Saint Vincent that made his life holy

[23] In 2017, a group of art historians sought to enact the embodied experience of pilgrimage, with specific attention to a number of churches, Foletti, Kravčíková, Rosenbergová, and Palladino 2018. See also Eade 2020. On Augustine's conception of pilgrimage, see most recently Steward-Kroeker 2017.

[24] See Renzo Piano's reflections on the way stone connects a church to place in Kieckhefer 2004, 19–20.

[25] "Sicut enim corporalis ex congregatis lapidibus construitur, sic et spiritualis ex diuresis hominibus congregator," Book I, I, RDOL1, 11.

[26] "2. Ecclesia ergo grece dicitur, conuocatio latine, quia omnes ad se uocat, quod nomen magis proprie conuenit Ecclesie spirituali quam corporali quoniam homines non lapides conuocatur; sepe tamen nomen significati attribuitur significant Ecclesia autem materialis spiritualem designat," RDOL1, 11–12.

[27] Book I, ch. 1, para. 9, RDOE1, 14. "9. Siquidem ecclesia materialis in qua populus ad laudandum Deum conuenit sanctam significat Ecclesiam que in celis uiuis ex lapidibus construitur. Hed est domus Domini firmiter edificata cuius fundamentum est angularis lapis Christus super quo fundamento positum est fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum sicut scriptum est: Fundamenta eius in montibus sanctis. Superedificati parietes Iudei sunt et gentiles de quatuor mundi partibus ad Christum uenientes et qui per eos crediderunt seu credunt et credent; fideles autem ad uitam predestinati sunt lapides in structura huius muri qui semper usque in finem huus mundi edificabitur. Lapis uero super lapidem ponitur quando magistri Ecclesie iuniores in proprium stadium assumunt ad docendum et ad corrigendum et stabiliendum in sancta Ecclesia. Habet lapidem super se ad ferendum pro edificio quicumque laborem fraternum portat. Grossiores uero lapides et politi sue quadrati, qui ponuntur altrinsecus foris in quorum medio minores lapides iacent, sunt uiri perfectiores qui suis meritis et orationibus continent infirmiores in sancta Ecclesia." RDOL1, 15. Cf. Amalar of Metz, *On the Liturgy*, II, Book 4.3, esp. at 322–327.

[28] See I, 3, 1, RDOL1, 34–35.

and led to the founding of the church named for him in honor of his martyrdom, where, in turn, his acts, now rendered in stone, surround his tomb (see Plate 2).[29] The walls of Saint James in Tramin bear murals: in the apse, of the apostles; along the nave, of the Passion; in a side chapel, of the Crucifixion; along the north wall, of David beheading Goliath; along the south, of James appearing to pilgrims – all *gestae* constitutive of a church along the route to Compostela.[30]

Without human acts both holy and more modest, the stone walls, floor, wooden beams, stained glass windows, apse, and altar were not a church.[31] The relationship of acts and place was, moreover, ongoing: It did not end with the completion of a roof, a bell tower, a chapel, the windows.[32] And indeed, one of the problems we face in this chapter is verb tense. We consider a way of understanding *ecclesia* that belongs fully to the past and would, in the usual practice of historical writing, demand the past tense, if not the pluperfect. But for Durand, churches *are* ongoing, present continuous tense. They are made not by a finite set of acts but within the dynamic of faithful and place. For Durand, *ecclesia* is a layering of human action which the stones at once materialize and represent: materializing the formal preparation of the ground, laying the first stone, building the walls; and representing the acts of Christian virtue by which the church is manifested in the world. Churches are not one *res gesta* but built of *res gestae*; they are fixed neither materially nor in their meaning but, as we shall return to later, themselves materialize the *redundantia*, the overflowing, of divine revelation, which is ongoing, not set in a past moment, not fixed in form or location. For Durand, but not for us, "church" is present tense. In what follows, the use of past tense also marks that divide.

FOUNDATIONS

> A church must therefore be built as follows: after having prepared the place of its foundation, according to the text "The Lord's house is well established on a solid rock," the bishop or priest who has permission to preside, sprinkles it with holy water to banish thenceforth the demonic spirits, and places the principal stone, into which a cross is imprinted, on the foundation.[33]

Before there was a building, there was a place.[34] Before the first stone was laid, the ground was exorcised of demonic phantasms that, Durand intimated, might be found

[29] Camps 2002.

[30] Friedrich 2014.

[31] Such a sense of the place might also lead to a different reading of Villard de Honnecourt, Bechmann 1991.

[32] "Nos sumus hodierna die in structura huius muri, qui semper aedificabitur usque ad finem mundi," Amalar of Metz, *On the Liturgy*, II, 322.

[33] Book I, RDOE1, 14. "Est autem ecclesia sic edificanda: parato namque fundamenti loco iuxta illud: 'Bene fundata est domus Domini super firmam petram', debet episcopus uel sacerdos de eius licentia, ibi aquam aspergere benedictam ad abigendas inde demonum fantasias, et primarium lapidem, cui impressa sit crux, in fundamento ponere," RDOL1, 14. Cf. Abbot Suger, *De consecration*, "cum primum ipsi episcopi ex aqua benedicta dedicationis factae proximo quinto idus junii propriis confecissent manibus cementum, primos lapides imposuerunt, hymnum Deo dicentes, et *Fundamenta ejus* [Psalm LXXXVI] usque ad finem psalmi solemniter decantantes. Ipse enim serenissimus rex intus descendens propriis minibus suum imposuit; nos quoque, et multi alii tam abbates quam religiosi viri lapides suos imposuerunt; quidam etiam gemmas, ob amorem et reverentiam Jesu Christi, decantantes: *Lapides preciosi omnes muri tui*," Suger 1979, 102–103.

[34] See, for example, Gittos 2013, esp. ch. 2. For an exploration of foundation, see Schraven and Delbeke 2012.

anywhere. The person who so cleansed the ground had himself already been transformed through the sacrament of ordination into a lineage with Christ. Beneath the floor, beneath the columns, beneath the walls was ground cleansed by a priest, in a ritual linked to baptism through the *materia* of water.

Durand's sense of stone also helps us to conceptualize the relationship of martyrs to churches. The buildings now held to be the oldest churches were not built for Christians but for the Roman Empire. The oldest buildings made as the place for Christian worship were materially interwoven with the lives and deaths of martyrs.[35] Some, most famously Saint Peter's Basilica, were expressly built on the site where the martyr, in this case, Peter, *petrus*/rock, was held to have been buried. Saint Peter's Basilica remains singular in its sedimentation of shrines to the stone, *petrus*, who served as foundation for the Church. Many more sought the relics, the material remains, of one or more martyrs and "translated" them to the place of worship, sometimes at the time of foundation – when the relics would then be placed in the high altar that gave the place its name and patron – sometimes, as in the case of Saint-Denis, afterwards.[36]

The first exorcism did not make the place sacred, in the sense that the ground had materially changed. The ground had been cleansed. Sanctity, like *ecclesia*, was inseparable from human action – it was always being made, closer to a praxis than to a definitive act. The human beings who were in that place could pollute it, desecrate it, destroy its sanctity. Durand warned, for example, against founding a church through usurious endowment. In such a case, the building's very foundation was not only sinful but evil – precluding it ever becoming a place of worship.[37] That first exorcism, as Durand detailed in Chapter 6 on the dedication of the church, might have to be repeated. Each church was vulnerable to "pollution": through the entrance of a polluted person, such as a woman menstruating or someone who had touched a cadaver and not yet been cleansed. It could be polluted through "flagrant or libidinous acts of sins – on account of adultery, if it is committed there, or because of fornication, and generally with anyone's seed emitted there: namely, with a married or unmarried woman; a cleric or layman; a heretic or a pagan; with natural or unnatural practices."[38] Licit sex between married persons as well as homicide, "with or without bloodshed," and "any other sort of violence short of homicide that has taken place there that involves the shedding of human blood," theft or rape, even violence against a corpse all defiled a church, as did the burial of a nonbeliever or someone who had been excommunicated.[39] All, according to Durand, required that the church be "reconciled," that is, cleansed. Human and stone, each was made of *materia* that could be deformed. Generations of human beings continued in ongoing actions to make the place a church. What that first

[35] On the exception of the Lateran, see Bacci 2016.

[36] On the translation of relics, see Geary 1990. On the martyr Saint Firmin and Amiens, see Murray 2021, 19–23. Translations of relics also involved those of later saints, such as Elizabeth of Thuringia, Köstler 1995, 15–23. On relics and the foundation of churches, see Brenk 2016.

[37] Book I, 6, 3, RDOL1, 65.

[38] Book I, 6, 39, RDOE1, 73. "39. Item propter adulterium ibi commissum et propter fornicationem et generaliter cuiuscumque semine, scilicet maris uel femine, clerici uel laici, heretici uel pagani, naturaliter siue innaturaliter, studiose et peccandi libidine ibi emisso fuerit polluta," RDOL1, 79.

[39] Book I, 6, 40–42, RDOE1, 73–75. RDOL1, 80–81.

stone marked was inseparable from the lives, centuries later, of those who entered the space the stones delineated.

> 43. The scandal, horror and abomination of indecent, sinful, and violent acts having been committed in a sacred place or in a church where one asks for pardon for sins, where one seeking refuge should have protection, where the saving Host is immolated for sins, Leviticus, chapter 14, where those who are fleeing are saved, and where praises are offered to God – occasion the reconciliation, as does the intention and the will to commit mortal sin there. If these things are done in secret, it is not necessary to reconcile it, because the church, since it is holy, cannot be defiled, or rather, the infamy of the deed cannot destroy the sanctity of the place; still, others think the opposite about this, that it should at least be reconciled in secret so that the wrongdoers are not publicly revealed.
>
> 44. And the reconciliation is done as an example and to cause fear, so that those seeing a church, which in no way has sinned, being washed and purified of the sin of another, will think to themselves how much more should they labor in the expiation of their own sins.[40]

If Durand was ambivalent as to what extent the sanctity of a church was vulnerable, he was clear as to the need to observe the boundaries that the first exorcism had inscribed on the earth. That exorcism helped to delineate a place for pardon, for refugees, for sanctuary, for the Eucharist, which, as such, was to be held apart.

Not only did persons make the place of worship, but the place of worship conformed to both each human body and the body of the faithful. The disposition of the material church "has the measure [*modum*] of the human body." The chancel, the locus of the altar, "represents" the head, the crossing, the arms and hands. The western part of the church could be seen as the rest of the body.[41] According to Richard of St.-Victor, Durand noted, the threefold physical arrangement of the church "signifies" the saved: the sanctuary signifies the order of virgins; the choir, the continent; the body, the congregants.[42] The corporeal church and the spiritual church were mutually referential: the one providing the enactments, the instantiations, of Christian virtue; the other providing both the map and the spatialization of the hierarchy of those virtues.

The dynamic between persons and place was multidimensional. The great cathedrals materialized the verticality – that sense that heaven was "above" – in the height of their walls relative to each person entering the space.[43] The walls, following Durand,

[40] Book I, 6, 43–44, RDOE1, 75. "43. Scandalum enim et horror atque abominatio de turpitudine et peccato atque de uiolentia in sacro loco siue in ecclesia commissis, ubi delictorum uenia postulator, ubi esse debet tutela refugii, ubi immolator salutaris hostia pro peccatis, Leuit. xiiii c., ubi etiam confugientes saluantur et Deo laudes exsoluuntur, reconciliationem inducunt et etiam propositum et uoluntas mortaliter ibi peccantis. Si uero occultum sit, reconciliari necesse non est, quoniam ecclesia cum sancta sit coinquinari non potest, immo ipsius loci sanctitas infamiam loci abolet, quamuis in hoc quidam contrarium sentient ut saltem occulte ita quod delinquents non prodantur sit reconcilianda. 44. Fit enim reconciliatio ad exemplum et terrorem, ut uidelicet uidentes ecclesiam que in nullo peccauit propter peccatum alterius lauari et purificari, existiment quantum propter suorum delictorum expiationem sit laborandum," RDOL1, 82.

[41] Book I, 1, 14, "Dispositio autem ecclesie materialis modum humani corporis tenet. Cancellus namque, siue locus ubi altare est, caput representat, crux et utraque parte brachia et manus, reliqua pars ab occidente quicquid corporis superesse uidetur," RDOL1, 17.

[42] Book I, I, 14, "Sed et secundum Ricardum de Sancto Victore dispositio ecclesise triplicem statum Ecclesia significat saluandorum; sanctuarium enim significat ordinem uirginum, chorus continentium, corpus coniugatorum," RDOL1, 17.

[43] See Jung's discussion of looking up, Jung 2020a, 32–33.

FIGURE 3 Strasbourg Cathedral, Wise and Foolish Virgins *Source*: Author.

materialized the building of the church as a human activity over generations, which, again, following the materiality of those walls, raised the church both as structure and in relationship to heaven. By the time Durand was writing, the ceilings of a number of churches, most famously the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua, had been painted with stars on a blue background.

And if we are to restore images to the fabric of each church, one place to begin might be with Durand's sense that they designate virtues – manifest and instantiate and exemplify:

> For a picture is seen to move the soul more than Scripture. Through a picture a *res gesta* is placed before the eyes as if it is seen in the present moment, but in Scripture it is heard, which moves the soul less, recalled to memory.[44]

Some, such as the murals in the Basilica of Saint Francis Assisi, rendered in line and pigment acts which were held to be constitutive of the holiness of a saint to whom the church was consecrated. In particular Durand called attention to sculpture, "which is seen to be marching forth from the walls of the church."[45] Some, such as the sculpted figures of the wise and foolish virgins that stood in the portals of churches, here, Strasbourg cathedral (Figure 3), expressed their virtues – or vices – facially and

[44] Book I, 3, 4, "Pictura namque plus uidetur mouere animum quam scriptura. Per picturam quidem res gesta ante oculos ponitur quasi in presenti generi uideatur, sed per scripturam res gesta quasi per auditum, qui minus animum mouet, ad memoriam reuocatur," RDOL1, 36. On Durand and images, see Faupel-Drevs 1998 and 2000; Schmidt 2021.

[45] Book I, 3, 22, "Ceterum sculpture prominentes de parietibus egredientes ecclesie uidentur," RDOL1, 41–42.

FIGURE 4: Altenstadt, Basilica St. Michael, crucifix *Source*: Author.

gesturally.[46] In rich variety – of media and of behaviors – images articulated the many *res gestae* which constituted *ecclesia*.

If human action was inseparable from the place of worship, the defining *res gesta* for all Christians, materialized in each church, was the Crucifixion. It was the orientation of thousands of churches across Europe. Ideally, a church's "head" was to look "towards the rising point of the equinoctial sun . . . it should not therefore face the rising point of the midsummer sun, as some do."[47] Not only was the "head" of the corporeal church to look toward a precise point on the eastern horizon, but those who gathered there, following that orientation of the place, faced toward Jerusalem, and with it Golgotha and the original cross (Figure 4).

The first stone laid for each church was to be imprinted with a cross – the first *res* of the church was signed with a cross. If the *res* of stone linked the place materially to Christ, the foundation of *ecclesia* in both senses, the cross was equally present in the very *materia* of each church. Here, too, Durand set in motion not equations but dynamics: The foundation of what modern readers would call the Church was signed by the cross on which Jesus had been crucified; that sign, in turn, was inscribed into the material foundation of where those who believed that death was both sacrifice and atonement gathered to worship.

The cross was also a space. Not all churches were formed in the shape of the cross but thousands were (Plate 1). In those churches, European Christians worshiped within, inside

[46] Jaeger 2000, Appendix A; Jung 2020a, chapter 4.

[47] Book I, 1, 8, RDOE1, 14. "8. Debet quoque sic fundari: ut caput recte inspiciat uersus orientem, de quo dicetur in prohemio quinte partis, uidelicet uersus ortum solis equinoctialem. . . et non uersus solsticialem, ut faciunt quidam," RDOL1, 15.

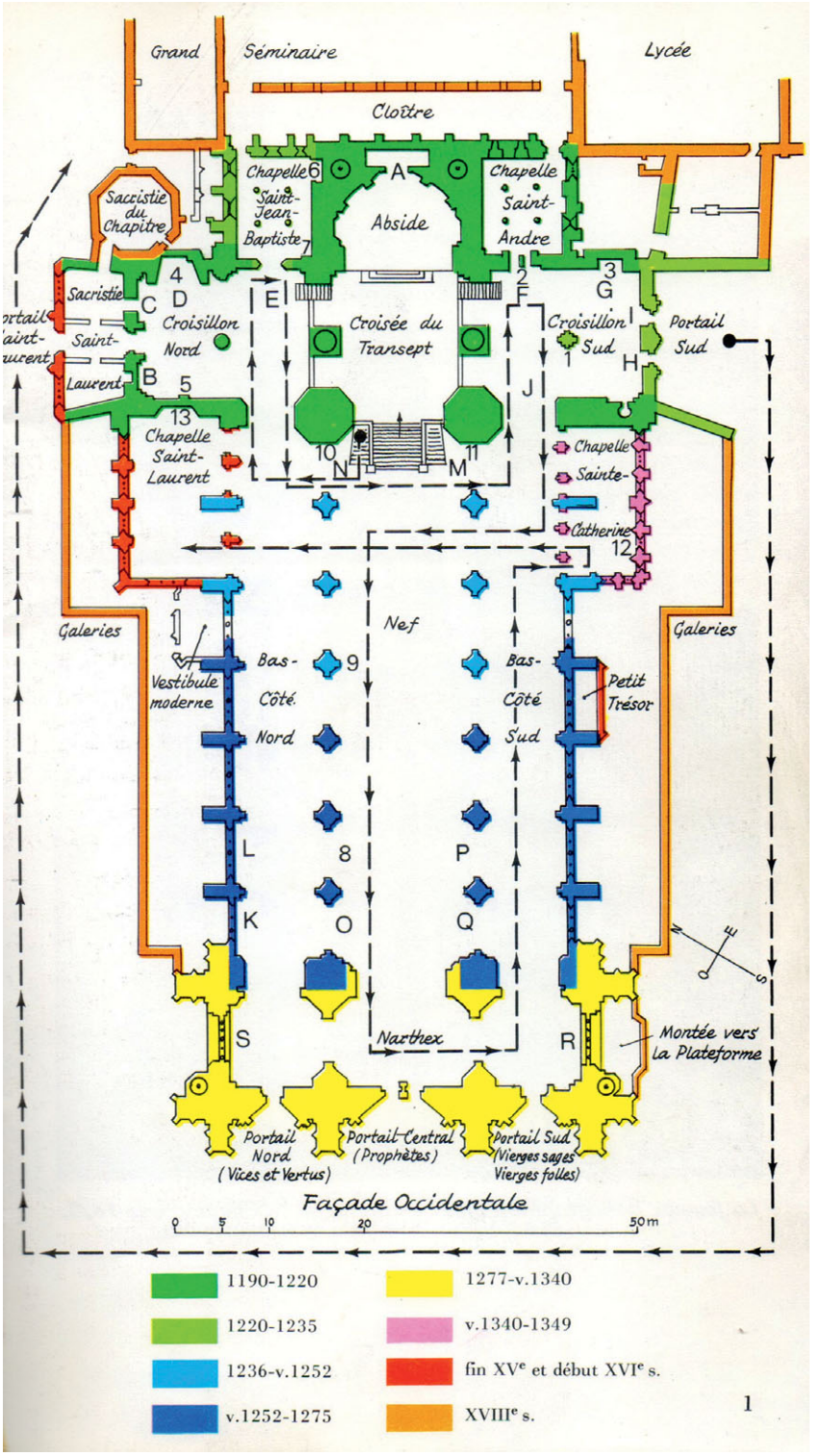


PLATE 1 Strasbourg Cathedral, floor plan Source: Wikimedia. Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license.

the cross, which, as we have already seen, conformed to the human body with its arms extended and its feet together.[48] The cross was integral to the foundation of *ecclesia*, in both senses, place and people, materialized in the first stone all the way through the articulation of the space of worship. Within the space of the cross, it is worth returning to the question of the reception of the *Rationale*. While Durand wrote directly to priests and clergy, he offered ways of reading the place of worship that bind the cutting of stone, the laying of cement, the raising of walls – all actions of human craftspeople – to a rich body of textual associations that might, in turn, have been carried into sermons.

GESTA AND *RES*

> Moreover the cement, without which the wall cannot remain steadfast, is made of lime, sand and water. The lime is fervent charity which joins itself to the sand, that is, earthly works, because true charity contains the greatest concern for others, joined with care for widows, the elderly, orphans and the infirm.[49]

As Durand built the church in the text of the *Rationale*, he frequently used the verb, "est," normally translated as "is." That verb, perhaps more than any other, separates Durand from us, the most direct expression of what Marie-Dominique Chenu characterized as "the symbolist mentality" or Martin Luther excoriated as "allegory."[50] For both Chenu and Luther, matter could not *be* the Christian idea of caritas; at best, it could symbolize, serve as a metaphor for, or represent allegorically. For both, a church was an inert box. But not for Durand.

Here a medieval understanding of *res gestae* – that action makes things that manifest that action – helps us to construe *est* differently.[51] Creation is both an act and that which the act made. *Res gestae* were ongoing – not fixed in some past moment, not complete, but precisely that mutability which inhered in *materia*. An exorcised space is one kind of *res gesta*, a place made by an act. Following Durand, lime binds sand, which has multiple scriptural loci, as a way of conceiving innumerality (Psalm 139, for example) or instability (Matthew 7:26). In binding, the lime was at once *gesta* and *res*, act and thing. In binding, it forms another *res* from the innumerable grains of sand, stabilizing them in the cement, which in turn stabilizes the stones, another *res*, forming each wall. The *materia* of lime thus enables the faithful to see the work of charity, the binding of innumerable units into a stable whole – it manifests simultaneously the work and its effect. In this way, it is also a medium of divine communication: It manifests ongoing work which inheres in Creation itself.

In the same paragraph, Durand joined by "est" water and the Holy Spirit, "siquidem aqua Spiritus sanctus est." Water, one of the first forms of *materia* in Genesis, the matter

[48] See also, Book I, 1, 17.

[49] Book I, 1, 10, RDOE1, 14–15. "10. Cementum autem, sine quo muri stabilitas esse non potest, fit ex calce, sabulo et aqua. Calx feruens caritas est que sibi coniungit sabulum, id est terrenum opus, quia uera caritas sollicitudinem maximum habet mixtam pro uiduis, senibu, pupillis et debilibus," RDOL1, 15–16. Cf. Amalar of Metz, *On the Liturgy*, II, 322–325.

[50] Cf. Chenu 1968.

[51] Goetz 1989 and 1999.

of baptism as well as cleansing, was a medium of conceptualizing the work of the Holy Spirit: "just as without cement stones of a wall cannot be joined to give it stability, so neither can human beings be joined in the edifice of the heavenly Jerusalem if they are not joined by charity which is the work of the Holy Spirit."[52] The stones of the church, "that is, the saints," are to be polished and squared, manifesting the hand of "the supreme artisan" in their form and the care of their preparation.[53] The building of each church manifests through the action of its *materia* the building of the church: the binding of grains of sand; the stabilization of walls through the shaping of stones; the fixing of stones, one to the next.

Persons and place were bound together in so many ways that the relationship itself was an example of *redundantia*. The four walls of the church were at once the doctrine of the four Gospels and the four virtues: "justice, fortitude, prudence, and temperance."[54] The Gospels and the virtues enclosed the faithful, at once separating them from the unexorcised world and defining those who gathered within those walls. The height of the walls was the "heights of virtue." The length of the church was its "long-suffering which tolerates adversity patiently and reaches toward the fatherland" – both heaven and, spatially, Jerusalem. Its width was charity (*latitudo caritas est*), by which expanse human minds loved their friends in God and their enemies because of God. The height was true hope (*altitudo uero spes est*) in future retribution. The roof, also, "is charity, which covers a multitude of sins."[55] Those who gathered beneath the roof knew and practiced the sacrament of penance, with its forgiveness of sins and its evocation of divine mercy. The space of the church, as constructed by Durand, oriented those gathered within it both toward the physical Jerusalem and toward transcendence, materialized through the space formed by walls that were, typically, second only to towers in height in any town or village.

Ecclesia was an ongoing building for Durand, the corporeal church manifesting ways of thinking that, in turn, supported the building of the spiritual church, from lime through water to stones fixed, one on top of the next, reaching toward those heavens which were both Genesis and Gospel. So, too, the materiality of each church mediated ways of thinking about each Christian life. In this way, Durand also built what Mary Carruthers has called a machine for thought, not only for clergy but also, potentially, for laity.[56]

[52] "sicut enim sine cemento lapides muri non simul iunguntur ad muri stabilitatem, sic nec homines ad edificium celestis Ierusalem possunt simul sine caritate iungi quam Spiritus sanctus operator," RDOL1, 16.

[53] "Omnes muri lapides politi sunt et quadrati, id est sancti, mundi et firmi; qui uidelicet per manus summi artificis disponuntur in Ecclesia permansuri," RDOL1, 16.

[54] "Adhuc ecclesia ex quatuor parietibus, id est ex doctrina quatuor euangeliorum, longa lataque surgit in altum, id est in altar uirtutum, longitudo cuius longanimatas est que patienter aduersa tolerat donec ad patriam perueniat, latitudo caritas est que dilatatione mentis amicos in Deo et inimicos diligit propter Deum, altitudo uero spes est future retributionis... Quatuor laterales parietes sunt quatuor principales uirtutes, iustitia, fortitude, prudential et temperantia," RDOL1, 17– 18.

[55] "tectum caritas que operit multitudinem peccatorum," RDOL1, 18.

[56] "The building functions as a reminder, a cue, a machine for thought – but without the human beings who use it, it has neither value nor meaning," Carruthers 1998, 226. Carruthers develops the concept of machine for thinking throughout *The Craft of Thought*; see the introduction, chapter 1, and chapter 5, in particular, in which she explores the place of the Tabernacle.

CONSECRATION

Before a church could be a place of worship, it had to be consecrated to worship.[57] Such canon law as existed was less concerned with the building qua building and more with the transformation of pavement, doors, walls, chapels, roof, and possibly steeple into the place where people could celebrate the Mass – a place dedicated to worship. Durand provided a complete version of the rite in his Pontifical.[58] In the *Rationale*, he offered a brief sketch:

> Fourth, we must state how a church is consecrated. First, when everyone is removed from the church, with only the deacon remaining inside, the bishop with the clergy standing in front of the doors, blesses the salted water; meanwhile, inside the church, twelve lamps burn before the twelve crosses depicted on the walls of the church. Afterwards, the clergy, with the people following, walk around the exterior of the church three times, and with a bunch of hyssop branches, they asperse the walls with the blessed water; and any time he arrives in front of the doors of the church, the bishop strikes the lintel with his pastoral staff, saying: "Lift up your doors, O princes," etc., and the deacon responds: "Who is the King of Glory?" to which the bishop replies: "Our mighty Lord," etc. On the third time around, with the door open, the bishop enters the church with a few of his ministers, and with the clergy and the people remaining outside, he says: "Peace to this house," and then he recites the litanies. He then makes a cross out of ashes and sand on the pavement of the church, where all of the Greek and Latin letters of the alphabet are written. The bishop then blesses more water with salt and ashes and wine, and consecrates the altar. He then anoints with holy chrism the twelve crosses on the church walls.[59]

Here, again, human acts made the place. Inside and outside – interiority and exteriority – were dramatically, performatively, differentiated.[60] Though Durand did not take up this motif, perhaps it resonated, especially given the many connections he did build between people and place, manifesting ways of thinking about the Christian person. The inside was emptied of persons, except for one deacon; lamps, to which we shall return, burned before crosses in the number of the apostles. Outside, the bishop, the sole office canonically authorized to consecrate, blessed water mixed with salt. Accompanied by other clergy, and laity, he circled the edifice three times, asperging it with the *materia* of baptism, water, and hyssop. His words and acts marked its portals even as his circling separated what was inside that circle from what was outside it. Voices, too,

[57] Ziolkowski 1943, 36. On the variety of Anglo-Saxon dedications, see Gittos 2013, ch. 6. See also Markus 1994.

[58] PRGD, 455–478. According to Ziolkowski, Durand's rite became normative, Ziolkowski 1943, 22.

[59] RDOE1, 62–63. "6. Quarto, dicendum est qualiter ecclesia consecratur. Et quidem omnibus de ecclesia eiectis, solo dyacono ibi remanente recluso, episcopus cum clero ante fores ecclesiae aquam non sine sale benedicit, et interim intrinsecus ardent duodecim luminaria ante duodecim cruces in ecclesie parietibus depictas. Postmodum uero, clero et populo insequente, ter circumeundo ecclesiam exterius cum fasciculo ysopi parietes cum aqua iam benedicta aspergit, et qualibet uice ad ianuam ecclesie ueniens percutit superluminare cum baculo pastorali dicens: 'Tollite portas principes uestras' etc. et dyaconus deintus respondet: 'Quis est iste rex glorie?' Cui pontifex: 'Dominus fortis' etc. Tertia uero uice, reserato ostio, ingreditur pontifex ecclesiam cum paucis ex ministris, clero et populo foris manente, dicens: 'Pax huic domui', et dicit letanias. Deinde in pauimento ecclesie fit crux de cinere et sabulo ubi litteris grecis et latinis totum scribitur alphabetum. Et iterum aliam aquam sanctificat cum sale et cinere et uino, et altare consecrat. Deinde duodecim cruces in parietibus depictas crismate inungit," RDOL1, 67.

[60] Cf. Book I, 3, 42, on opening the treasury and the interior and exterior of a church, RDOL1, 48–49.

differentiated outside and inside, even as they articulated the relationship of the faithful to the triune God. The bishop entered; the laity remained outside until the space had become a place of worship.

As the bishop entered, he voiced words of liturgy, carrying with his person the sound of worship across the lintel and into the place he was making. The bishop's first act, after the litanies, was to mark the place with a cross made of ashes and sand. His final act was to anoint the twelve crosses already painted on the walls of the place of worship; they were there before it became a place of worship. And between these different crosses was the consecration of the altar, as Durand would name it when he turned to it, the heart of the church.[61]

Consecration encompassed movement: circling the structure, crossing its lintel, moving to its altar, circling the interior as it was measured in crosses. It encompassed crosses depicted and enacted, in pigment and gesture. It also encompassed *materia*: salt, water, twelve lamps and crosses, hyssop, a pastoral staff, ashes, sand, wine, chrism. It encompassed the *materia* of baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist, and extreme unction.

For Durand, movement and *materia* mediated what could not otherwise be seen: how God worked in the soul; how the body of the faithful was built into the temple of God; how the faithful became the true spouse of Christ. Just as water cleansed the body of dirt, so did baptism cleanse souls of sins. Just as the faithful were baptized, so, too, was their place of worship. The number three linked Noah, Daniel, and Job; Christ's birth, harrowing of Hell, death and resurrection, which Durand considered to be one act; the Trinity; the three orders of faithful, virgins, continent, and married.[62]

Consecration marked each church as a place of worship. Its movements and its *materia* brought to each place scriptural referents and allusions. They also brought to the place ways of understanding the effect of the matter of the sacraments on the soul of each individual who entered that place. God worked both through and in that place.

In the *Rationale*, Durand attended to relics primarily in his consideration of altars. But by the time he wrote the *Rationale*, the placement of relics in the altar that gave that church its name had long been canonical.[63] Relics were simultaneously the material remains of holy persons and the media of miracles, simultaneously the residue of death and evidence of God's agency in Creation. Relics belonged to the foundation of a church and to its consecration – and, as we shall see, also to its fabric. The earliest churches might be located, as with Saint Peter's Basilica, over the graves of martyrs. More often, the relics were translated to a locus of worship, placed in the high or sole altar during the rite of consecration. That altar, in turn, gave a church its name, and with it, a patron. In each place, the liturgy voiced the names of those whose lives and, more significantly, deaths had become a part of the *materia* of the church.

[61] *Rationale* I, 2, 6.

[62] RDOL1, 67–69.

[63] "Before the eighth century there was no general canonical legislation which commanded the dedication of churches with relics. In 787 the VII Ecumenical Council, the II of Nicaea, was the first to pass general legislation which required the consecration of churches with relics," Ziolkowski 1943, 14.

SOUND

Sound, too, made a church. The words of consecration, the first Mass, made it a place of worship. Those who sang parts of the Mass and voiced the Divine Office shared the same name, choir, with the place where they gave sound to the liturgy.[64] As Durand took up the place in the chapter on the corporeal church, he foreshadowed the link he would make between singers and liturgy in Book IV, ch. 5: the Introit, the beginning of the first part of the Mass, was to be sung by the choir, who "signifies the prophets and the multitude of the saints who are living in expectation of Christ's coming [*adventum*]."[65] The choir was at once the locus and the voicing of the beginning of the Mass.

Sound was essential to the consecration of each church; it was also constitutive of *ecclesia*. If the choir materialized angelic voices, the rooster on the spire materialized a very different kind of sound: of preachers who called the faithful to awaken.[66] Preachers were also materialized in the towers of a church, the beams of the roof, and the bells.[67] Prophets were materialized in the lattice of windows and the persons of the choir. The Word of God was read aloud from the lectern (*analogium*); the lectern was not itself a materialization of sound but that site designated for giving sound to the Word of God.[68] The clock, "through which the hours are read ... signifies the diligence which priests ought to have in saying the canonical hours in the due time, thus 'seven times a day I speak praise to you.'"[69] Durand does not take up organs, which Craig Wright found to largely postdate the *Rationale*, but by the end of the fifteenth century, they, too, had become a part of at least the largest churches.[70]

Durand accorded bells their own chapter in Book I, between images and ornaments, chapter 3, and the cemetery, chapter 5. The bell was hit and blessed so that through its touch and sound the faithful were invited (*invitentur*) into *ecclesia*, to hear the "clergy announcing the mercy of God in the morning and his truth at night."[71] The shape of the bell designated the mouth of the preacher, materially affiliating bell, human mouth, and Paul's words: "I am made as a sounding or ringing bell."[72] The wood from which they hung materially connected bells to the cross on which Jesus had died. Bells linked the preacher to the cross. The ropes which bound the bell to the wood denoted *caritas*, "through which the preacher was indissolubly bound to the cross, saying be it far from me to glory unless in the cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ."[73] So, too, the rope of the bell

[64] Book I, 1, 18, RDOL1, 18–19.
[65] "Chorus igitur psallentium clericorum, qui significat chorum prophetarum et multitudinem sanctorum Christi aduentum expectantium," RDOL1, 267.
[66] Book I, 1, 22, RDOL1, 19–20.
[67] Book I, 1, 21 and 29, Book I, 5, 4, RDOL1, 19, 22, 53.
[68] Book I, 1, 34, RDOL1, 23.
[69] Book I, I, 35, "Horologium per quod hore leguntur, id est colliguntur, significat diligentiam quam sacerdotes in dicendis canonicis horis debito tempore habere debent, iuxta illud: Septies in die laudem dixi tibi," RDOL1, 23.
[70] On organs, see Wright, *Music and Ceremony*, Part III.
[71] Book I, iv, 3, RDOL1, 52.
[72] Book I, iv, 4: "Factus sum uelut es sonans aut cimbalum tinniens," RDOL1, 53.
[73] Book I, iv, 7, "caritatem denotat per quam predicator indissolubiliter cruci affixus gloriatur dicens: Michi absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi," RDOL1, 54.

"is [*est*]" the humility or life of the preacher; it also showed the measure of "our lives."[74] Descending from the wood that held the bells, rope designated sacred Scripture as it descended from the cross. Just as it was made from three strands, so, too, did Scripture consist in three: history, allegory, and morality. The rope descending from the wood to the hand of the priest was Scripture descending from the mystery of the cross to the mouth of the preacher.

Bells sounded *ecclesia* as time as well as place. They were rung twelve times for the hours of the Divine Office, that is, once in the first hour, once in the last, "because all are from the one God"; three at terce; three at sext; three at none; and many times at vespers.[75] Bells were to be rung at night, the first with a handbell (*squilla*) which "signified Paul acutely preaching."[76] Bells sounded the rhythms of the liturgy: the hours of the Divine Office, and two bells were to ring for Mass and vespers.[77] Bells' sound was simplified during Lent, differentiating that time from all others. They also sounded death, "so that the people hearing this pray for him," also when the corpse was carried to the church and when it was carried to the grave.[78] Bells sounded the church, each church, with its liturgical hours, its congregants, far beyond stone walls, materializing that church as heard, before it was seen.

PORTALS AND VEILS

> 20. The atrium of the church signifies Christ, through whom the entrance to the celestial Jerusalem is opened, which is called a porch [*porticus*], and is thus named from the word "gate [*porta*]," that it might be opened wide [*aperta*]. . . .
>
> 26. The door of the church is Christ; thus from the Gospel the Lord said: I am the doorway. The Apostles are also doorways of the church. The word doorway [*ostium*] comes from *obsistendo*, "standing in front of those outdoors;" or from *ostendendo*, "showing the entry way." The leaf of a door [*valva*] comes from *volvendo*, "turning or opening;" door [*porta*] comes from *portando*, "carrying," since whatever is brought in is carried through the doorway.[79]

For Durand, a church building was both *res gesta* and also a machine for thinking about divine revelation – not only its substance but also the nature of it, about mystery and signs and Incarnation. One of the most potent of scriptural *res* materialized in each

[74] Book I, iv, 8, RDOL1, 54.

[75] Book I, 4, 9, RDOL1, 55.

[76] Book I, 4, 10, "Communiter tamen per pulsator in nocturnis. Primo cum squilla que significat Paulum acute predicantem, secunda pulsation signifcat Barnabam sibi associatum, tertia innuit quod, Iudeis repellentibus uerbum Dei, apostoli conuerterunt se ad gentes quas in fide Trinitatis quatuor euangeliorum imbuerunt disciplinis, unde et quidam quater Pulsant," RDOL1, 55.

[77] Book I, 4, 12, RDOL1, 56.

[78] Book I, 4, 13, RDOL1, 56.

[79] Book I, 1, 20 and 26, RDOE1, 17–19. The punctuation and italicization is Thibodeau's. "20. Atrium ecclesie significat Christum per quem in celeste Ierusalem patet ingressus, quod et porticus dicitur, sic dicta a porta uel qod sit aperta. . . . 26. Ostium ecclesie Christus est, unde in euangelio: *Ego sum ostium* dicit Dominus. Apostoli etiam porte eius sunt, dictum est autem ostium ab obstitendo his qui foris sunt, uel ab ostendendo adytum. Valua uero dicitur a uoluendo, porta a portando quia per eam portantur quecumque efferuntur," RDOL1, 19, 21.

church was *ostium*, which can be translated as a door, doorway, or, in the modern Oxford Revised Standard Version, "gateway."

A number of recent studies have taken up the concept of "threshold," as articulated by Arnold van Gennep, to consider not only the doors of churches but also curtains and screens.[80] As with Gennep, they began with a sense of a boundary.[81] The threshold is the boundary between; sometimes it is a line, as in a lintel, sometimes a wider space, as in a narthex or porch. The spaces it separates are themselves defined, definite, bounded, even opposed to one another. In this scholarship, the one space is "profane," the other "sacred."[82] Doors, in this line of analysis, mark a hard boundary between profane and sacred, as well as between outside and inside. Doors, in other words, are a point of access for an enclosed space, discrete from, even oppositional to, its environs.

Durand coupled *ostium* with *ingressus* – entrance, entry, entering.[83] As we have seen in consecration, doors were both struck with a staff – hard – and entered, exactly those points where the place was permeable. And, as we have also seen, the space itself was not fixed, definitively defined over against what was outside the walls: The sanctity of the space inside the walls of a church was contingent on human acts; a church consecrated to worship remained vulnerable to the conduct of each person who entered it. So, too, entering corresponds with *ecclesia* that was in an ongoing process of being built. And one entered a place not of inert boundaries but of dynamic interconnections and interdependencies, in which the *res* of stone linked Christ, foundation, Creation, mountains, and the persons of individual Christians.

Thus, when we turn to portals, we need, I think, to be chary of just what "threshold" evokes. For us, it evokes an inert zone between two spaces which are discrete from one another; it evokes linear movement from one space to the other; it evokes crossing as the model for conceptualizing the relationship between person and space. But Durand was building a fundamentally different sense of the relationship between person and space, as dynamic, ongoing, and, most critically, bound together as *res* of Scripture. For him, *ostium* was, like stone, a biblical *res*: *ego sum ostium*, "I am the door" (John 10:9).[84] How, then, might a church be a machine for thinking about Christ, who is, *est*, the door?

Durand wrote of entrance. As Margot Fassler noted, "the act of entering" is liturgical; this insight led her to read the west portal of Chartres "as a general embodiment of adventus."[85] As Durand would make clear in Book IV, on the Mass, "entry" was not just once, or even twice, but a way of understanding the movement of the Mass

[80] Van Gennep 1909. On doors as thresholds, see, for example, Van Opstall 2018; Jütte 2015, esp. ch. 1. On the concept of threshold applied to churches more variously, see foremost Gerstel 2006; Dolezalová and Foletti 2020.

[81] For a recent overview, see Van Opstall, "General Introduction," Van Opstall 2018, 1–27.

[82] Susanne Rau and Gerd Schwerhoff preserve the dichotomy of "sacred" and "profane" spaces, even as they pursue a conception of "topography" which encompasses paths, Rau and Schwerhoff 2008.

[83] "*Adventus* is the fundamental ritual structure underlying the great majority of liturgical processions and public ceremonies of the antique and Christian worlds," Fassler 2007, 13.

[84] The Latin is from the Vulgate, the translation is mine. See also Kendall 1998, 51.

[85] Fassler 2010a, 248.

itself, culminating in the celebrant's entry into the Passion in the Canon.[86] We might then think of the whole church as a series of entries, beginning with the outermost doors.

As the rite of consecration emphasized, portals marked that space as simultaneously discrete and permeable.[87] That rite also modeled how one ideally entered that space, as a subject of its lord. Portals also differentiated among the faithful: The laity entered through doors that opened onto the nave or perhaps the transept; the clergy, through doors into the choir; and in some places, laywomen entered separately from laymen.[88] Portals articulated among those entering that hierarchy of subjects, determined by the proximity of their lives to Christ's, that was also manifested on the floor of the church and the articulation of nave and choir. Portals were also themselves sites of entry: Laity entered into marriage at the portals of churches and many churches, such as St. Sebald and St. Lawrence in Nuremberg and St. Michael in Braunschweig, had bridal portals.[89]

By the time Durand was writing, many churches had tympana over ever more elaborate portals.[90] The great pilgrimage churches of Autun, Vézelay, and Conques presented those entering the western portal with Christ at the center in the Last Judgment – one kind of door, to eternal damnation or salvation.[91] Others, such as Chartres, presented Christ in majesty, surrounded by the four Evangelists – a different kind of door, to *ecclesia*, those who believed in the Word become Flesh (Figure 5). In each of these, Christ was centered over the entry into the church. In each, laity entered by passing beneath the figure of Christ, spatializing a somatic encounter with John 10:9.

For Durand, churches were neither monument nor museum but places of living worship, where entry was an ongoing praxis. One way to think about that vibrancy may be in Manuel Castiñeiras' conceptualization of Romanesque portals as at once representing and inviting performance.[92] His approach helps us to recover a dynamic between stone figure and flesh figure, a living dialectic between portal and person. Another way is through Helen Gittos's reconstruction of liturgical entries such as that for Candlemas, in which the portal was the site through which candles were carried, or that of penitents, in which the portal was that through which they passed as an enactment of both penance and atonement.[93] Yet another is the interplay of sculptural figure and liturgical performances, such as Elizabeth Valdez

[86] On this, see Chapter 3 on missals. To distinguish the Canon of the Mass from the biblical canon, I have capitalized the former and not the latter.
[87] On doors as symbols in and of modernity, see Siegert 2010.
[88] Cooper 2011.
[89] Veit 1936, Part 3, ch. 1.
[90] Kendall, quoting Raymond Oursel, dates the advent of tympana to "the last two decades of the eleventh century," Kendall 1998, 55.
[91] On Romanesque tympana with images of Christ, see Kendall 1998, 51–68.
[92] "The spectator is joined to (and contained in) a portal which has been conceived as a performative text," Castiñeiras 2015, 1.
[93] Gittos 2013, ch. 7.

FIGURE 5 Chartres Cathedral, tympanum, West or Royal Portal, c. 1145–1155 *Source*: © Vanni Archive/Art Resource, NY.

del Álamo has delineated for the figures on the Pórtico de la Gloria of Santiago Compostella, who figure as characters in the Song of the Sibyl, part of the Christmas vigil (Figure 6).[94] Jacqueline E. Jung noted multiple meanings for the south portal of Strasbourg cathedral, among them, "when they opened each year on Ash Wednesday to expel sinners in need of penitence – and again on Maundy Thursday to welcome them back in."[95]

Doors marked the space within which the two senses of *ecclesia*, faithful and place, were physically united. Doors – which could be opened and closed, or struck with a pastoral staff – frequently carried images. Those of Santa Sabina in Rome offered images that Ivan Foletti and Katarína Kravcíková read as "a tool and a mirror of the Christian catechesis"; those of Le Puy, Walter Cahn read as a sequence from Epiphany through the Passion to the Resurrection.[96] Each set of images played with entry into *ecclesia*. Catechumens who stood before the doors were not permitted into the fullness of the Mass but dismissed before the Eucharist. Those who, after the institution of infant baptism, looked at doors of Epiphany to Resurrection, faced representations of seeing and not seeing at the very center of Christian life – an entry not of person so much as of cognition.[97]

[94] "Their vitality is magnified if one imagines these astonishing statues stepping forward to speak their prophecies," Valdez del Álamo, 2015, 211.

[95] Jung 2020a, 84.

[96] On Santa Sabina, Foletti and Kravcíková 2020, 31. On Le Puy, Cahn 1974, 35–58. See also Foletti and Gianandrea 2015.

[97] Two excellent introductions to some of the many ways medieval Christians construed "vision," are Hamburger and Bouché 2006; and Hourihane 2010. See also Krüger and Nova 2000.

FIGURE 6 Santiago Compostella, cathedral, Gloria Portal, twelfth century *Source*: Erich Lessing/ Art Resource, NY.

Many churches had what Durand called the atrium, that space between the outermost door and the door that opened onto the nave.[98] Consecration distinguished just two spaces: the church and the altar. Two sets of doors, however, evoked Durand's sense of entries as sequential, stepped, toward the altar, toward the Passion, and toward presence.

[98] Durand's understanding of atrium differs from that De Blaauw 2011, 41. On the narthex as a liminal zone, see Foletti and Gianandrea 2015, esp. 33–93. On the role of church porches in Carolingian liturgies, see Heitz 1963.

FIGURE 7 Toledo Cathedral, interior *Source*: Author.

Medieval churches did not have pews, so those entering the church were not subsequently organized into rows.[99] The interiors were not uniform. Following Durand, the floor plan of a church conformed to the human body, from the foot, the west portal through which laity entered, to the head, the sanctuary, which was restricted to clergy. Wrought iron might designate that differentiation, as it does in the cathedral in Toledo, separating the choir and the high altar, marking both as at once separate and restricted and yet visually accessible (Figure 7). So, too, wrought iron might designate specific

[99] Cooper warns against taking the current interiors of historical churches as approximating how they might have been, visually, spatially, structurally, in previous centuries, Cooper 2014. See also Reinle 1988, 56–70.

chapels as private, again, restricted but visible. Many churches also had steps to the high altar, again distinguishing that space and materializing the other orientation of Christianity, the vertical, to which we turn later.

Nor were interiors static.[100] A number of architectural features materialized a sense of entering as a progression rather than a crossing.[101] Beginning in the eleventh century, naves were divided into bays, one form of spatial rhythm.[102] Durand called the columns of a church the bishops and doctors of the church – linking columns and the persons of the faithful in yet another way; he also noted that Moses had placed five at the entrance to the tabernacle and four before the Holiest of Holies, delineating another set of entries.[103] John Onians traced a progression, for example, in Saint Peter's in Rome: Ionic capitals in the forecourt, "where the worshipper would take water from the fountain in allusion to his first entry into the Church through baptism"; Corinthian in the nave, "where he would offer prayers"; and Composite, "above all around the tomb and altar, where he would witness the eucharist."[104] While Onians did not find the same pattern of movement in later churches, columns and piers paced the interiors of most churches.[105] Romanesque sculptors altered the relationship of column to movement, giving them "an almost liturgical role by making them illustrations" of figures and narratives of the Temporale and the Sanctorale.[106] These capitals linked spatial movement to the temporal movement of the liturgy, both daily and annual.

When we turn to textiles, we confront directly the ambivalence Durand introduced with his structuring of Book I – what is the relationship of the parts to the whole? Durand took up textiles in chapter 3 of Book I, on images and *ornamenta*; for him, textiles were *ornamenta*. It gives us some sense of what *ornamenta* encompassed for Durand: The word he used to speak of some of the textiles, *veli*, was not only a scriptural *res* but carried valences analogous to doors.[107] Veils and curtains were, like doors, machines for thinking about the nature of revelation and divine communication.

[100] Heitz has reconstructed processions in the abbey church of Saint-Riquier, including one that moved from the south portal along and between the north and south aisles and around the apse, Heitz 1980, 51–62.

[101] "There are, as Augustine reminds us, many ways through the 'locus Tabernaculi' to the house of God, but to get there one must journey forth upon them. That journey is not only psychological and interior, but one made with feet and eyes through physical spaces, and colored by bodily sensation and emotion," Carruthers 1998, 262.

[102] Oursel 1967, 131. "One is thus always secure of one's 'place' in the structure; one can indeed mentally 'walk' about it. In such a mental walk through the nave, for instance, each *locus* between the columns is divided obviously from the next by a form (the column shafts) that acts like an enclosing frame," Carruthers 1998, 259.

[103] Book I, 1, 27, "Columpne ecclesie episcopi et doctores sunt ... et Moyses in ingress tabernaculi posuit quinque columpnas et ante oraculum, id est sancta sanctorum, quatuor," RDOL1, 21.

[104] Onians 1988, 61.

[105] Onians argues that the orders were used in twelfth- and thirteenth-century churches to distinguish lay from clerical spaces in the churches, Onians 1988, ch. 7.

[106] Oursel 1967, 179–181.

[107] See, for example, Augustine, Sermon 51.5–7, "Honour in Him what as yet you understand not, and all the more as the vela which you see are more in number: for the higher in honour one is, the more curtains are suspended in his house. Curtains make that which is kept secret honoured, and to those who honour, the curtains are lifted up; but those who mock at the curtains ... are driven away from even approaching them. For then we turn into Christ, and the veil is taken away," quoted in Stephenson 2014, 10.

Both doors and curtains played on the material binaries of open and closed, visible and obscured. Doors, curtains, veils, and cloths invited thinking about human discernment – about the complex medieval conceptualization of seeing, not seeing, and seeing beyond.[108] Medieval Christians entered churches regularly, some daily, others less frequently; closed doors obscured corporeal sight but not knowledge of what lay beyond, of what could be seen on the other side of the doors. Textiles might be moved in liturgical seasons, obscuring and revealing within the cadences of the liturgical calendar, even as Epiphany, Lent, and Easter all took up the aporia of seeing and not seeing.[109] Entering, I am suggesting, was not only a spatial movement but also a way of conceptualizing cognition and matter, perception and divine communication – and making it somatic.[110]

Curtains and tapestries were *ornamenta* "of the church, the choir and the altar."[111] Durand divided textiles roughly according to these three spaces: *veli* that cover the altar and its vessels; *veli* that separate the sanctuary; and *veli* that separate clergy from laity, such as those, for instance, that hide the singing choir from the laity.[112] If ironwork and stone have survived over centuries, we have very little trace, largely through paintings and book illuminations, of textiles in the place of worship.[113] In the *Liber Pontificalis*, Sible de Blaauw and Klára Dolezalová found evidence for complex "programs of curtains," of seven different kinds donated by Pope Leo IV to Saint Peter's Basilica; and of six different kinds donated by Pope Paschal I to Santa Maria in Domnica.[114] These textiles, all named *vela* in the Pontifical, hung in Saint Peter's around the high altar, in front of the stairs to the apse, between columns in the nave and transept, in front of doorways, and in the ciborium on high feast days. In Santa Maria Domnica, they hung in the altar ciborium, on the pergola, in the arches of the nave colonnade and the lower choir, and at the church's entrance. De Blaauw and Dolezalová also found evidence for *cortinae*, later called *vela*, heavy curtains, in Saint Peter's of "four-fold woven silk," hung in front of the doors.[115] The evidence de Blaauw and Dolezalová found, for "circles" of textiles, supports a sense of "entering" as staged – from the outermost door, along the nave, to the apse, and then the altar, which was also cloaked with its own cloth, the oldest practice de Blaauw and Dolezalová found. Together, doors and textiles materialize a sense of "entering" as a process of discernment,

[108] On curtains, see Kemp 1992; De Blaauw and Dolezalová 2020, 46–66.

[109] On textiles in liturgical seasons, see Book I, 3, 34–41, RDOL1, 46–48. For a close study of one altar frontal textile, see Varoli-Piazza 1991.

[110] This is in dialogue with, but distinct from churches as visions. On visions of the "earthly" and "heavenly" churches, see, for example, Benz 1969, 591–617.

[111] Book I, 3, 23, "Porro ornamenta ecclesie in tribus consistunt, scilicet in ornatu ecclesie, chori et altaris. Ornatus ecclesie consistit in cortinis et auleis et palleis sericis purpureis et similibus. Ornatus chori in dorsalibus, tapetis, substratoriis et bancalibus; dorsalia sunt panni in choro pendentes a dorso clericorum; substratoria que pedibus substernuntur; tapeta etiam sunt panni qui pedibus coporum qui mundane pedibus calcare debent; bancalia sunt panni qui super sedes uel bancas in choro ponuntur," RDOL1, 42. For a slightly different division, see Johannes Beleth, cited in Wright 1989, 13–14.

[112] Book I, iii, 35, RDOL1, 46.

[113] For a study of specific survivals in a single town, see Weilandt 2010.

[114] The following descriptions of location are drawn directly from De Blaauw and Dolezalová 2020, 50–51.

[115] De Blaauw and Dolezalová 2020, 54.

culminating in the curtains on corners of the altar, "through which the priest enters the secretum."

Craig Wright, describing the tapestries of Notre Dame in Paris, provides evidence of their depictions:

> On the vigil of the Purification of the blessed virgin Mary, 1449, honorable master Theobaldus de Vitriaco, canon of this church of Paris, councilor of our lord the king in his court of Parlement, and treasurer of the cathedral of Angers, gave to us, for the adornment of the seats of the choir, five sections of tapestry of high-quality weaving in which are fifteen scenes of the life of the blessed virgin Mary. The first section extends from the stall of the cantor [west end of north side] to the middle part of the left side which commences with the Annunciation. The second section extends [from the middle of the north side] to the stall of the chancellor on which is the story of the Presentation of Our Lord Jesus Christ in the temple. The third section begins at the stall of the dean [west end of south side] and extends to the middle of the right side and the first scene is that of the descent of the Holy Spirit to the disciples. The fourth section extends only as far as the *cathedra* of the lord bishop and it depicts how Mary and Joseph found Our Lord in the temple sitting among the high priests. The fifth section is at the head of the choir covering the high lectern at which the Gospel is read and its story is that of the Coronation or Assumption of the virgin Mary.[116]

Annunciation, Presentation, Pentecost, Jesus at the temple, and the Assumption of the Virgin – in their depictions, the tapestries of Notre Dame made both visible and tangible multiple modes of divine revelation.

Choir or rood screens had only begun to be erected in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, typically between, on the one side, the nave and transept, and, on the other, the choir (Figure 8).[117] Many had a doorway at the center, materializing yet another way of thinking about John 10:9 in permitting those outside the choir a line of vision to the altar, the site of real presence. Paul Crossley argued for the integration of the now lost screen at Chartres with the west portal and high altar, "not only through repetitive images, but by a liturgical action which physically links them, and amplifies their iconography of entrance and Incarnation."[118] Screens were also machines for thinking about seeing, not seeing, and seeing beyond, in a different form from doors and veils.[119] Jacqueline Jung has articulated three interlocking kinds of work screens did: partitioning, bridging, and framing. The last of these kinds of work underlines that one saw *through* screens.[120] Each complicated both the experience and the conceptualization of "seeing," linking it materially to entering, which clergy did physically and, following Durand, meditatively.

[116] Wright 1989, 15.

[117] Jung 2006, 88. On the terminology and its valences, see Jung 2013, 1–2. Kroesen and Steensma offer an important survey of choir screens in parish churches, Kroesen and Steensma 2012, 176–209. Marcia B. Hall has reconstructed a number of screens in Italian churches, Hall 2006. See also Bucklow, Marks, and Wrapson 2017.

[118] Crossley 2009, 168.

[119] "My claim, in the end, is this: if the architectural bulk of the Gothic screen functioned in the same way as Latin words did – simultaneously veiling, elevating, and framing the sacred mysteries for those outside the ecclesiastical elite – the sculptures on their surfaces played the role of the vernacular, making the sacred accessible, comprehensible, relatable to all," Jung 2013, 197.

[120] Jung 2006, 185–213.

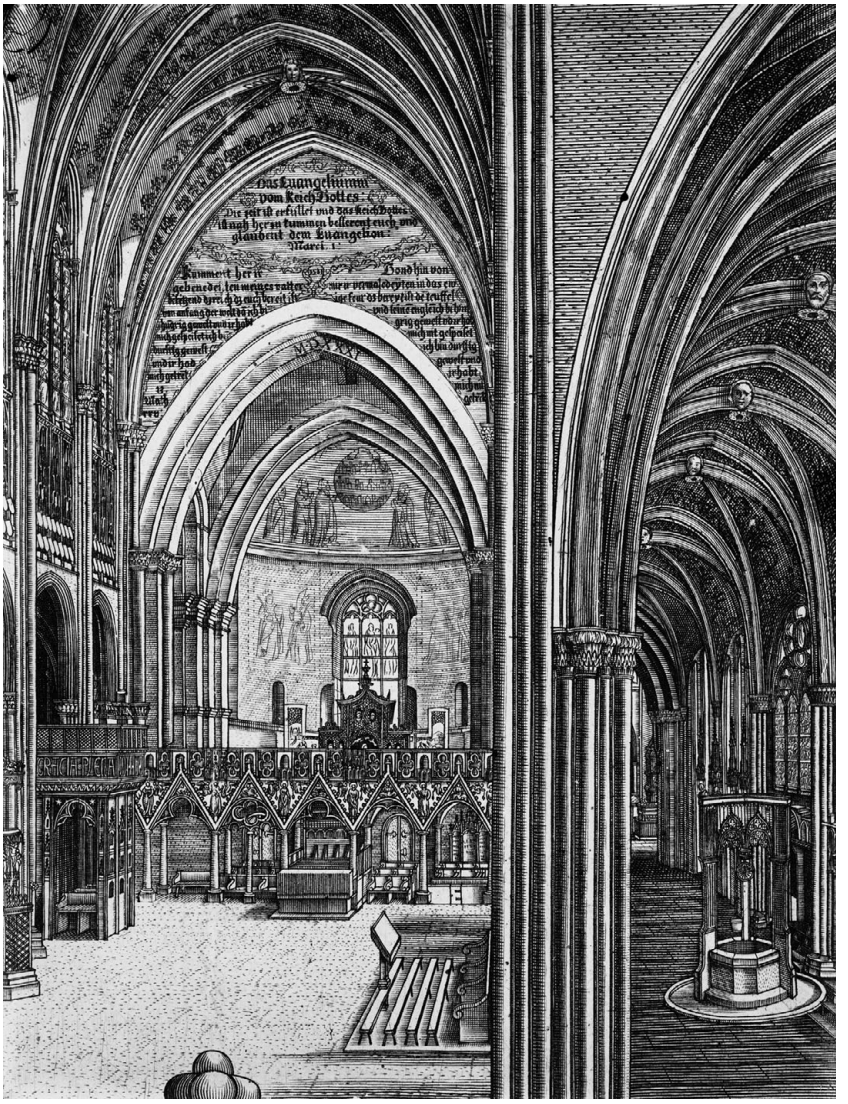


FIGURE 8 Johan Jakob Arhardt (1613–1674), interior of Strasbourg Cathedral, Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame/Strasbourg/France *Source*: © Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Art Resource, NY.

Veils and choir screens were not only machines for thinking about seeing, not seeing, and seeing beyond. Both also shaped sound; textiles did so within the cadences of the liturgical year. As Craig Wright recognized, textiles differentiated the solemnity of a feast: "the more solemn the feast, the less resonant the environment."[121] Like the trope of seeing, not seeing, and seeing beyond, hearing, too, was materially shaped: from the clarion call of preachers to the known but nearly unheard sound of solemn feasts. Churches materialized what we might call acoustic mystery: "the music with the most complex texture was executed on those days when the church was acoustically least reverberant."[122]

[121] Wright 1989, 17.
[122] Wright 1989, 17.

FONTS

Durand took up fonts only in passing, in the final paragraph of the chapter on the consecration of altars. He linked through the linen worn by the celebrant the consecration of a church, the consecration of a baptismal font, and the immersion of catechumens, "where their sins are transferred."[123] Durand explicitly contrasted that linen with the vestments worn for the celebration of the Mass that was the culmination of the consecration of church and altar. Fonts, for him, were part of the fabric of the place consecration had made, themselves linked through linen, and the *verba* and *gesta* of consecration.

In major churches in Tuscany, as well as in many parish churches, baptismal fonts were placed close to the entrance, spatially marking the sacrament as an initiation into that dual sense of *ecclesia*.[124] In the Baptistery San Giovanni in Florence, one baptismal font "recalls the large community of historical and contemporary Christians into which their children were integrated when baptized"; a second, fourteenth-century font, reminded viewers "not just of the integration of children into a broad and chronologically inclusive Christian community, but also ... of their membership in a specifically Florentine Christian lineage that stretched back to the earliest eras of belief in the city."[125] Each marked a site of entering *ecclesia* complexly understood. Justin Kroesen and Regnerus Steensma have identified among iconographic motifs on fonts in baptismal churches baptism as the source of life, death and resurrection, and rebirth through baptism.[126] Place and people had been washed, the water (and oil) marking the people who might enter the place so designated.

LIGHT

Like stone, light belonged to Creation. Each church encompassed three materially discrete forms of light: oil-burning lamps, sunlight, and candles. Lamps were scriptural *res* of multiple referents.[127] They signified. They signified Christ: "I am the light of the world" (John 8:12). They signified the apostles and certain doctors whose teaching illumined the church, "just as the sun and the moon," of which God said, "you are the light of the world." They also formed a material connection to the tabernacle of

[123] "ubi peccata eorum transferuntur," RDOL1, 96. Jensen 2011.

[124] Debby 2013, 19; Kroesen and Steensma 2012, ch. 15.

[125] Block 2013, 93.

[126] Kroesen and Steensma identify four broad motifs; the last is the battle of good and evil, Kroesen and Steensma 2012, 336–341.

[127] Book I, 1, 40: "Lumen quod in ecclesia accenditur Christum significat, iuxta illud: Ego sum lux mundi, et Iohannes: Erat lux uera etc. Vel luminaria ecclesie significant apostolos et ceteros doctores quorum doctrina fulget Ecclesia ut sol et luna, de quibus Dominus ait: Vos estis lux mundi, id est bonorum operum exempla; unde ipse admonens eos ait: Luceat lux uestra coram hominibus. Illuminatur autem Ecclesia ex precepto Domini unde in Exodo xxvii legitur: Precipe filiis Aaron ut offerant oleum de arboribus oliuarum purissimum ut ardeat lucerne semper in tabernaculo testimonii, de quo in sequenti parte sub tractatu De acolito dicetur. Fecit quoque Moyses lucernas septem, que sunt septem dona Spiritus sancti que in nocte huius seculi tenebras nostre cecitatis illustrant, que super candelabra ponuntur quia requieuit supra Christum spiritus sapientie et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientie et pietatis, spiritus timoris Domini, quibus predicauit captiuis indulgentiam. Pluralitas in ecclesia lucernarum pluralitatem designat in fidelibus gratiarum," RDOL1, 24.

testimony, illumining the church according to the precepts of God in Exodus 27, when Aaron's sons were commanded to offer oil from the purest olive trees, to keep the lamps of the tabernacle eternally lit. So, too, they formed a material connection to the seven lamps Moses made, which were at the same time "the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit," which "in the darkness of this age enlightens [*illustrant*] our blindness." They designated. The many lamps in a church designated the many graces among the faithful. And, finally, in being placed above the candelabra on the altar, they manifested spatially a complex vision of Christ's presence, "because the spirit of wisdom and intellect, the spirit of counsel and fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and piety, the spirit of the fear of God all rested on Christ, who preached pardon of the captive."

Durand accorded two brief paragraphs to windows, taking up the glass in one and the latticework in the next.[128] The glass was "divine Scripture which repels wind and rain" and "transmits the clarity of the true sun, that is God, into the church, that is the hearts of the faithful, illuminating the inhabitants."[129] The latticework he read as "prophets and other obscure doctors of the Church Militant."[130] In marked contrast to the Abbot Suger, whose discussion of the windows in Saint-Denis is so well-known, Durand did not attend to glass that had been colored.[131] This may reflect his sense of his readership: clergy, many of whom might have been serving in churches without any colored glass. But it also suggests a different way of looking at windows, as couplings of sunlight and prophecy, of illumination that is both visible and obscured.

Durand did not speak of candles but of candelabra, and then only in chapter 3 on the altar.[132] Two were to be placed on the altar. They differed from lamps in being placed below them and in the kind of light they provided. They differed from windows in providing a light that was human. They shone with good works, which lit others with the good example: "No one lights a light and places it beneath a bushel but atop a candelabrum." Their light was good intention, which was to be not hidden.[133]

Both windows and candles materialized not only light but also its concomitant potential for being obscured. Windows transmitted. They at once kept out harmful elements and permitted true light, whose source was outside them, to enter and illumine. But windows had frames, and those frames materialized the relationship of prophecy and theologians to true light: proximate but ultimately also delimiting. Candelabra held up, and in so doing made visible, not divine revelation, but instantiations of charity, acts of human goodness.

[128] On light in the making of a place of prayer, see Carruthers 1998, 257–261.

[129] Book I, 1, 24, "Fenestre ecclesie uitree sunt Scripture diuine que uentum et pluuiam repellunt, id est nociua prohibent, et dum claritatem ueri solis, id est Dei, in ecclesiam, id est in corda fidelium, transmittunt, inhabitantes illuminant," RDOL1, 20. "Hugh of St. Victor emphasizes the mnemotechnical usefulness of seasonal and diurnal change in his elementary memory art," Carruthers 1998, 260.

[130] Book I, 1, 25, "Per cancellos uero qui sunt ante fenestras, prophetas uel alios doctores obscuros intelligimus Ecclesie militantis in quibus ob duo caritatis precepta quandoque due columne duplicantur, secundum quod et apostoli bini ad predicandum mittuntur," RDOL1, 21.

[131] On the forms of colored glass and their correct nomenclature, see Pastan 2019, 643–647.

[132] For examples of candelabras as well as other forms holding candles, see Reinle 1988, 108–119.

[133] Book I, 2, 8, "Oportet etiam eum habere candelabrum ut bonis operibus luceat. Candelabrum exterius illuminans est opus bonum quod alios per bonum exemplum accendit, de quo dicitur: Nemo accendit lucernam et ponit eam sub modio sed super candelabrum. Lucerna iuxta uerbum Domini est bona intentio quia ipse dicit: Lucern est oculus tuus; oculus uero est intentio. Non debemus ergo ponere lucernam sub modio sed super candelabrum, quoniam si habemus bonam intentionem non debemus abscondere sed bonum opus aliis in lumen et exemplum manifestare," RDOL1, 31.

The light of the two, windows and candelabra, differed in essence, the one immediately divine, the other human. And both were inextricably bound up not simply with darkness, which existed beyond the limits of their illumination, but with the potential for hidden light.

THE DEAD

Recovering the sense of each church as a place of various kinds of movement helps us when we turn not only to images but also to the material traces of the dead in each church.[134] Evangelical severances have also shaped scholarship on the dead. Andreas Köstler, for example, sketched the Church of Saint Elizabeth in Marburg as a kind of necropolis.[135] But necropolis construes death in a way, I think, at odds with Durand's conceptualization. As we have seen, for Durand, *ecclesia* did not divide between the living and the dead, or, more accurately, Durand, following Paul, conceived of "the dead" in very different terms.[136] For Durand, baptism linked the community of Christians in ways that iconoclastic violence obscured. The faithful gathered in a place they and their ancestors – biological as well as spiritual – had made. For medieval Christians, fonts and tombs both belonged to the fabric of *ecclesia*. The one might be construed as forming a kind of entrance into *ecclesia*; the other materialized *ecclesia*'s unique temporality.

Churches confounded – in their very matter – any separation of the living from the dead. They materialized simultaneously multiple ways of thinking about time and bodies: of birth and death; of presence and absence; of lineages and eternity. We have seen how the walls of each church were, for Durand, constituted of the embodiment of Christian virtues of the dead as well as the living – *res gestae* as well as the scriptural *res* of stone. The dead were invoked variously in the liturgy: in the Sanctorale, in the prayers, in the Canon. The *materia* of churches encompassed the remains of the dead – as relics, in the crypt, and within tombs – and various physical markers for the dead: tombs, plaques, objects which bore their names, images which bore their features. The dead were present materially – as bodies and images – and sonically, as names sounded in the liturgy, in each church, place and people.

As we have seen, relics were foundational to each church, not even a separate "part" in Durand's sense but integral to the consecration of each church and its main altar. Their ongoing agency confounded not solely any modern sense of death as an ending but any hard boundary between life and death.[137] San Pedro of El Burgo de Osma was said to have lifted the lid of his tomb to throw off a pilgrim who had irreverently sat on it.[138] The tomb of San Vicente in Ávila (Plate 2) is in "the form of a church that not only evokes, but resembles the real basilica that contains the Romanesque sepulchre and the ancient martyrium."[139] Not only does the tomb suggest that the church is a kind of

[134] Cf. Angenendt 1997a, Part 7; Paxton 1990.
[135] Köstler 1995, 133–175.
[136] See, for example, Romans 6:3–5: "Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? Therefore we have been buried with him by baptism unto death, so that, just as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father so might we walk in newness of life. For if we have been united with him in death like his, we will certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his."
[137] See also Dinzelbacher 1990.
[138] Ameijeiras 2002, 32.
[139] Camps 2002, 58.

PLATE 2 Ávila, Church of San Vicente, Tomb of San Vicente Source: author.

sepulcher itself, but that it is nested around the remains of the holy dead, who, in turn, can lift the lids of their tombs.

In his brief consideration of "phylacteries," Durand noted the value Christians accorded the bodies of those who had died. He acknowledged two meanings for the word, the second of which was "a small vessel of silver, gold, or crystal or ivory" in

which the ashes or the relics of a saint "are concealed." Elindius had called the faithful "ashes," because they preserved them just as the "extremities" of saints were to be preserved.[140] Christians not only honored their dead for the lives they had lived but also valued their bodies in expectation of the life which occurred after death, at that moment of judgment rendered on some of the entrances to *ecclesia*.

Jeffrey Hamburger noted the interplay of images, "with their shimmering surfaces and lustrous forms, let alone their direct imitations of gold and jewels," and reliquaries: "As in reliquaries, the bodies of the saints are enclosed in frames that present and interpret their contents."[141] Again, to weave images back into the fabric of churches, not only did they engage what Hamburger called the "aesthetics" of reliquaries but paintings also rendered persons – Christ, Mary, the apostles, local and regional saints – sometimes in complex relations to local donors, in pigment, materially present in the place of worship.[142] Each of those images played with the aporia of presence and absence, death and life, the *gesta* that formed each *res* that was itself a part of the place of worship.

As the fonts in San Giovanni in Florence manifested, church as both place and people was multigenerational.[143] By this, I do not mean simply that the buildings normally lasted longer than any one generation of faithful, though that, too, is true. The relationship between the human beings and the place of worship was living in a number of ways, not least that for most European Christians, the church of their parents and grandparents was, more or less, their church as well. And for elites across Europe, the relationship between person and place was also materially familial: family chapels, family tombs, family patrons, family inscriptions.[144] Each building manifested multiple generations through a range of material presences, from endowed altars through commissioned images, eucharistic vessels, reliquaries, and chapels, to tombs.

Again, if we take up Carruthers' sense of memory, we can look afresh at tombs, as themselves machines for contemplating just what "life" and "death" mean within the context of *ecclesia* and liturgy (Figure 9). They were, intentionally, a part of the fabric of churches: a part of the floors, a part of the walls. They were most often fashioned from the scriptural *res* of stone. As Durand suggested, in ways parallel to altars containing relics, tombs contained "the ashes," the physical traces, of those who were awaiting the Day of Judgment, whose presence within the walls of a church manifested both their hope of salvation and that clergy held them to be neither unworthy nor sinners, either of which risked polluting the place of worship.[145]

[140] "Philateria uero est uasculum de argento, uel auro, uel crystallo, uel ebore et huiusmodi, in quo sanctorum cineres uel reliquie reconduntur. Cum enim Elindius fideles cinericios uocaret, pro eo quod cineres ipsos seruabant, contra eius derisionem statutum fuit in ecclesia ut honorifice et in pretiosis uasculus seruarentur, quod nomen comprehensum est a philare, quod est seruare, et teron, quod est extremitas, quia ibi aliquid de extremitate corporis sanctorum, puta dens uel digitus uel aliquid tale, seruatur," Book I, 3, 26, RDOL1, 43.

[141] Hamburger 2000, 55.

[142] Like Durand, I do not hold as mutually exclusive the many, many rich ways art historians have explored the relationship of image to living person. For a sense of that richness, see, for example, Falkenburg, Melion, and Richardson 2007; and Melion and Wandel 2015.

[143] On the complex interconnections of family and place, see foremost Weilandt 2007; Nickson 2015.

[144] On tombs, see Maier, Schmid, and Schwarz 2000; Fozi 2021. On the visibility of the dead, see Schwarz 2000. On familial inscriptions, see Vescovi 2019, 138–142.

[145] On tombs, Book I, 5, 10; on prohibition of burials, Book I, 5, 12, RDOL1, 59–61.

FIGURE 9 Ávila Cathedral, tombs and altar *Source*: Author.

One might have come to tombs, in some of the great cathedrals, beneath tympana of the Last Judgment. They materialized in yet another form a sense of the community of the faithful in a unique relationship to death. So, too, they linked each church to its cemetery, reaching beyond its walls to the space Durand included as one "part" of the church. Cemeteries, too, were places for bodies who had been baptized, and who had received Communion and heard and perhaps spoken the Apostles' Creed, "I believe in . . . the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting," again and again over decades.[146]

CROSSES

In thousands of churches across Europe, when laity entered through the west portal, they stood in the foot of a cross which encompassed them. More rarely, it might be, as in St. Michael in Hildesheim, at the foot of two crossings, one at the western end and one before the apse.[147] By the time Durand was writing, churches shaped in the form of a cross had become prevalent, as had the entry of laity into a church through the west portal, which was, again usually, the foot of the cross.

As the laity entered, they saw on the walls one kind of cross, in the number of the apostles, which were, following Durand, a part of what made the place a church. Those

[146] Pelikan and Hotchkiss 2003, 669. Book I, 5, 4, "Cimiterium dicitur a cymen quod est dulce et sterion quod est statio, ibi enim dulciter defunctorum ossa quiescent et Saluatoris aduentum expectant," RDOL1, 58. Durand distinguished among cimiterium, poliantrum, sepulchrum, mauseoleum, dormitorium, sarcophagus, and bustum, Book I, 5, 4–10. Only baptized Christians, who had not committed a mortal sin, could be buried in a cemetery, Book I, 5, 14.

[147] Oursel 1967, 128–129.

FIGURE 10 Toledo Cathedral, altar crosses *Source*: Author.

crosses marked "stations," as images might make explicit, specific moments within the narrative of the Passion.[148] One might follow them, moving from one to the next, recollecting that moment in a sequence of meditative devotion, moving toward the altar, toward that site where time altered and presence occurred.

In his discussion of the "ornaments" of the church, Durand called for a cross to be placed on the altar, between the two candelabra, carried there in order to recall Simon lifting the cross from Christ's shoulders and carrying it (Figure 10).[149] This carrying occurred within the regular rhythms of the Mass celebrated at that altar, whether daily, weekly, or less frequently. A cross might be "carried" in a number of different ways: on the persons of religious, as a small wooden cross; on the back of a celebrant, embroidered into the chasuble he wore; in liturgical processions during the Easter Triduum; in episcopal liturgical processions. Crosses could be taken up, carried, to "recollect," Durand's word, moments in the narrative of the Passion, which each Mass called forth.

Within each Mass the celebrant formed with his hand a cross, again and again, his living body giving a different sort of movement to a form those gathered could see on the walls, in panels and altarpieces, perhaps on the back of a celebrant's chasuble, perhaps on the persons of the choir. Again, those Reformation severances have not simply turned crosses into matter but separated them categorically from the people who gathered in that place. For Durand, as we have seen, crosses were inseparable from

[148] For another enactment of "stations," see Odenthal and Stracke 1998.
[149] Book I, 3, 31, RDOL1, 44.

FIGURE 11 Veit Stoss, crucifix, 1520, Saint Sebald Church, Nuremberg *Source*: Author.

ecclesia as place – they were there at the consecration. They were also inseparable from *ecclesia* as persons, from carrying the cross to and from the altar to signing the cross in the Mass to lay persons forming a cross on their breast. For Durand, the relationship of the cross to *ecclesia*, people and place, was complex and dynamic.

Also in the shadow of Reformation, modern scholars have tended to separate those crosses fashioned into "images" – in manuscripts, in crucifixes from the small devotional to the monumental, as reliquaries – from crosses on chasubles or those formed by the human hands of the priest.[150] For medieval Christians, the form on which Christ was crucified may well not have been so readily separable from the movement of the Passion or the persons of the faithful.[151] The cross, as Durand noted, was to recollect the fullness of the Passion. It could be carried, it could be worn, it could be touched, it could be kissed. One worshiped within it spatially and more complexly.

By the time Durand was writing, what modern scholarship calls monumental sculpture – "life-sized" crucifixes – had become widespread (Figure 11).[152] They might be located above the main altar. They might be hung on the wall in the apse behind the

[150] For rich consideration of this problem, see Fozi and Lutz 2020. See also Chazelle 2001; Kitzinger 2018.

[151] See, in particular, Jung 2020b. Although I do not agree with her argument to see crucifixes as "things," her sense of the "convergence of image and body, sign and referent" (408) has been critical to my own thinking.

[152] On the iconography of the Crucifixion, see Schiller 1972, 88–164. On "triumphal crosses," or monumental-scale crucifixes, see Beer 2005, especially 282–331. On roods, see Kroesen and Steensma 2012, ch. 11.

altar. Some were located outside of churches – beyond our current focus – but materializing, not unlike the bells, a different spatial sense of *ecclesia*. Each crucifix rendered – as so many scholars note – the suffering of the human body on the cross, the act of atonement, the sacrifice, and also a body that its viewers knew had been baptized, was in the process of dying, and would be resurrected.[153] Monumental crucifixes, whether above the main altar or on the apse wall behind it, also spoke with the crucifix facing the opening of the Canon,[154] linking place and liturgy visually, materially, haptically, temporally, and personally.

THE CHALICE AND THE PATEN, THE BODY OF CHRIST AND THE PLACE OF ANOINTING

Sixteenth-century iconoclasts directly targeted what we have now come to conceive of as liturgical vessels.[155] They were not as important to Durand as they proved to be in the sixteenth century. He took up the chalice, relatively briefly, first in chapter 3, in his consideration of images and *ornamenta* – and it is not entirely clear if he considered the chalice to belong to the category of *ornamenta* – and then in chapter 8, on unctions, where he also took up the paten, also relatively briefly. I take them up here, because his discussions of them do offer insights into his conceptualization of *ecclesia* and, equally important, into the role of unctions in the making of *ecclesia*.

Durand opened his consideration of the chalice with practicalities: glass posed the danger of breaking; wood, of absorbing some of the consecrated wine; brass or copper, of reacting to the wine, rusting, and "provoking" the recipient to vomit.[156] He then, however, articulated distinctive ways that the *materia* of the chalice mediated revelation about the body – not the blood – of Christ:

> The gold chalice also signifies the treasury of wisdom hidden in Christ; the silver one, the purification of faults; the tin one, the resemblance between faults and punishments. Tin also stands between silver and lead, and clearly the Body of Christ was not made of lead, that is, from a sinful woman, but was nonetheless from a body that was similar to that of a woman born in sin; and it was not made of silver, that is a perishable body on account of her fault, but nonetheless was perishable on account of our faults, because He bore our sufferings and carried our sorrows.[157]

[153] "But there is nothing natural about naturalism, especially when it comes to religious art, which, after all is an art that seeks to capture, convey, or somehow commune with the ineffable divine. By opting to cloak sacred personages – from angels, who by definition were bodiless and invisible, to saints, ordinary humans who had ascended to an extraordinary glorified state, to the incarnate Son of God and his Virgin Mother – with the appearance of regularly proportioned, weight-possessing, gravity-obeying human beings, artists were doing something more than communicating the stories of scripture and hagiography to their beholders. They were making claims about the accessibility and relatability of the divine to human audiences, about the real presence of the sacred in time and space," Jung 2020a, 2–3.

[154] See Chapter 3 on missals.

[155] On liturgical vessels, see Braun 1932; *Liturische Geräte* 1972; Reinle 1988, 71–92.

[156] Book I, 3, 44, RDOL1, 50. Durand here follows canon law, see Sadowski 1951, 2–3.

[157] Book I, 3, 45, RDOE1, 46–47, I have not included Thibodeau's italicization of the biblical text. "Calix autem aureus significat thesauros sapientie in Christo absconditos, argenteus munditiam culpe, stagneus innuit simultudinem culpe et pene. Stagnum enim est medium inter argentum et plumbum, et caro Christi licet non fuerit plumbum, id est peccatrix, fuit tamen carni similis peccatrici; et licet non fuerit argentum, id

The *materia* of a chalice – gold, silver, tin – manifested multiple ways of thinking about the Incarnation, theologically, soteriologically, and penitentially. Its form became a *res* for the scriptural "bore" and "carried."

Durand took up the chalice again in chapter 8, in his consideration of unctions, where he also, for the first time, wrote directly about patens. In the paragraph immediately preceding his discussion of extreme unction, he wrote:

> A paten is consecrated and anointed for the ministry of the Body of Christ, who chose to be immolated on the altar of the cross for the salvation of all people; and our omnipotent God commanded that the bread of His image be borne to His altar on gold and silver patens. The chalice is also consecrated and anointed, so that the grace of the Holy Spirit will make it a new sepulcher for the Body and Blood of Christ.[158]

Oil formed a haptic, visual, and olfactory connection among what we now consider objects – chalice, paten, altar. It connected objects and persons; Durand had already delineated how it linked the persons of priest and bishop, each church, each altar. All of these, in turn, were linked to the chalice and the paten through the matter of oil. It connected past and present in the *gesta* of anointing, the oil a scriptural *res* forming a haptic and visual connection between scriptural narrative and present moment. Its *materia* offered yet another medium for thinking about the relationship between the seen world and the unseen. It could, in lamps, take the form of fire. It could be spread, remaining the same substance even as it extended from the hand of a consecrating bishop to a chalice, an infant, a catechumen, each of which in turn shared the touch of oil.

The relationship between chalice or paten and element was not, as Durand had already suggested in chapter 3, "vessel" in our modern sense of container. In chapter 3 the *materia* of the chalice mediated aspects of Incarnation. In chapter 8, Durand invoked a sepulcher, which as we have already seen in our discussion of tombs, was not an inert container of an inert body. Anointing belonged also to the dying – extreme unction – and the bodies of the dead. The chalice, a scriptural *res*, and the paten, which Durand also designated as divinely commanded, were not mere implements, nor vessels in a simple functional sense; each mediated a fuller understanding of Incarnation, linking *gesta* and *res*, and death and life.

THE PLACE OF SACRAMENTS

Durand closed Book I with a chapter on sacraments, immediately following his discussion of unctions and consecrations, oil and water. We are now in a position to see why. By the time he turned to sacraments, Durand had woven a complex sense of the place of worship: as gathering together a multitude of scriptural referents; founded; consecrated; built of *res gestae* as well as the scriptural *res* of stone, *ostia*, veils, and *ornamenta*;

est passibilis propter suam culpam, fuit tamen passibilis propter nostrum, quia languores nostros ipse tulit et dolores nostros ipse portauit," RDOL1, 50.

[158] Book I, 8, 24, RDOE1, 98. "Patena siquidem consecratur et inungitur ad administrationem corporis Christi qui in ara crucis pro omnium salute immolari elegit; nam et omnipotens Deus conspersam simulaginem in patens aureis et argenteis ad altare suum deferri iussit. Calix quoque consecratur et inungitur ut gratia sancti Spiritus perficiatur nouum sepulchrum corporis et sanguinis Christi," RDOL1, 109.

analogous simultaneously to a single human body, the body of believers, and Christ; itself formed as a cross and a place of crosses painted, embroidered, formed with human hands, sculpted, and carved; encompassing the present living and those awaiting the Last Judgment in the fabric of its walls and floors as well as in the sounds and movements of worship. The place shared with its people, the washing of water, and the anointing of oil. For Durand, *ecclesia* was not a box within which sacraments took place, nor a frame for ritual.

In 1998, a path-breaking collection of articles, *Heiliger Raum*, considered the interiors of a number of churches through the lens of their liturgical books, foremost the Liber Ordinarius for specific churches, delineating various pathways for specific feast days or in relation to specific altars.[159] As the title suggests, however, even as each article articulated movement within a particular place, it construed the place as inert matter. Even altars, so often the focus of liturgical movement, did not participate in the liturgy as conceptualized by the authors. Even as the authors moved to rethink churches, they remained rooted in modern physics. Clergy, and sometimes laity, moved "across" or "within" spaces; they were neither corporeally nor spiritually in dynamic with them. Movement was spatial, not cognitive.

As I have been suggesting, conceiving of churches as boxes silences the work they did for someone such as Durand: their mediation of divine revelation, the scriptural *res* they instantiated, the *gestae* they materialized – the amplitude and variety of connections between Creation and Scripture in their very fabric. For him, churches were not static, a space within which rituals took place. Churches were places of many kinds of movement: of entering; of light from sunrise to sunset, from summer solstice to winter and back – what Christians had held for centuries to be the divinely created ordering of time into day, season, year. The laity might stand in the nave, but they might also, as the Strasbourg doctor Lorenz Fries did in the years just before iconoclasm altered the interior of the cathedral, visit individual altars in chapels and on columns in the nave.[160] They might kneel in close proximity to any one of the altars, including the high altar. Fries presented a deeply personal itinerary, suggesting that the interiors of churches were open not only to individual Christians orienting themselves to different altars but also to setting those altars in lines of connection to one another, lines that were meaningful to individual persons and individually articulated.[161] For Fries, perhaps even more importantly, those altars were places of memory, in Mary Carruthers' sense.[162]

Paul Crossley has sketched potential "sacred maps" within Chartres cathedral. He began with "hagiographical pathways" linking relics and windows. He then articulated a far more encompassing map centered in the lost choir screen:

> Its upper panels, showing the Birth of Christ, the Annunciation to the Shepherds and the Presentation in the Temple, consciously echoed those same scenes – with their overtones of eucharistic sacrifice and divine entrance into the church and the world – on the right hand tympanum of the twelfth-century west façade. ... And, in turn, the screen's infancy cycle

[159] Kohlschein and Wünsche 1998. See also, Ashley and Hüsken 2001.
[160] Lorenz Fries, *Ein kurtzer bericht wie man die gedechtniå wunderbarlichen stercken mag, also das ein yed in kurtzer weil geschrifftreich werden mag* (Strasbourg, 1523).
[161] On movement between churches, see, in addition to Odenthal and Stracke 1998, Sureda I Jubany 2016.
[162] Carruthers 1998 and 2008.

> linked the enthroned Mother and Child, the *sedes sapientiae* which dominates that tympanum, with the intentionally similar image of the Virgin and Child enthroned above the eucharistic bread in the axial window of the sanctuary's clerestory, above the high altar. All three sets of images – west portal, screen, axial clerestory – marked out the three critical stages in the procession which passed along the full length of the cathedral when the bishop made his solemn entrance into the church on the major feasts of the liturgical year.[163]

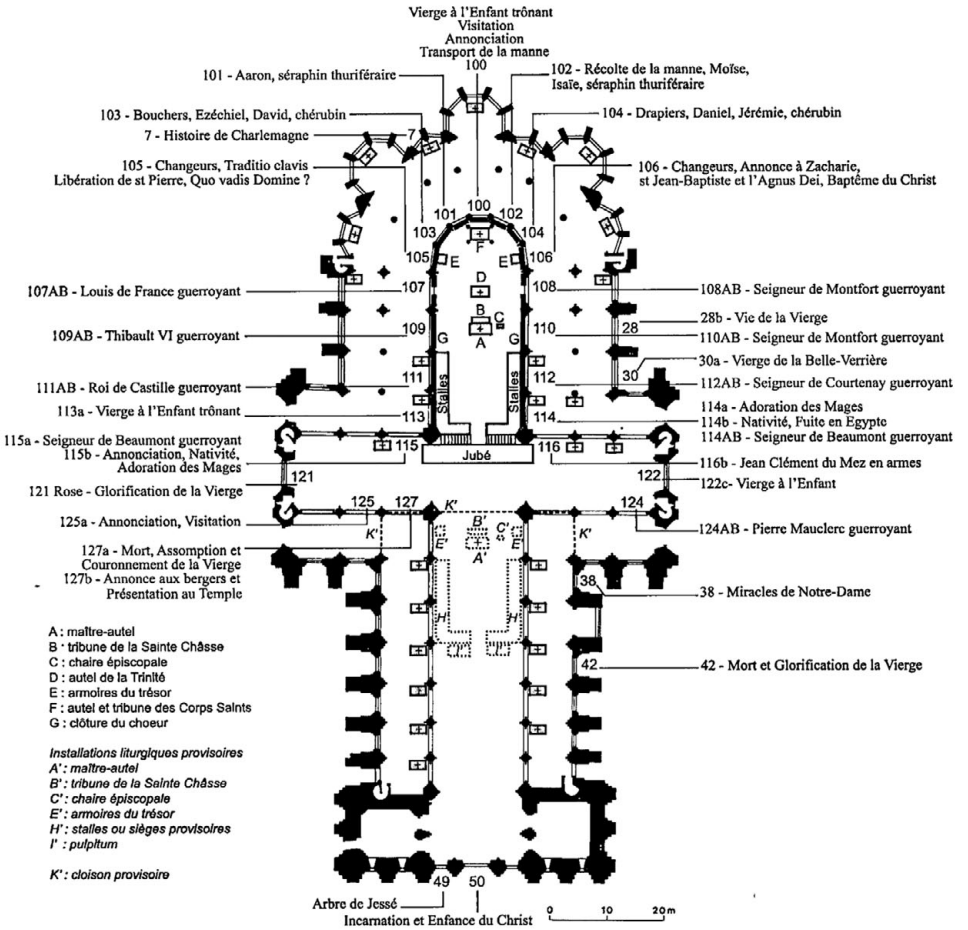
Crossley sketched a second map, a "possible pilgrimage," in the same cathedral. Both were "deduced solely from the imagery itself,"[164] but they suggest how late medieval and early modern Christians might have actively made their place of worship through diverse movement.

Claudine Lautier sketched a different map, also in Chartres, of windows and altars which layered narrative and affiliations to the reliquary chasse of the Virgin and then to other relics within the cathedral (Figure 12).[165] She did not delineate a single line of movement but a place within which individual Christians might move among a density of ways of thinking about Mary. Both Crossley and Lautier approached Chartres as dense in interreferential materializations with which individual Christians might think about Mary, the Incarnation, and resurrection as they moved from one form to another. Both invite a reconceptualization of Chartres – and by extension other churches – as inviting human movement in various progressions of cognition and contemplation, at the center of which was the aporia of Incarnation, from Mary through resurrection.[166]

Ecclesia offered the faithful an abundance of instantiations of *res*, *gesta*, *ostium* and *vela* all materializing the *redundantia* of divine communication, as well as ways of thinking about its very nature. A singularly complex cognitive and somatic place, each church invited and materialized movement, from the portal through which the faithful might enter, through the textiles that veiled and revealed, along the columns that themselves frequently materialized many different kinds of movement, up steps to the altar. It also invited movement to loci of personal devotion, places that had, following Fries, become constitutive of the person before them. It invited *ecclesia* as people, as Crossley and Lautier suggested, to follow narrative and thematic itineraries within the place where they worshiped. And it was itself in movement, from the ongoing *gestae* of the faithful through the changing seasonal light, to the changing textiles of liturgical seasons. It materialized, in other words, that divine revelation was not static, not fixed, but to be discerned in spatial movement that figured cognitive progress.

Ecclesia as place was the site of at least five of the seven sacraments: Extreme unction normally was administered at the death bed; and marriage had not yet moved fully within the place of worship.[167] But Durand did not approach sacraments as they might have occurred within the space of a church – again, he had already articulated a fundamentally different conceptualization of the place of worship. He opened the last chapter (chapter 9) with definitions, in the plural, of sacrament, again instantiating that sense of *redundantia*.

[163] Crossley 2009, 167.
[164] Crossley 2009, 168, 169.
[165] Lautier 2009.
[166] On "images that attempt an interpretation of . . . the Incarnation," see Grabar 1968, 128–137.
[167] Divina Officia 2004 has a small illumination showing a progression from outside a church into the interior as the sacrament of marriage, Abb. 145, p. 305.



11.3 Chartres, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, plan indicating locations of stained-glass windows related to the *Sainte Châsse* with provisional locations (dotted lines) and permanent locations (shaded areas) of liturgical furnishings.

FIGURE 12 Lautier map of Chartres *Source*: Lautier 2009.

According to Gregory, Durand wrote, "a sacrament is in any celebration with a *res gesta* so done that whatever signifying thing [*significate rei*] we accept which is holy, that is worthy, to be accepted" – using that term, *res gesta*, that Durand had connected to images earlier in Book I and, we have seen, could also be applied to walls. He linked sacraments and *ornamenta*, that category that encompassed veils as well as phylacteries: "Mystery is in the sacraments, ministry is said to be in the ornaments." Durand quoted Augustine – "A sacrament is the visible form of invisible grace" – linking his consideration of *ecclesia* to a definition that had so shaped subsequent discussion. And finally, "It is also said that a sacrament is a sign of a sacred thing [*sacre rei signum*], or a sacred secret [*sacrum*

secretum]."[168] *Res*, *gesta*, *signum* were essential to sacraments, *ornamenta* to their administration; all were also parts of *ecclesia* as place. And, to return to Augustine, each church was also a machine for thinking about seeing and seeing beyond.

All but extreme unction and marriage occurred within *ecclesia* as both people and place. Baptism was both necessary to salvation and a sacrament that, in a time of need, could be administered by any member of *ecclesia*. In his discussion of confirmation and ordination, Durand introduced a category, "dignity," that is, the requirement that these sacraments be administered by a bishop – forming a bridge to the next book, which took up the orders of clergy, the persons of those who administer the sacraments. Like baptism, confirmation was a sacrament necessary to salvation, but it was as well a sacrament of dignity. Penance, the Eucharist, and extreme unction were necessary to salvation but, unlike baptism, were to be administered solely by someone who had received the sacrament of ordination – not necessarily a bishop but at a minimum a priest. Ordination was a sacrament of dignity and choice. Extreme unction, which normally occurred at the death bed, he considered most fully in the chapter on unctions immediately before the chapter on sacraments; for him, that sacrament belonged properly to oil and anointing. These sacraments, he noted in passing, were taken up elsewhere in the *Rationale*: He would consider extreme unction under the category of unctions in chapter 8; ordination in Book II; the Eucharist in Book IV under the Canon of the Mass; penance in Book VI under Holy Thursday; and baptism and confirmation in Book VI under Holy Saturday. Sacraments did not have, in other words, one locus in the *Rationale* but linked the persons of clergy, the Passion, and the Easter Triduum to *ecclesia* as place and people.

The one sacrament Durand discussed at length in chapter 9 was marriage.[169] Marriage was the sole sacrament of choice alone: It was not necessary to salvation; it required no priest or bishop to be a sacrament. Durand did not advise marriage: A man seeking the kingdom of heaven should not wish to marry.[170] Nor were marriages to be celebrated throughout the liturgical year. Quite the contrary, marriage could be contracted, according to church custom, only between the octave of Easter and the first Rogation day.[171] This sacrament closed the book on *ecclesia*.

No one sacrament defined *ecclesia* for Durand – not baptism, not penance, not the Eucharist, and certainly not marriage, which, like ordination, was a sacrament of choice, not necessity. Indeed, the sense of place he had built precluded any such instrumental relationship. Thus, when he turned to marriage, he did not articulate a causal relationship at all. He wrote, "a threefold spiritual sacrament is signified in the carnal consummation of marriage": The first "is the union of the soul of the faithful to God through faith, love, and charity"; "the second sacrament is the union of human nature with God which was done in the womb of the virgin through the incarnation of the Word of God"; "the third

[168] Book I, 9, 1–3, "Circa ecclesiastica sacramenta, notandum est quod, secundum Gregorium: 'Sacramentum est in aliqua celebratione cum res gesta ita fit ut aliquid significate rei accipiamus quod sancta, id est digne, accipiendum est'. … 2. Misterium enim est in sacramentis, ministerium dicitur in ornamentis. Sed et, secundus Augustinum: 'Sacramentum est inuisibilis gratie uisibilis forma'. … 3. Dicitur etiam sacramentum sacre rei signum, uel sacrum secretum," RDOL1, 113.

[169] Cf. *Divina Officia* 2004, 303–304.

[170] Book I, 9, 7, "Sacramentum uoluntatis tantum est matrimonium, et dicitur uoluntatis quia sine illo quis saluari potest; non enim expedit homini ad regna celorum tendere uolenti nubere," RDOL1, 114.

[171] Book I, 9, 7, RDOL1, 114–115.

sacrament is the unity of *ecclesia* gathered from all peoples and subject to one man, Christ."[172] This sacrament, Durand wrote, was signified in the man who had one wife who was herself a virgin, a man who afterwards became a cleric and ordained. Bigamy, Durand continued, denied the sacrament, because the body was divided. The true church was joined to Christ, neither separating from him nor he from her.[173] It was not simply that the sacrament of marriage took up directly and literally the language of "sponsa" and the relationship Scripture had articulated for that word. It offered a way of thinking about "union" and "unity" that was simultaneously corporeal and spiritual, bringing together the two senses of *ecclesia* Durand had set in motion in the beginning of the book. It simultaneously figured discrete persons and a divinely formed union.[174]

Marriage also offered a way of thinking about signs. Before describing marriage as a threefold sacrament, he accorded the ring two paragraphs. The ring was "a sign of their mutual love," that "their hearts had been joined." It was to be placed on the fourth finger, because the vein on that finger carried blood directly to the heart.[175] He detailed the significations of the choice of metal and stone, "just as [*sicut*] gold excels other metals, so does love all goods."[176] The ring was not a "symbol," that is, an object, but a form of *materia*, visible and tangible and wearable, which manifested the joining of hearts and the living of love for those who knew what marriage as sacrament encompassed in its living: obedience, modesty, humility, and a unity of persons.

The Strasbourg *Ecclesia* (Plate 3), like other figures of *Ecclesia*, was formed as a woman, the *sponsa Christi*.[177] Standing to the left in the south portal of the cathedral,

[172] Book I, 9, 12, "Notandum etiam est quod triplex spirituale sacramentum in carnali matrimonio consumato designator. Primum sacramentum est unio fidelis anime ad Deum per fidem, dilectionem et caritatem; siue unio uoluntatis, scilicet caritas, que consistit in spiritu inter Deum et iustam animam, unde Apostolus: Qui adheret Deo unus spiritus est cum illo. Hoc sacramentum significator per coniunctionem animorum habitam in prima desponsatione carnalis matrimonii. Secundum est unio nature humane ad Deum que facta est in utero uirginali per incarnationem Verbi Dei; siue nature conformitas que constitit in carne inter Christum et sanctam ecclesiam, ad quod pertinent illud: Verbum caro factum est etc. Hoc sacramentum designator in matrimonio carnali per coniunctionem corporum consummation: non quod ipsa coniunctio, in qua Spiritus sanctus non adest, illud designet, sed per ipsum alctum consummatum significator. Tertium sacramentum est ecclesie unitas ex omnibus gentibus collecta et uni uiro, scilicet Christo, subiecta. Hoc sacramentum significator in eo qui unicam tantum et uirginem habuit uxorem, facto postmodum cleric et ordinato," RDOL1, 117–118. I have not italicized the scriptural text, in keeping with medieval and early modern editions, nor capitalized *ecclesia*, both of which the editors of the modern edition have done.

[173] Book I, 9, 13, RDOL1, 118.

[174] Cf. "Little wonder that Suger's concluding prayer in *De Consecratione* calls on all in heaven and on earth to unite into a single state (*Respublica una*), in which, through priestly unction and the Eucharist, the material and the immaterial, the corporeal and the spiritual, are joined together. The 'single republic' is a Ciceronian gloss on the familiar Pauline image of the church – celestial and terrestrial – as the foundations of the prophets with Chirst as their chief cornerstone (Cor. 1.15.24), but it comes alive in the performative rhetoric of the liturgy. Here, in what Suger called 'the marriage of the Eternal Bridegroom,' we come close to what the twelfth century may have described as the 'holistic cathedral,'" Crossley 2009, 173.

[175] "Item quod in primis, anulus a sponso sponse datur, fit nimirum: propter mutue dilectionis signum, uel propter id magis ut pignore, id est signo, eorum corda iungantur. Vnde et in quarto digito ideo anulus inseritur, quia in eo uena quedam (ut fertur) sanguinis ad cor usque perueniat," Book I, 9, 10, RDOL1, 116.

[176] "sicut aurum cetera metalla, sic amor uniuersa bona precellit," Book I, 9, 11, RDOL1, 117.

[177] Rowe 2011 offers a summary of the research on the two figures of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, ch. 2 . On the Strasbourg figures, see ch. 5, for which she also provides the historiography on the sculpture. On the Strasbourg Ecclesia, see especially Jung 2020a, 71–89. On Ecclesia as spouse, see Sciurie 1989. On the construction of the south portal of the Strasbourg cathedral, see Bengel 2011.

PLATE 3 Strasbourg Cathedral, *Ecclesia*, c. 1220 Source: Author.

she holds a chalice in her hand. This chalice might be read as marking the entrance to *ecclesia*, as that place where the chalice, formed of the *res* of stone, would itself be read as presenting Christ. *Ecclesia* was the place – with all its many referents – to think most fully about *res*, *signum*, *ostium*, the relationship of *res* and Scripture, revelation, and the *redundantia* of divine communication. It was also and at the same time each person for whom the Incarnation had changed the relationship of word and matter, for whom *res*, *gesta*, *signum*, and *ornamenta* were modes of divine communication. *Ecclesia* as person could read *ecclesia* as place as "full of divine signs and mysteries." *Ecclesia* knew what she carried.

FIGURE 13 Sant'Apollinare in Classe, altar *Source*: Author.

FIGURE 14 Sant'Apollinare in Classe, altar *Source*: Author.

2

Altars

In the nave of Sant'Apollinare in Classe stands what, by the time it was constructed, had come to be called an altar (Figures 13 and 14).[1] By the sixteenth century, not only the name but also the matter, the form, and the composition had come to provoke thousands of Christians, some to call for their replacement with wooden tables, some to singular physical violence, bringing sledgehammers to smash into rubble what had, for generations, stood in choirs, apses, and chapels and against columns.[2] Even those who left them in place no longer accorded them the same role in the Mass. For Lutherans, they were the surface for the celebration of the Eucharist. For Catholics, they were more, but no longer what they had been. Even the great Jesuit scholar Joseph Braun, whose study of altars remains foundational, defined the altar as "that liturgical instrument [*Gerät*] on and at which the Eucharist was celebrated."[3] It was for him a thing. He accorded some six pages in a 756-page volume to the "symbolism" of the altar.[4] For him, meaning was given to the altar by texts: commentators, liturgists including Durand, canon lawyers, popes, and theologians. The altar itself was mute.

This chapter, then, seeks to recover what the altar did in the Mass prior to the sixteenth century. That poses even larger problems than face us when considering churches, missals, vestments, or images, in part because these different material

[1] "In der ersten Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts wurde mit dem seit der Trennung der Agapen von der Eucharistie einzigen Tisch des Presbyteriums der Begriff 'Altar' verbunden," Wieland 1906, 142–143. On the history of the term, see Braun 1924, I, 21–42; Bliley 1927, 6–12. For a continuation of the debate, sparked by Wieland, on the different names, their historical documentation, and their import for worship, see Weckwerth 1963. For an introduction to the early history of altars, see, for example, Heid 2019. On the church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, see Mazzotti 1954; Bovini 1960, 144–164; Deichmann 1969, 257–277, and 1976, 233–280; and Deliyannis 2010. On this particular altar, see Mazzotti 1954, 88–90.

[2] On the destruction of altars in the Reformation, see Wandel 1995; Duke 2003. Andrew Spicer takes up altars in the Reformation, Spicer 2016, 85–86.

[3] "Altar nennen wir dasjenige liturgische Gerät, auf und an dem sich die eucharistische Feier vollzieht," Braun 1924, I, 1.

[4] "Es erübrigt noch, mit einigen Worten die Symbolik darzulegen, welche man mit dem Altar schon seit früher Zeit verbunden hat. Wie man dem Kirchengebäude, den liturgischen Gewändern, dem Altarlinnen, der Altarbekleidung und den hl. Gefäßen einen mystischen Sinn unterlegte, so auch dem Altar, der durch seine Weihe, durch die bei dieser ihm zuteil gewordenen erhabenen Bestimmung und durch seine Verwendung in der Tat für eine tiefere symbolische Auffassung den reichsten Untergrund bot," Braun 1924, 750.

dimensions of the Mass have been more studied, more analyzed, the work that they did explored more fully. In part, however, it has to do with altars themselves and the very nature of the work they did in the Mass. Altars spoke in languages – foremost of *materia*, typology, and allegory – that, in the wake of Evangelical repudiation of them, became largely extinct, even among scholars of material culture.[5] The rich literature on material culture has struggled with names, such as "object" or "thing," and with the relation between an object and the human mind,[6] but contemporary theories share as their point of departure that the hand that made the object was human. Following them, then, altars do not work autonomously of the human minds that formed them, used them, and incorporated them into realms of meaning. As objects, altars remain constant over time, their meaning given them by human beings in moments in human history – the meaning may well change, but the object does not. Modern theories of material culture and materiality, in other words, cannot take us into how medieval Christians conceived the matter of which altars were made and the relationship of the human mind to their meaning. They cannot because, simply put, they do not share Durand's predicate, which he, in turn, shared with so many liturgists, theologians, and canon lawyers: All matter was a medium of the revelation of complex divine mysteries, created by God, whose meaning resides in the mind of God, not the human viewer.[7] For Durand, altars belonged to the made world and had their origin in Creation. The following relies on the words, foremost of Durand and canon law, as it seeks to see altars as late medieval liturgists and theologians did.

The altar in Sant'Apollinare in Classe encapsulates the problems in thinking about any "history" of the altar, even as it also introduces defining features of the altars that survive to this day.[8] Composed of a surface, *mensa*, and supports, *stipes*,[9] its form evokes a table (Figure 13).[10] It points toward, but does not offer a representation of, the table medieval Western Christians imagined to have been in the room at the Last Supper, when Christ, following that same way of thinking, "instituted" the Eucharist.

[5] Later in this chapter, we shall take up Friedrich Ohly's concept of signification, set forth most influentially in Ohly 2005a.

[6] Among the most important of those efforts are DeMarrais, Gosden, and Renfrew 2004; Ingold 2013. On "materiality," see, for example, Richardson, Hamling, and Gaimster 2016; Lahti and Räsänen 2008. For an introduction to contemporary considerations of "objects," see Cordez, Kaske, Saviello, and Thürigen 2018.

[7] While the divine origin of matter is not his concern in his study of holy matter in performance, Glenn Ehrstine acknowledges directly the "power" of "a relic, a miraculous image, or a sacramental" "originated in the divine presence of the objects themselves," Ehrstine 2018, 341.

[8] On the composition of the altar, see Braun 1924, I, 147–148. In none of the six volumes on the churches of Ravenna does Deichmann acknowledge the existence of this altar. He argues for the original location of Apollinarius' grave outside the church, Deichmann 1969, I, 257–260; 1976, 2.Teil, 233–234; and 1989, 167–168.

[9] Because the terms *mensa* and *stipes* name specific formal requirements of the altar, I shall use them throughout. Braun 1924, I, Part II, ch. 2. On the construction of a fixed altar, see in addition to Braun, Bliley 1927, 51–74.

[10] "Visual and epigraphic artifacts as well as textual evidence offer both concrete and verbal testimony to [the practice of sharing a meal with the dead at their tomb] and demonstrate that it was continued by converts to the Christian religion, who also adapted it for the feasts of their martyrs and saints ... Gradually, the tradition of eating a meal with the dead was also transformed into the practice of celebrating a eucharist at an 'ordinary' funeral. First at the tomb, then at the altar, the church family gathered to hear the tales of heroism and to eat a meal," Jensen 2008, 107.

Simultaneously, its form also encompasses a *sepulcrum* for relics, while its matter calls forth the tomb, its substance and color linking it to the sarcophagi that now line the walls of the church (Figure 14).[11] Form and matter together challenge any simple construction of a line of development from table to altar: The table is still present even as it is transformed into something else, something which, again, devout Christians viewed in terms of both the Seder and also the Crucifixion and the Resurrection.

Like so many altars, its date of origin is uncertain; its parts possibly carved at different times and then built together;[12] the record of its consecration, again like so many altars, lost. Some altars of its period were made of wood; increasingly, however, altars were made of stone or marble, which, in turn, led to their survival in greater numbers. Thus, this altar simultaneously points toward the instantiation of the Eucharist, the Last Supper, and, standing in a church now a UNESCO World Heritage Site, is an abiding material presence, the site of hundreds of generations of Christians receiving the sacrament of Communion.

Unlike most surviving altars, it stands open on all sides in the nave; its placement evokes a communal meal, rather than the Mass celebrated by a priest that took form in the years when the altar was probably made. Unlike most modern altars, it is oriented toward the apse.[13] Raised above the floor of the nave, it is placed directly on the marble identifying that spot as the place where the early bishop Apollinaris was martyred.[14] If its supports evoke a table and its central location, a meal open both spatially and personally to all present, its marble recasts the relationship of that meal to time and to death.

The altar in Sant'Apollinare differs from late medieval altars in its size, in its placement at the entrance to the nave, and in the absence of a retable or other adornment of the altar, a material trace of earlier practices largely erased in most churches.[15] It also makes particularly visible defining aspects of all the altars that we shall be considering. It is fixed, not portable; we shall not be considering portable altars, which first served missionary work and then became sites of more private devotion.[16] It is in a place of collective and public worship, not in a private chapel in a residence. While some surviving altars are no longer consecrated to use in the Mass, this one, as well as others in modern Italy, Belgium, France, Spain, and Germany are. This altar, like those, is not an artifact of past practice but a site of ongoing worship, a material presence in an ever-changing living community of the faithful – yet another temporal dimension of altars to which we shall return.

The high altar in Sant'Ambrogio in Milan manifests two interconnected changes in the work altars did in the Mass. First, it is not a table but a box.[17] Following Braun, that

[11] On the history of the sarcophagi, see Pavan 1978.

[12] Mazzotti 1954, 88–91.

[13] On the orientation of altars, see Braun 1924, I, 412–416. Matthias Th. Kloft offers evidence of the celebrant facing the congregation, a book cover, c. 875, Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt, Kloft 2006, 23–29.

[14] On the story of Apollinare and his relationship to Classe, see Deichmann 1969, I, 257–260; Deliyannis 2010, 38–39, 259–260.

[15] Iñiguez treats altars within their visual and material contexts, Iñiguez 1991.

[16] On portable altars, see Braun 1924, I, Part III, 419–523; Hahn 2014.

[17] "Die Form des Altares war nicht zu allen Zeiten und überall die gleiche. Neben wie nacheinander gab es Altäre von sehr ungleicher Bildung. In vorkonstantinischer Zeit war der Altar wohl in der Regel eine Art

form had emerged by the time the Sant'Apollinare altar was composed.[18] It marks another step in the change in the liturgy, from a communal meal to the Mass with a celebrant and assistants. It also materializes the changing work of the altar in the Mass. Altars with solid sides, which Braun categorized as either box or block shapes, seem to have been linked, though neither causally nor directly as far as Braun could determine, to the practice of placing the relics first under an altar and then within it.[19] We shall return to the ancient and multilayered relationship of altars to relics.

Second, Sant'Ambrogio is also the oldest surviving example of a practice that lasted from the ninth century in Italy to the thirteenth century in Scandinavia, of enclosing the high altar in frontals, made of gold, as in the case of Sant'Ambrogio, or silver and precious metals, and formed into reliefs depicting Christ, his life, and the apostles.[20] Those frontals have been analyzed as images within the liturgy. Here, I wish to separate them from the altars, as, in fact, they were: These panels of precious metal hung on frames that, in turn, were hung on altars; most, more evidence of their severability from altars, have been removed to museums. Some frontals covered the front of altars – hence their name. Some, such as at Sant'Ambrogio, enclosed the altar, mounted on frames that hung in front of, on the sides of, and on the back of the altar. The high altar in Sant'Ambrogio does not simply mark a dramatic step in artistic production. The frontal in Sant'Ambrogio cloaks the altar completely, materializing a paradox: Even as the altar was the focus of extraordinary craft and the most precious of metals, it was hidden. Altars, the site of the Eucharist, were cloaked, most dramatically by frontals but also by cloths and tapestries.

Beginning perhaps as early as the tenth century,[21] altars provided support for a form of visual art designed precisely to rest on it, the altarpiece or retable (Plate 4). Both the origins of the form of image as well as the relationship between the growth in the size of altars and the placement of images on them are contested.[22] The altar in Sant'Ambrogio suggests that altars were becoming wider, perhaps to accommodate the changing role of the priest, who, with the composition of the missal, became the sole celebrant, assisted by deacons, for whom, then, more space was required.

von Tisch, doch auch in nachkonstantinischer zeigte noch über ein Jahrtausend lang sehr häufig die Tischform. Sehr häufig, nicht immer. Denn unter dem Einfluß der steigenden Reliquienverehrung, namentlich aber infolge der stets mehr und mehr Verbreitung gewinnenden kirchlichen Sitte, unter dem Altar Reliquien beizusetzen, bürgerte sich schon früh beim Altarbau neben der Tischform ein anderer Typus, die Kastenform, ein. Tischform und Kastenform führten dann allmählich zu einer dritten Bildung, zur Blockform: die Tischform, indem man die Stütze, die oft nur aus einem viereckigen Steinblock bestand oder nur eine pfeilerartige Aufmauerung darstellte, so sehr an Breite und Tiefe wachsen ließ, daß sie zuletzt nur wenig mehr von dem unteren Rande der Mensa abstand... Aus der Blockform entwickelte sich schließlich in der neueren Zeit die Sarkophagform," Braun 1924, I, 125.

[18] Braun 1924, I, 125.

[19] Braun 1924, 192–211, 527–549. See also Crook 2000, 12–14, 65–68.

[20] According to Erik Thunø, the frontal in Sant'Ambrogio "represents a significant, and in fact the oldest, surviving example of a large and geographically widespread group of altar frontals produced in costly metals and decorated with gems and historiated narratives," Thunø 2006, 63. In that same volume, Søren Kaspersen considers the narratives of Danish frontals, Kaspersen 2006. For analyses of single altar frontals, see Liepe 2006 and Sonne de Torrens 2006.

[21] Binski dates altarpieces this early, Binski 2009, 32. Ebbe Nyborg notes, "the earliest preserved altarpieces or 'retables' are no older than the twelfth-thirteenth century," Nyborg 2014, 161. On altarpieces and altars, see Barbara Lane's foundational study, Lane 1984; and more recently, Kroesen and Schmidt 2009.

[22] "But which was the chicken and which was the egg?" Gardner 1994, 12.

PLATE 4 Venice, Santa Maria dei Frari, altar and altarpiece Source: Author.

Over time altars became much wider, some wider than sixteen feet.[23] Whether the width of altars was the cause or the consequence, those altars came to hold images of

[23] "The smallish, often cubic altars of the twelfth century, which for example conditioned the relatively modest scale of some thirteenth- and fourteenth-century altarpieces, gave way to the wider altars of the

unprecedented architectural and visual complexity, some more than ten feet in height, of multiple panels that folded in upon themselves. Those images, once accused of drawing the eyes of the devout, have indeed drawn the eyes of most scholars away from the surface on which they were originally located.[24] They were designed and intended to captivate eyes. Again, paradoxically, as with frontals, as retables brought greater density of meaning to the locus of their placement, they drew eyes not to the altar itself but to its adornment.

Altars and the images that were placed on them did different work in the Mass. Altar frontals tended to offer narratives of Christ's life, to speak in the logic of narrative and its implicit chronology.[25] Conversely, altars confound the logic of chronology, both sui generis and individually. All altars serve as the site for the Eucharist and therefore as the abiding material form on and at which divine presence occurs within the rhythms of the liturgy. Individually, they also confound chronology variously. The altar in Sant'Apollinare in Classe, for example, presents a Latin text: Sanctus Romualdus Ravennas / ad altare hoc noctu orans / beato martyre Apollinare / bis viso / ad sacru[m] ordine[m] monasticum / vocatus est / anno / DCCCCXXVII. But what is the relationship of that text to events as historians have reconstructed them? Apollinaris was indeed active in Ravenna; his relationship to Classe is less certain.[26] He may have been buried there, but he had not been martyred; that was a medieval story. Romuald, named on the front of the altar, entered the Benedictine monastery that had come to be attached to the church around 1000, moved from Classe, founded a new order of Benedictines, the Camadolesians, and returned to Classe, which became one of the main churches of his order in 1138.

Altars and altarpieces also differed in the work they did in the Mass. Altarpieces' brilliant colors and mind-absorbing detail have pulled viewers past and present into the mysteries they render in oil. They speak in visual values, articulated in iconic texts, to contemporaries as well as scholars.[27] Conversely, altars have never spoken in the languages of visual arts, beyond their form: mensa and support. Some, such as the high altar in the Basilica San Francesco in Ravenna, present figurative art, most often of Christ and his apostles (Figure 15). Some, such as the altar in the Chapel of Saint Mark in Basilica Santa Maria dei Frari in Venice, present a lamb, here with angels (Figure 16). Many more present a cross on the side facing the congregation (Figure 17). But these figures and symbols are not the reason for the altar; the altar was not simply or even primarily a surface for images. Nor were altars ever intended to captivate or draw eyes. Quite the contrary, as the altarcloth on the altar in Sant'Apollinare in Classe reminds us, altars were traditionally veiled, in some places with intricate silk tapestries, an aspect to which we turn later.[28]

early Trecento which accommodated ever larger altarpieces," Gardner 1994, 12. "The fourteenth-century altar in the Lady Chapel of Ely Cathedral measured sixteen feet, four and a half inches, that at Tewksbury Abbey, thirteen feet, eight inches, and that in the FitzAlan Chapel, Arundel, twelve feet six inches. These are typical examples of the altar that came into use from the fourteenth century onwards," Pocknee 1963, 41.

[24] Not only are there far more studies of each individual surviving altarpiece than there are for any single altar, but even those studies of "altars" tend to turn from the altar to its frontal or its altarpiece. See, for example, Kaspersen and Thunø 2006.

[25] Kaspersen and Thunø 2006.

[26] On the history of the church, see Deliyannis 2010, 259–261.

[27] On the values in analyzing the visual arts, see foremost, Baxandall 1985; Melion 1991; Baxandall, "Prolegomena: Values, Arguments, System," Baxandall 2003, 1–26.

[28] On altarcloths, see Pocknee 1963, 45–50.

FIGURE 15 Ravenna, Basilica di San Francesco, high altar *Source*: Author.

FIGURE 16 Venice, Santa Maria dei Frari, altar *Source*: Author.

The role of altars in the Mass was of a different order. While some altars bodied forth the stone carver's craft, their preeminent work was not the display of craft. Those with images of a lamb brought explicit references, but the lambs were an affirmation of what belonged to the altar, not a definition of it. So, too, the apostles were an affirmation of

FIGURE 17 Brussels, Church of Our Blessed Lady of the Sablon, altar *Source*: Author.

one association of the altar, but their presence on its front did not define the altar, did not declare it to be an altar. Its composition, its function as place, and its consecration made it an altar.[29] These are the terms in which canonists and liturgists defined altars; they are also the modes by which altars brought meaning to the Mass. We begin with composition.

COMPOSITION: FORM

Every altar was composite in form and matter. Formally, the fixed altar was composed of two parts, formally and legally differentiated by discrete terms, stipes and mensa. Braun documented almost infinite variation in the two parts, stipes and mensa. We shall turn later to the four broad categories of shapes he differentiated according to stipes – table, box, block, and sarcophagus – which carried their own meaning. But Braun also differentiated further among the shapes, table, box, and block, articulating what is a rich variation in form. Braun differentiated table altars, for instance, according to the number of supports, from one to more than five, a variety he found in both free-standing

[29] "Two candles and a cross were a requirement by the early thirteenth century: what were they to be placed on? Here some generalizations can be made. The altar was where the sacrifice of the mass was offered. It had to be properly consecrated, and for placement of an altarpiece the altar had to be fixed. Portable altars are entirely distinct. . . . Every church must possess a fixed altar," Gardner 1994, 9–10.

altars and those attached to a wall or supported from behind. He documented whether box altars were placed over the grave of a holy person and whether they housed relics, treasures, or liturgical vessels. Among block altars, he attended to architectural features, such as posts and niches. In a separate chapter, Braun turned to the mensa. As Braun documented, it, too, could vary as to shape – circular or quadratic, square or rectangular – as well as depth, profile, niches, decoration, the crosses from consecration, and inscriptions.

Their variation underlines both that the two parts were essential to every altar and that beyond the necessity of the two parts, "neither the Code [of canon law] nor the liturgical laws of the Church nor custom prescribes one definite form for the fixed or immovable altar."[30] The evidence of surviving altars testifies to the absence of local, regional, diocesan, or papal regulation of shape. So, too, the proliferation of altars in churches, for which the plan of Saint Gall offers evidence as early as 820–830, also meant the proliferation of variations in stipes and mensae.

Variation emphasized one way in which the altar was composite: Its form was not itself a whole but comprised two parts, uprights of some kind and a surface. Each of the two was essential. Every mensa needed to provide a flat surface for the celebration of the Eucharist: the vessels with their elements, the candlesticks, and, after a time, the book of the Mass.[31] For every altar, no matter its shape, the stipes were to be tall enough for a priest to stand at the altar to celebrate. Every altar was to consist in those two discrete parts. Altars were not a unit but united two forms.

So, too, papal decree and canon law recognized the two parts, foremost in naming them but also in regulation. No altar was carved from a single piece of stone, but, increasingly, the mensa came under regulation for its integrity. A decretal of Pope Alexander III (1159–1181) first addressed the question, if a mensa was damaged, fractured, or otherwise diminished; Alexander decreed, it was not to be consecrated.[32] Pope Innocent III formalized the necessity of an undamaged mensa in a decision sent to the Archbishop of Besançon in 1212. For Innocent, "undamaged" encompassed all but "enormous" fractures – minor damage did not exclude a mensa from use in the Mass – but their pronouncements, taken into Gregory IX's *Decretals*, acquired the force of law, and also momentum toward a perfectly undamaged mensa.[33] A separate but clearly related question was whether the mensa could be made of multiple pieces of stone, not broken, but also not whole in a particular way. The legislation was modern, but Braun found ample evidence among surviving medieval altars that those who made them largely sought a single stone for the mensa.[34]

If the mensa and stipes each had structural functions in the altar, the stipes brought another layer of meaning to the altar. They, Braun argued, gave the altar its shape. He distinguished four broad categories of shape: table, box, block, and sarcophagus.[35]

[30] Bliley 1927, 56.
[31] Braun 1924, I, ch. 3.
[32] "Si altare motum fuerit aut lapis ille solummodo superpositus, qui sigillum continet, confractus au etiam diminutus exstiterit, denuo debet consecrari," Braun 1924, I, 308.
[33] On the history of this particular question, see Braun 1924, I, 308–310.
[34] Braun 1924, I, 310–316.
[35] Braun 1924, I, ch. 2.

As he himself acknowledged, these were not clear categories: Surviving altars might combine, for example, legs with solid sides, such as an altar in Santa Chiara in Assisi. So, too, Braun recognized the considerable overlap between a box and a block. But these four shapes, he held, roughly marked the chronological development of the altar from a simple table to something much more visually complex. While that chronology seems at first glance useful in seeking to grasp a millennium of material change as the meal became the Mass, it is ultimately problematic. As Braun himself acknowledged, altars resembling tables continued to be built long after box and block altars began appearing. The one did not supersede the other.

Indeed, the coexistences of altars of differing shapes within the same ecclesial space invites us to revisit any notion of chronology, to reconceive the relationship between altars and time. In form and, as we shall see, in matter, altars resist chronology. Quite the contrary, the sheer variety of altars made visibly present and synchronic what Braun suggested was diachronic. By the end of the fifteenth century, the table coexisted with the box and the block in churches throughout Europe. By the end of the fifteenth century, the "history" of the altar had become a part of the space of worship.

But to conceive of the altar in terms of "history" is to miss critical work they did in the Mass. In both form and matter, altars did singular work. Their shape and their substance linked the present site of worship to biblical text. A table altar, such as the granite Romanesque altar from Rødding in Salling (Figure 18), was not a symbol of the Last Supper but a materialization of its site. A block or box altar was more ambivalent. Its shape could, quite possibly simultaneously, link to Old Testament altars, most famously

FIGURE 18 Rødding in Salling, altar *Source*: The National Museum of Denmark.

that on which Abraham offered Isaac, for which the lamb was further allusion, even as it also linked it to Christ's Resurrection, as it was visualized in a number of images of the Mass of Saint Gregory (see Chapter 4). Altars did not serve as an allegory for or symbolize Old Testament altars or New Testament tables – their relationship was neither abstract nor ideational but material and insistently present. They made materially present that which was named in the biblical text, construed perhaps anachronistically, but they were not governed by the logic of Chronos, by chronology as linear time.

COMPOSITION: STONE OR MARBLE

Canon 26 of the Council of Epaon, held in 517, is the earliest evidence for the requirement that all fixed altars be made of stone.[36] As the altar of Sant'Apollinare in Classe testifies, "stone" encompassed marble. Canon 26 was taken into Gratian's *Decretum*.[37] So, too, Durand stipulates: "Altars are never to be anointed unless they are made of stone."[38] Nor was it simply that altars were to be made of stone. Most surviving medieval altars were not painted: The stone is visible as material.[39] Carved, cut, and polished, altars remained visibly stone.

Durand opened his chapter on altars with a genealogy:

> It should be known, as it is written, that first Noah, then Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob built altars; these are understood to be nothing more than stones that were piled up, upon which they slaughtered the sacrifices and burnt them by placing fire on them. ... The modern altars, which are erected with four corners, are derived from these ancient fathers; some of them are constructed from one stone, others from many stones.
>
> *Rationale* I, 2, 1[40]

Stone physically, haptically, and visually connected the altars of the Old Testament to the present site of the Eucharist. Stone both historically and typologically connected the present altar to key moments of sacrifice in the Old Testament:

> And we understand the stone itself to be Christ, about whom the Apostle says: Jesus Christ Himself is the chief corner stone, and through the same stone the humanity of Christ is designated. In Daniel we read that a stone was cut from the mountain without human hands, because Christ was miraculously born without the seed of man, of the Blessed Virgin, who on account of her lofty virtue is called a mountain; and Christ became a great

[36] "Altaria nisi lapidea chrismatis unctione non sacrentur," Braun 1924, I, 104. While the form of the altar was rooted in the table of the Seder, the material of the altar changed over time. "It was not so much the positive legislation of the Church, but rather the constantly spreading custom by which the regulation that altars were to be made of stone gradually became universal," Bliley 1927, 22. On the material of altars more generally, see Braun 1924, I, 101–114; Bliley 1927, 18–23.

[37] Bliley 1927, 22.

[38] RDOE1, 85. "Non ergo unguntur altaria nisi lapidea," RDOL1, 93.

[39] On the materiality of art, see Bandmann 1969; Baxandall 1980; Prown 1982; Raff 2008. On stone, see Cohen 2010. On stone as a medium of painting, see, for example, Nygren 2017.

[40] RDOE1, 26. "Altare in ecclesia propter tria fit prout sub eius dedicatione dicetur. Sciendum autem est quod Noe primus, deinde Abraham, Ysaac et Iacob altaria edificasse leguntur que non aliud quam lapides erecti intelliguntur super quos sacrificia mactabant que supposito igne cremabant. ... Ab hiis quidem antiquis patribus altaria modernorum sumpserunt exordium que in cornua quatuor eriguntur, quorum quedam unius sunt lapidus, quedam ex pluribus componuntur," RDOL1, 28–29.

> mountain and filled the entire world. The Psalmist speaks of this: The stone that the builders rejected has been made the cornerstone, because Christ, whom the builders rejected, that is, the Jews, said: We do not want him ruling over us, and He became the cornerstone, because as the Apostle said: God exalted Him and gave Him a name which is above every other name. Or, the stone is understood to mean charity, as was previously said, which ought to be great and extensive, because the command to be charitable extends broadly, even to enemies, according to the precept of the Lord: Love, He says, your enemies.
>
> *Rationale* I, 7, 27[41]

By the time Durand wrote, stone had come to be a composite of what Friedrich Ohly called "signfications."[42] It was a thing, *res*, named in Scripture, both Old and New Testaments; following the principle articulated by Hugh of St.-Victor, "ipsae res alias res significant [things as things signify]."[43] If "stone" ("lapidus") linked present Christian altars to those of the Old Testament, it also linked present altars to stone as it appeared in the New Testament. Altars were to be made of stone, "because of the solidity of the faith, just as the Lord said to Peter: You are rock and upon this rock, that is, on the strength of this faith, I will build my Church";[44] and "because Christ, whom the altar signifies, is the stone that grows into a mountain."[45]

Stone materialized multiple significations, according to the learning of the viewer.[46] All those meanings – in whatever constellation they might have occurred for a single viewer – were simultaneous, in the very matter of the stone, as it was present throughout the Mass and at the moment of the Eucharist. Of particular concern in the sixteenth century was its material connection to the sacrifices of the Old Testament. This is better understood after we consider the other matter of the altar: relics or the consecrated host.

COMPOSITION: RELICS OR CONSECRATED HOST

> Fittingly, there cannot be a consecration of a fixed altar without the relics of Saints, or if none can be found there, without the Body of Christ.
>
> *Rationale*, I, 7, 23[47]

[41] RDOE1, 84–85. "27. Vel per ipsum lapidem Christus intelligitur, de quo dicit Apostolus: Ipso summo angulari lapide Christo Iesu, per lapidem quidem Christi humanitas designatur. De quo in Daniele legitur quod lapis abscissus est de monte sine manibus, quia Christus de beata Virgine, que propter eminentiam uirtutum mons dicitur, sine uirili semine mirabiliter est natus et, factus in montem magnum, totum repleuit orbem terrarum. De quo etiam per Psalmistam dicitur: Lapidem quem reprobauerunt edificantes hic factus est in caput anguli, quoniam Christus quem edificantes, id est Iudei, reprobauerunt dicentes: Nolumus hunc regnare super nos, hic factus est in caput anguli, quia sicut Apostolus ait: Exaltauit illum Deus et dedit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen. Vel per lapidem caritas intelligitur, ut premissum est, qui debet esse magnus et latus quoniam latum est mandatum caritatis quod etiam ad inimicos extenditur iuxta preceptum Domini: Diligite, inquit, inimicos uestros," RDOL1, 92–93.

[42] Ohly developed "signification" most influentially in Ohly 2005a.

[43] Ohly 2005a, 4.

[44] I, 7, 25, RDOE1, 84. "Dei possumus intelligere, que non propter duritiem sed propter solidatatem fidei lapidea esse debet, sicut Dominus ait Petro: Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram, id est super hanc fidei firmitatem, edificabo ecclesiam meam," RDOL1, 92.

[45] RDOE1, 85. "qui Christus per altare significatus est lapis excrescens in montem," RDOL1, 93.

[46] Pasqualigo: "Haec autem est congruentia adinventa post factum; nam si statutum fuisset, quod altare esset ligneum, dici posset ita factum, quia significat Crucem, quae fuit lignea; quia sicut Christus seipsum obtulit in Cruce, ita modo offertur in altari," Bliley 1927, 23.

[47] RDOE1, 83. "23. Sane sine sanctorum reliquiis, aut ubi ille haberi non possunt sine corpore Christi, non fit consecratio altaris fixi," RDOL1, 90.

The material composition of each altar brought it temporal and spatial complexity. Stone had its origins in Creation; it was as old. Relics were the material remains of persons who had lived at specific times and in particular places.[48] The most favored relics were those of martyrs.[49] Those relics connected the first centuries of Christianity to altars built long after those first centuries and in places far beyond the Mediterranean basin. Every altar dedicated to Saint Stephen, for example, such as the high altar in Stephansdom in Vienna, materially connected that place to the first martyr, stoned to death in Jerusalem the year after the Crucifixion. The person to whom the altar was dedicated was marked in the Sanctorale, celebrated on his or her day, and, increasingly, visualized in images on the altar or near it. If the stone or marble brought affiliations of Christ or Peter to the altar, relics brought holy lives from throughout Christendom and, over time, from the growing history of Christian witnessing.[50]

Some surviving, exquisitely crafted medieval portable altars may evoke reliquaries,[51] but altars were not reliquaries.[52] Not every altar had relics, though by the end of the fifteenth century, it was anomalous for an altar not to have relics.[53] And relics had come to be enclosed in altars only after centuries. Before they had buildings constructed for worship, early Christians celebrated the Eucharist on or near the graves of martyrs – a history the altar in Sant'Apollinare in Classe materializes.[54] Constantine's churches in Rome are the best-known evidence of the practice, once the building of churches was permitted, of placing the altar over the grave of a

[48] For an excellent introduction to medieval relics, see Bagnoli, Klein, Mann, and Robinson 2010. For an excellent introduction to post-Tridentine relics, see Boutry, Fabre, and Julia 2009. For a history of relics, see Angenendt 1997b.

[49] On the relationship among martyrs, their relics, and altars, see Brandenburg 1995.

[50] "The *Didascalia* raises the possibility that as early as the third century the celebration of the anniversary of the death of martyrs such as Polycarp had involved a eucharist over their grave. The practice was evidently well established by the time Jerome mentioned it with reference to the Constantinian basilica of St. Peter. So it was, too, at the tomb of St. Hippolytus, as indicated in Prudentius's hymn to that martyr in the Peristephanon (c. 400):

> Illa sacramenti donatrix mensa, eademque
> Custos fida sui martyris apposita,
> Seruat ad aeterni spem iudicis ossa sepulchro,
> Pascit item sanctis Tibricolas dapibus.

Similarly, at Milan, when St. Ambrose wrote of the translation of the martyrs Protasius and Gervasius in 385–6 – a significant event in the development of local cults – he was able to draw a contrast between the presence of Christ *super altare* and the saints *sub altari*," Crook 2000, 12–13.

[51] Hahn 2014. In the Preface to the 2014 edition of *The Cult of Saints*, Peter Brown provides a brief but enormously illuminating overview of the intersecting histories of saints, the dead, and Christian worship, Brown 2015.

[52] "Opferkult und Reliquienkult sind, an sich genommen, zwei ganz und gar verschiedene Dinge, zwischen denen weder eine direkte noch indirekte Beziehung besteht. Das schließt indessen nicht aus, daß sich historisch zwischen ihnen eine Verbindung bilden konnte, indem man sie auf Grund gewisser, in ihrer Natur begründeter Erwägungen einander nahebrachte," Braun 1924, I, 525. Iñiguez 1991, 199–204. For a particularly rich consideration of the relationship between relics and their reliquaries, see Hahn 2017.

[53] Braun considers relics in altars in the fourth part of volume one, "Das Altargrab," Braun 1924, I, 525–646. See also Bliley 1927, 35–42 and 81–85; Iñiguez 1991, 39–48, 142–147, 199–204, 326–330. "The apparent shortage of relics in Britain led, however, to the Council of Chelsea in July 816 declaring that, if other suitable relics were not available, the Sacrament of the Eucharist was sufficient," Pocknee 1963, 40. On the distinctive problems of the altar in the Lateran, see Bacci 2016.

[54] On martyrs and altars, see in addition to Braun, Bliley 1927, 35–42; Crook 2000, 12–14, 65–67; Jensen 2008.

martyr, most famously those of Peter and Paul. The first relics enclosed in altars were those of martyrs.[55] The earliest evidence for placing the relics within an altar comes from Gregory of Tours, who found the practice in sixth-century Gaul.[56] Various sources speak of a "sepulcrum," within which relics were to be placed, within the altar, but not until the Roman Pontifical of 1596 was the practice stipulated, and with it, the third part of the altar, the sepulcrum.[57]

By the time Durand wrote, relics from "confessors" – Church Fathers, bishops, founders of orders, ascetics – might also be enclosed in an altar.[58] Again, the proliferation of altars in churches also pertains here. As churches acquired more altars, the community of saints within them, in those different altars, became greater in number. In Toledo, for instance, there were altars for Saints Ildefonso, Agnes, and Peter, as well as for Mary. In Durham, there were altars to Saints Oswald and Lawrence (one altar); Saints Thomas of Canterbury and Katherine (one altar); Saints Andrew and Mary Magdalene (one altar); and Saints John the Baptist and Margaret (one altar), for which an inventory of vestments and liturgical vessels also survives.[59] Relics brought the physical trace of a model Christian life – at first those who testified with their lives to the truth of the resurrection, then those whose lives imitated one or another aspect of Christ's. In the ceremony dedicating the altar to that saint, Durand delineated how the relics contributed to making the altar a place of layered holiness:

> The solemn transport of relics is done in imitation of what we read in Exodus, that in the Ark of the Testament, there were two gold rings that penetrated into the wood, and poles made of shittum wood, overlaid with gold, that were placed through these rings when the Ark was carried. And before the pontiff enters the church, he goes around the church with the relics so that they can be protectors of that church. . . . Then the pontiff, before entering the church with those who accompany him, gives a sermon to the people; for when the Ark had been carried to its place, Solomon turned his face toward the people and blessed the whole gathering of Israel. . .
>
> The relics of saints are sealed in a little case with three grains of frankincense because we must retain in our memory the examples of the saints, with their faith in the Trinity, that is, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. . . . Some sort of panel is placed on the top and is attached to this sepulcher, fortified with a sign of the cross made with chrism; for the chrism is understood to mean the gift of the Holy Spirit, with which the panel, that is, charity, is anointed, because our heart is fortified with the grace of the Holy Spirit so that we can observe the heavenly secrets. Then this panel, fortified with this sign, is placed on top of the relics, because through the example of the saints charity is inflamed, which covers a multitude of sins just as the panel covers the relics. . . And this panel or stone contains or is called the "seal of the sepulcher," . . . And afterwards the stone, which is called the table of the altar, is attached to the altar, through which we can understand the perfection and solidity of the knowledge of God.
>
> *Rationale* I, 7, 24–25[60]

[55] "Christian martyrs were the first Christian holy people and the first source of relics," Krueger 2010, 6.
[56] Bliley 1927, 39.
[57] Bliley 1927, 41.
[58] Angenendt intertwines the histories of the fragmentation of holy bodies with the placing of relics in altars, Angenendt 1994.
[59] Claxton 2020, 89–97.
[60] RDOE1, 83–84. "24. Sollempnis uero reliquarium deportatio fit ad imitationem eius quod, sicut legitur inn Exod., in archa testamenti erant duo circuli aurei totum lignum penetrantes, et per eos uectes des lignis Sethim deaurati immittebantur quibus archa ferebatur. Et priusquam pontifex intret ecclesiam circuit eam cum reliquiis ut sint illius ecclesie protectores. . .Deinde pontifex, priusquam, ecclesiam cum illis

Relics wove the altar into the devotional life of the place. The person of whom they were material traces became a patron of the altar within the church and its community. That patron, in turn, belonged to a web of relations into which the altar was brought. In the records of consecrations of altars in Saint Sebald in Nuremberg, for example, Gerhard Weilandt found saints who connected the high altar to the bishop in Bamberg.[61]

In recent years, scholars have taken up a notion of "holy matter" in speaking about relics, connecting them to the burgeoning work on material culture.[62] The composition of the altar – the placing of relics or host within stone or marble – invites us to think about relics in terms that differ from that literature: not as bounded, which would leave relics not only enclosed, but shut off; nor as subject to material processes such as decay, which would evacuate the altar of some of what made it an altar. So, too, the emergence of the practice, when no relics were to be found, of placing consecrated hosts alone in the altar is highly suggestive. Braun found evidence that consecrated hosts had been placed with relics in altars, a precedent that then might have led to consecrated hosts alone as a practical solution. Most suggestive is that medieval liturgists, including Durand, advised using a consecrated host when relics failed. Relics and host were different matter from the mensa and stipes, which were consecrated after the placement of either relics or host. Holiness and materiality were, in each instance, connected but in critically different ways.

Here, too, Durand offered a different way to think about matter. The altar was "our heart" (*Rationale* I, 2, 6);[63] the sepulcher, "which some call a 'confession,'" "is our heart" (*Rationale* I, 7, 22).[64] Altar and sepulcher were organic, vital, intimate, and personal. Relics or consecrated hosts were, following Durand, at once essential to the altar – that is, constitutive of the matter of "the altar" – and also discrete, "retained" "in our heart to imitate":

> The relics are examples of both Testaments; authorities for the sufferings of the Martyrs and the lives of Confessors, that were left to us for their imitation. We seal these in a case [capsa], so that we might retain them in our heart to imitate them, which, if we hear and understand their example and we do not do their works, this will work much more towards

ingrediatur, sermones facit ad populum, nam et Salomon archa deportata conuerti faciam suam et benedixit amoni ecclesie Israel . . . 25. Reconduntur autem reliquie sanctorum cum tribus granis thuris in capsula quia exempla sanctorum cum fide Trinitatis, id est Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, debemus in memoria retinere. . . . Superponitur et adaptatur ipsi sepulcro quedam tabula signo crucis ex crismate roborata; siquidem per crisma intelligitur Spiritus sancti donum quo tabula, id est caritas, superungitur, quia cor nostrum, ad obseruanda celestia secreta, Spiritus sancti gratia roboratur. Tabula ergo hoc signo roborata reliquiis superponitur, quia per exempla sanctorum caritas accenditur que operit multitudinem peccatorum sicut et tabula reliquiis operit, unde Apostolus: Caritas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis. Hec autem tabula siue lapis continet siue dicitur sigillum sepulcri sicut ait Alexander papa III. Postea uero lapis, qui mensa altaris dicitur, super altare adaptatur, per quem perfectionem et soliditatem notitie Dei possumus intelligere," RDOL1, 91–92.

[61] Weilandt 2007, 237.

[62] For a thoughtful review of current conceptions of presence and agency with regard to the cult of the saints, see Nygren 2019a.

[63] RDOE1, 28. "Altare est cor nostrum," RDOL1, 30.

[64] RDOE1, 82. "Siquidem sepulcrum huiusmodi, quod a quibusdam confessio nuncupatur, est cor nostrum," RDOL1, 90. Cf. Book 3, 21, 6, Amalar of Metz, *On the Liturgy*, II, 138–139.

> our damnation than our salvation, since the hearers of the Law are not righteous before God, but those who follow it; thus the Apostle says: Be my imitators just as I am an imitator of Christ.
>
> *Rationale* I, 7, 23

The stone was living; relics, held in the heart, called forth imitation, the enactment of the life of which they were a material trace. Durand's "heart" also helps us to understand why consecrated hosts might have replaced relics: They, too, were neither inert nor "mere matter."

It has long seemed reasonable to read the stone or marble of altars as evoking sarcophagi; Braun acknowledges that affiliation in his consideration of one of the shapes of the stipes, albeit a shape he largely attributes to post-Tridentine altars. It may be that those sarcophagal altars reflect an antiquarian interest in Roman ruins, but that question lies beyond this book. The altars in place at the end of the fifteenth century presented a table or a box or a block of stone or marble; inside that table or box, hidden beneath the mensa, were normally relics or a consecrated host. The laity thus faced a multilayered *res*: a thing composed of layers of different kinds of matter. And yet, to follow Durand's "heart," whatever the altar held, it was not dead. This was not a marble or stone box enclosing the dead in preparation for burial.

Altars and their relics offered an interplay of visibility and invisibility, of disclosure and perception, of impenetrable materiality and presence. Even at consecration, following Durand, relics were to be enclosed, within an "Ark," before being permanently "sealed in a little case with three grains of frankincense," then placed under a panel, then the mensa. Relics gave the altar its name; those of the high altar also gave the church its name.[65] But they could not be seen. Unlike the mensa or the stipes, relics did not determine the form of the altar. Unlike stone or marble, its matter signifying to the eyes of viewers, the matter of relics was hidden. And they were not simply hidden within the altar, but those altars, in turn, were cloaked: in linen or tapestry, their surface covered, their front obscured – a multiplication of veiling, itself an evocation of revelation and mystery.[66]

Relics and consecrated hosts brought a different range of connotations to the altar from those of the stone. Their enclosure in stone may have alluded to graves and thus to death and decay, but the power Durand accorded them, to reach beyond the stone, to invite and motivate imitation, to move living human bodies to the enactment of the Christian virtues of that particular life, all this contravened any conception of their matter as inert, dead, or decaying. They were enlivening. Finally, that juxtaposition of stone and human matter recalled the enclosure in the stone in which Jesus had been entombed, but in which his corpse was not to be found on the third day. Not only or even primarily Golgotha – a connection commentators do make – but also that tomb from which Christ rose to "live" in an entirely new way among his followers.

[65] On tituli, see Gardner 1994, 10–12.
[66] Cf. Nova 1994. See also, Kemp 1992.

SITE

> Altar nennen wir dasjenige liturgische Gerät, auf und an dem sich dies eucharistische Feier vollzieht.
>
> We call altar that liturgical implement, on and at which the eucharistic celebration takes place.[67]

Braun opened his study by defining the altar as a place – a device or apparatus at which the Eucharist was celebrated. Such a definition encompassed both fixed and portable altars. *Gerät* was the term Braun chose to designate not only the altar but also altar vessels; the monstrance, the cross, and candlesticks that were to stand on the altar; the pax board; the basin for holy water; the thurible; as well as instruments that were used with these, such as the small spoon to be used with the chalice.[68] The altar, according to Braun, was a thing made a place.

The altar was the place for the celebration of the Eucharist. It is not clear when the Eucharist began to be celebrated at something other than a table. The earliest evidence is archaeological: In the catacombs, early Christians seem to have used the graves of martyrs as the site for celebrating the Eucharist – an early marker of the complex interconnections among martyrdom, blood, death, and the altar.[69] By the fifteenth century, the altar was the sole site authorized for the celebration of the Eucharist.

By the end of the fifteenth century, fixed altars had become larger and far more numerous, set not only in the apse, in the crossing, and in chapels but also against columns in the nave.[70] They continued to share that physical evocation of the table at which Jesus had spoken the startling words: a mensa and supports. Surviving supports suggest how complex the affiliations of altars had become, in their formal evocation of tables, reliquaries, and sarcophagi, sometimes in the same altar, often in the same ecclesial space. Each was a site for the Eucharist, even if, by that time, the Mass was celebrated by the priest alone, perhaps without congregants or communicants. Each would have been consecrated to that use.

It is equally unclear when Christians began consecrating the site where they celebrated the Eucharist; both Braun and Bliley cite 506 as the first legislation to speak of consecration.[71] Canon 14 of the Council of Agde in 506 stipulated both that an altar was to be consecrated and that it was to be consecrated with unction and chrism, as well as sacerdotal blessing.[72] Eleven years later, the Council of Epaon, in canon 26, stipulated that only stone altars were to be consecrated with chrism, which is early evidence for what would become the exclusive use of stone or marble for altars.[73] By the fifteenth

[67] Braun 1924, I, 1.
[68] Braun 1932.
[69] On the early history of the altar, see Braun 1924, I, 48–65, on the catacombs at 51. Bliley 1927, 25–27.
[70] For a study of the placement of side altars, see Kroesen 2010.
[71] "Altaria placuit non solum unctione christmatis, sed etiam sacerdotali benedictione sacrari," Bliley 1927, 31; Braun 1924, I, 667. On the history of consecration more generally, see Braun 1924, I, 666–720; Bliley, 30–34.
[72] Bliley 1927, 34.
[73] "As early as the year 500 there is evidence that it was customary in some places for the bishop to anoint the altar top with chrism during the rite of consecration. This followed on the lustration of the mensa with holy

century, altars were consecrated as a matter of course, but the rite of consecration, both words and matter, would not be set until the Roman Missal of 1570.[74]

Here, as in so much else, Durand provides us with an authoritative, but not necessarily normative and certainly not definitive, account:

> The manner and order in which an altar is consecrated is as follows. First, the bishop begins: "O God, come to my assistance," and afterwards, he blesses the water and then he makes four crosses with holy water on the four corners of the altar. Then he goes around the altar seven times, and seven times, he blesses the table of the altar with the sprinkling of blessed water with hyssop. The church itself is sprinkled and the remaining water is poured at the base of the altar; then, four crosses are made with chrism in the four corners of the sepulcher where the relics are to be placed, and then the relics are placed in a case with three grains of frankincense, and thus are they placed in the sepulcher. Then a panel is placed over it, confirmed with the sign of the holy cross; and afterwards, the stone which we call the table is fitted to the top of the altar, and having been placed there, it is anointed with oil in five places, and then it is anointed again, in the same manner as the oil, with chrism. The altar is confirmed with chrism in the front, where the sign of the cross is made, and incense is offered in five places. When this is done, the altar is covered and vested in clean linens and then the sacrifice is celebrated on it.[75]

The sequence of substances by which an altar is consecrated, according to Durand, first link the consecration to baptism, through water. Salt, wine, ashes, oil, and chrism are added because the altar signifies much more than membership among the faithful.[76] Not only are sins washed away but the altar is to be distinguished by the matter, the *res*, of all sacraments.

Altars also came to be incorporated as place in the devotional life of churches. In Bamberg, for instance, the Marian altar in the west choir stood for Santa Maria Maggiore; the altar dedicated to Saint Stephen, for the Church of the Martyr Anastasia.[77] In the Station liturgy of Cologne, altars and their patrons were integrated into processions. The Cross altar in the nave of the cathedral "embodied as the central

water. Thus the consecration of the altar was approximated to that of the rite of baptism-confirmation. The altar was anointed in the middle and at the four corners with the sign of the Cross. The Council of Epaone in 517 in its twenty-sixth Canon forbade this anointing unless the altar was made of stone. But this ceremony was of Gallican origin, and it was not adopted at Rome until the eighth or ninth century," Pocknee 1963, 42–43.

[74] Bliley 1927, 34. "At first the bishop probably made the sign of the Cross in five places on the mensa without any incision or mark on the stone. But at a later date it became the custom to cut consecration crosses with a chisel prior to the ceremony; and these were anointed during the rite of consecration," Pocknee 1963, 43.

[75] RDOE1, 77–78. "4. Sane hoc modo et ordine consecratio altaris fit. In primis namque pontifex incipit: 'Deus in adiutorium meum intende', postmodum benedicit aquam, deinde in quatuor cornibus altaris configurat quatuor cruces cum aqua benedicta. Consequenter circuit altare septies et septies mensam altaris cum aspersorio de ysopo aqua benedicta aspergit. Ecclesia quoque iterum aspergitur et aque residuum ad basim altaris funditur, deinde in quatuor angulis sepulcri in quo reliquie recondi debent quatuor cum crismate fiunt cruces, et ponuntur reliquie in capsella cum tribus granis thuris, et sic reconduntur in sepulcro. Deinde superponitur eis tabula cum signo crucis sancte in medio confirmata, postmodum lapis qui mensa dicitur super altare adaptatur, et adaptatus ungitur cum oleo in quinque locis et eodem modo iungitur postea crismate sicut de oleo dictum est. Confirmatur etiam altare in fronte cruce crismatis et adoletur incensum in quinque locis. Post hoc altare tegitur et mundi pannis induitur et demum super illud sacrificium celebratur," RDOL1, 84–85.

[76] *Rationale* I, 9–13.

[77] Wünsche 1998, 56.

space at once the center of belief and Christ's Passion and Resurrection, while the altar of the Apostles in the west choir pointed toward Pentecost and the descent of the Holy Spirit."[78] In Essen, the Kilian altar and the high altar formed points for the procession on Good Friday; the Cross altar served as the locus for the grave.[79] In the cathedral of Tarragona, the altar of Saint John the Baptist was the starting point for the procession to the baptismal font during the Easter Vigil.[80]

These processions underline the proliferation of altars, not simply as sites for private Masses but as sites of holy patronage. The plan of Saint Gall included, in addition to the high altar set over the crypt of Saint Gall in the choir, four altars each in the east and west aisles, two altars in the nave, and one altar in each crossing, west and east.[81] The Romanesque church of St. Veit in Prague held over forty altars, and rose to over sixty just before the outbreak of the Hussite Revolution.[82]

TIME AND SACRIFICE

Altars did not do one thing. Their form, their substances, that they were a site, all brought not simply meaning to the Mass but multiple ways of thinking about time, multiple experiences of time for the faithful. It is only when we gather together those discrete modes of participation that we begin to see what altars brought to a sense of the Mass as a sacrifice.

Prior to the Council of Trent, neither formal decree nor doctrine defined sacrifice.[83] Prior to Trent, altars brought to the Mass ways of thinking about sacrifice that were not yet fixed in carefully chosen words. As Durand suggested, what altars brought to the Mass was multiple and protean. The "sacrifice of the Mass" was not doctrine; the altar's very materiality was a wellspring for thinking about sacrifice, and in terms fundamentally different from those of Evangelicals.

At the core of Evangelicals' critique of any notion of the sacrifice of the Mass were two interdependent positions: first, Evangelicals defined "sacrifice" as Christ's death on the cross; second, they held that death had been once for all time.[84] There could be only one sacrifice, and it had occurred in the past, in a definite moment in the continuum of Christian history. One thrust of these interconnected positions was to characterize the medieval Mass as offering a "sacrifice" again and again; the altar was a part of that phenomenon, as were the priest's gestures and vestments. Evangelicals' definition of "sacrifice," their insistence on once for all time, their sense of time as linear, punctuated by specific moments, and their characterization of the Mass as repetition – each

[78] Odenthal and Stracke 1998, 146–147.
[79] Bärsch 1998, 173–177. The tenth-century *Regularis Concordia* also set the altar as the site of the Crucifixion on Good Friday, Petersen 2014.
[80] Sureda I Jubany 2016, 236.
[81] Conant 1978, 57.
[82] Machilek 1998, 214.
[83] "[T]he sacrificial character of the Mass had never been a subject of widespread and lasting controversy in the West, and at the dawn of the sixteenth century there was virtually no established doctrine concerning it," Marshall 2021, 109. Daly 2014.
[84] One of the most influential statements of the Evangelical understanding of sacrifice was Martin Luther's 1520 pamphlet, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, LW 36, esp. at 35–57; WA 6, 512–526.

obliterated ways altars had invited the faithful to think about the relationship of the cross to time.

Read as things, altars have been seen solely as grave-like – a visual affiliation seemingly affirmed in some of the images of the Mass of Saint Gregory. But, as we have seen, altars confounded both a sense of once for all time – hence the criticism of repetition – but also the sense of linear time that underpins a notion of repetition. It is not simply that "repetition" denigrates the reality of divine presence with each moment of transubstantiation, by treating those moments as identical and uniform. It is also that "repetition" fundamentally denies accrual, that which I have been sketching in this chapter. Altars did not simply abide but were loci of devotion over generations, devotion that itself brought temporal depth to each altar.

In any one church, by the end of the fifteenth century, altars differed as to age – some might be older than the current structure, some quite recent – but all were an abiding presence in the church.[85] Once dedicated, an altar became a site at which the Mass was celebrated, saints' days commemorated, and, in some cases, where Good Friday was reenacted year after year. Each of these celebrations belonged to that place, that single altar, and became a part of the time it anchored, and this for each altar in a space that might include more than forty altars. Stationary in a place of living worship, each altar anchored particular rhythms of worship, accruing over generations a unique nexus of time and place. God's presence was neither a continuum nor a single event, but to be found in a particular place at a particular time. Each altar was a unique site, the place at which the faithful could find God at particular times within the rhythms of Christian time.

Composite of form and substance, altars also materialized different kinds of time: host or bones and stone; the meal and the tomb – simultaneously. Stone was a *res* named in both the Old Testament and the New, linking the altar to every scriptural instantiation and its readings.[86] It was the *res* that linked that place to Abraham and Isaac, as well as to those times when Christ spoke of stone. Enclosed within the stone was either a relic or a consecrated host, or perhaps both. Both confounded any sense of time as linear, each in a way specific to its matter.

Relics in altars also take us more deeply into what was so very wrong with altars for Evangelicals. In Strasbourg, perhaps the very same iconoclasts who broke up the altars also threw relics into piles, calling them "bones" and insisting on their dead materiality.[87] A relic was a material trace of a life, commemorated in the Canon of every Mass celebrated at that altar and on that holy person's day or those holy persons' days. Each relic brought to the altar a trace of a living mimesis of Christ, be it preacher, ascetic, teacher, or martyr. Relics confounded any easy bipolarity, whether it be life and death or spirit and matter. The life of which the relics were the material trace had ended – most relics were direct testimony to that – and yet it abided, not simply in memory but also in matter. Even as the stone of altars evoked the grave – death, human mortality, and decay – relics confounded any sense of death as an ending.

[85] The altars in Old Saint Peter's Church in Munich, for example, range from one late medieval side altar to altars that were given Baroque form in the eighteenth century, Dehio 1990, 726–729.
[86] Ohly 2005a.
[87] Wandel 1995, 103–147.

PLATE 5 Source: Author.

So, too, the form of altars confounded a sense of time as linear. The mensa linked every altar to the table of the Last Supper – indeed, the formal name as well as the requirements for a flat surface visually and physically connected every single altar to a table. In marked distinction to the sarcophagi with which they came to be affiliated, every single altar, in order to be an altar, was required to have a flat surface on which the Mass could be celebrated. Even as ancient practice had linked martyrs, graves, and altars, that flat surface insisted on the originating table. On that original table a meal had been offered. That meal, following the Canon of the Mass, did not simply precede the death, "Who on the day before [*Qui pridie*]," but provided the frame for it: "for this is my body [*Hoc est enim corpus meum*]."

If the mensa consistently called forth the table, the lift for that surface, the stipes, called forth seemingly divergent connotations. Some, shaped as legs, affirmed the table. Others presented solid sides. Images of the Mass of Saint Gregory suggest an affiliation of the altar with the tomb in which Christ's body had been placed – strengthened by the presence of consecrated host or relics within the altar. So, too, that affiliation was affirmed elsewhere in the ecclesial space, as the tombs of powerful Christians evoked the altar (Plate 5).[88]

[88] On Christian tombs, see, for example, Perkinson and Turel 2020; and especially in that volume, Barker 2020.

The Evangelical critique framed altars in terms that, in so many ways, obscured the work they did. The very notion of the multiplicity of altars obscured how those altars worked with one another within a single ecclesial space. In all but a few churches, the smallest parish churches and churches built all at once, there was not just one tomb, not the tomb, but many. And those tombs were to be found in the same ecclesial space as tables. The meal and the tomb coexisted visually and materially in the space of collective worship – in the apse, in chapels, against columns, in the crossing, in every sightline for the laity.

Altars participated in the dense and complex visual landscape of crosses in late medieval Europe, bringing their own instantiations and valences to it. At consecration, following Durand, altars were to be marked with crosses. Some surviving medieval altars also have a cross on the side facing the nave. The altar was thus a place marked by crosses, inscribed with crosses, some of which, according to Braun, still bore the traces of the oil with which the altar had been consecrated.[89] That material trace of an act itself participated in the altar as site: It not only bore on its mensa inscribed or carved crosses but was also the place where the celebrant formed a cross, again and again, first in the dedication, which culminated in the first Mass at the altar, and then in the movement of each Mass celebrated at that altar henceforth.

Altars brought their particular materialization of time to any consideration of the cross. They also brought those practices of cloaking specific to altars. Altar frontals, altar cloths, and tapestries each simultaneously cloaked and emphasized the altar, albeit in different media, concealing and revealing simultaneously. Altar cloths most immediately invoked the shroud, emphasizing the tomb and the death, but none of the three media obscured the shape of the altar or broke the surface of the mensa. They did in precious metals, linen, and silk thread what a number of altarpieces did in oil: they cloaked and in so doing called attention to the question of what, exactly, was being hidden, what was visible, and what, a discrete category, could not be seen but could be known.

The meal, the cross, and the tomb were not temporally sequential in an altar but materially simultaneous. And with all this in mind, we can return to the altar as site. It was not simply the locus for the words of institution and the elements, the bread and the wine. It materialized not the historic table of the Seder but the essential table of a meal. Its stone linked that meal both to Old Testament sacrifices and to New Testament allusions, no longer to sacrifice but to durability, foundations. Good Friday and Holy Saturday liturgies emphasized the affiliation of the altar with the tomb, as the shape of the altar may have also done throughout the year. But every year, at Easter, as the faithful heard and saw, the tomb was empty. As site, the altar was not a terminus, not the grave where the dead were placed, but precisely where the faithful gathered, again and again, to witness the transubstantiation of bread and wine into the living body and blood of their Savior and, at least once a year, on the day the tomb was discovered to be empty, to receive that body into their own. It brought its own dimensions to the overthrow of linear time at the heart of the Mass.

[89] Braun 1924, I, 288–298.

Altars invited the faithful to think of Christ's death not as a single moment in a continuum of Christian time but as altering the human experience of time itself. To call this repetition utterly misses the work altars did. The faithful before the altar were presented with the constancy of both the meal and the cross. Neither alone defined time as the faithful were to experience it; both belonged to the time within which faithful Christians lived. Durand and other liturgists found in the matter of the altar not a single, uniform connection, not a single "symbol," but a multitude of meanings which coexisted simultaneously and which were protean, generating new meanings. Christ's death had transformed both time and matter, and altars, more than any other single material, invited the faithful into Christ's radical redefinition of life and death, spirit and flesh.

3

Missals

In the genre of images known as the Mass of Saint Gregory the central drama is the living body of Christ on the altar. To one side of that drama, if one looks closely, can be found a single book, opened but not legible (Plate 6).[1] By the fifteenth century, depending on the church, one might find a range of different kinds of books for the liturgy in its library, its choir stalls, or sacristy: antiphonaries, graduals, psalters, hymnals, or breviaries.[2] Only one liturgical book, the missal, the book for the celebrant of the Eucharist, would have been found on the altar.[3] That object is the focus of this chapter.

The missal was the product of a number of changes in the Mass to the twelfth century.[4] According to Cyrille Vogel, it was "a new kind of volume made up of four previous types of liturgical books: sacramentary, epistolary, evangelary and antiphonary."[5] Vogel and Andrew Hughes differed as to the categorization of earlier liturgical books – itself one sign of the variability among those books.[6] They agreed that the missal combined in a single volume what had been a number of separate books used in the Mass. Each of those previous books had itself gathered texts together in a volume. As Hughes wrote:

[1] On images of the Mass of Saint Gregory, see Westfehling 1982; Meier 2006; Bynum 2006; Gormans and Lentes 2007.

[2] Hughes 1995.

[3] "In all cases, a Missal was the liturgical book used by the celebrant," Light 2013, 188.

[4] Jungmann dates the "Vollmissal"/"Missale plenum" to the thirteenth century, Jungmann 2003, I, 138; 1986, I, 104. See also Baudot 1912.

[5] Vogel 1986, 105. On liturgical books, see in addition to Vogel, Hughes 1995; Palazzo 2016.

[6] Hughes counts nine different kinds of books under the category, "Mass Books": Sacramentary, Lectionary, Festal Mass-Book, Ordo Missae, Kyriale, Gradual, Cantatorium, Sequentiary/Troper, and Missal, Hughes 1995, 119. Following the nomenclature of Fiala and Irtenkauf, Hughes combines Epistles and Gospels under the name Lectionary, Hughes 1995, 119. Fiala and Irtenkauf 1963. Gamber defines "Plenarmissalien, d.h. in ihnen sind Sakramentar, Lektionar und Antiphonar zu einem Ganzen vereinigt," Gamber 1970, 157. An eighteenth-century catalogue in the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg divides liturgical books in yet another way, separating first liturgical books of different Christian traditions – Eastern, non-Roman Western, Catholic, and Protestant; second, dividing among Catholic books, those for the Mass, those for the Office, those for other sacerdotal duties from books for song; and under both Catholic and Protestant, setting a category for local practice.

PLATE 6 Messe de saint Grégoire Heisterbach Source: Wikipedia/Kulturelles Erbe Koeln.

> The Sacramentary, for example, by and large transmits only prayers, usually the collect, secret, and post-communion for each Mass. The Lectionary contains only the readings, the Cantatorium only the sung items.[7]

The missal thus brought together the different parts of the Mass, as texts that might be chanted, sung, or spoken, into a single volume. In gathering different books together, the missal also collected in one volume the different kinds of texts those volumes had contained: prayers, psalms, scriptural readings, ancient words of worship, words of consecration, words of benediction.

Following Vogel, the missal is also an artifact of combining the parts of different participants in the early medieval Mass – choir, deacons, celebrant, and congregation – into a single voice, that of the celebrant. He wrote, the missal was

> the result of a new way of regarding the mass. The eucharistic celebration ceases to be an *actio liturgica* in which the celebrant, ministers, singers and people collaborate and have distinctive and cooperative roles to play. As a result, the priest-celebrant, as the sole *actor* in this liturgical process, will be provided henceforth with a new kind of book.[8]

[7] Hughes 1995, 118.
[8] Vogel 1986, 105.

Following Vogel, then, the missal marks the loss of multiple voices – a sense of the Mass as comprising not only multiple parts but multiple participants. In it were gathered texts that the choir had sung, deacons had spoken, and the priest had voiced. It is the preeminent material trace of interconnected changes in the role of the priest in the Mass and in the nature of worship in the twelfth century. The missal was designed for the celebrant, to enable him to celebrate Masses alone – whether in a parish church or at a side altar.[9] It encompassed what had been materially discrete liturgical activities and enabled one person to perform all of them from one place. It was the book of the Mass.

Missals were designed and intended for an altar. Even octavo-sized and illuminated Cistercian and Carthusian missals were not a codex for the intimate contemplation of a prayer book or psalter or Book of Hours.[10] A missal, no matter its variation in size, was an object containing texts to be voiced and visual cues for acts such as genuflection, signing the cross, or bending. The relationship between book and priest, object and person, was and is singular, containing the words and rubrics for enacting Mass and in it, the Eucharist.

Prior to 1570, there was not one normative, authorized missal. The Tridentine Missal set the contents as well as their order in every missal published after 1570: Calendar;[11] the Proper of Time or Temporale, the annual cycle of Christ's year; the Ordinary of the Mass which included the Canon and was sung in every Mass;[12] the Proper of Saints or Sanctorale, the feasts of saints; the Common of Saints; Votive Masses; Requiem Masses; Defects; and Prayers. Prior to Trent, missals varied widely, foremost in their Calendars, if they contained one, but also in their content, and even in the ordering of the contents. Many missals carried the name of "the Roman Rite" prior to Trent but differed from one another as to which texts they included, those texts they referred to outside themselves, which saints they included, and even in the parts they included beyond the Temporale, the Ordinary of the Mass, and the Sanctorale.[13] Some lacked a Calendar. Some contained exorcisms, others did not. Some had a separate section for Marian Masses, others did not. Prior to the Tridentine Missal, religious houses, bishops, and major churches produced their own missals, and no pope or council had decreed that those missals be approved by pope or council.[14] Prior to 1570, missals were produced for local use, whether chapel, chapter, or diocese.[15]

Missals in the plural, produced for local use from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, are the subject of this chapter. They have survived unevenly. Some may still

[9] Jungmann 2003, I, 138.

[10] The *Missale Carthusiense* (Paris: Theilman Kerver, 1520) is octavo; the *Missale secundum vsum Ordinis Cisterciensis* (Paris: N. Higman, 1512), is also octavo, and is rich in images. For an example of a quarto-sized Roman missal, see *Missale scd'm morem Romane curie* (Venice: Antonius Bergomensis de Zanchi, 1501).

[11] To distinguish the section of the missal from other forms, I have capitalized the Calendar in the missal.

[12] To distinguish the Canon of the Mass from the biblical canon, I have capitalized the former and not the latter.

[13] For the Roman Missal, see Lippe 1899 and 1907.

[14] The missals gathered for a 1952 exhibition at the Bodleian Library provide succinct evidence of this, *Latin Liturgical Manuscripts and Printed Books* 1952, 23–28. For examples of Benedictine missals, see *Missale Benedictine religionis Monachorum cenobij Mellicensis* (Nuremberg: Georg Stóchs de Sulzpach, ca. 1499); *Missale denuo diligentissime castigatum et reuism Ordinis Sancti Benedicti reformatorum nigrorum monachorum per Germaniam* ([Hagenau]: Thomas Anshelmum Badensum, 1518).

[15] For a sense of the local production of missals, see, for example, Baroffio 1999, which also testifies to the movement of liturgical books, including missals.

survive in the religious houses and parish churches that, in the intervening centuries, have not been pillaged, burned, closed, secularized, or seized. A number, by no means representative, can be found in modern collections, which hold copies for some dioceses but not others, some religious houses but not others.[16] The unevenness of survival may be evidence that some places celebrated the Mass without a missal. The survival of a missal is evidence of the intent of, most likely, the bishop that Masses following it be celebrated in the churches of his diocese; annotations are evidence that the missal was actually used.[17] Prior to Trent, priests were not mandated to celebrate a Mass, let alone all Masses, following a missal. Only after the Council of Trent can we assume any kind of direct correlation between practice and the existence of a missal.

Even as printing facilitated multiple copies, missals were, like catechisms, practical texts – codices intended to be used. In the case of missals, they were intended to be used at a minimum once a week but usually every day. Most were designed to have the celebrant flip back and forth between different sections in every Mass. In dramatic contrast to the catechism, the structure of the codex of each missal alternated between temporal sequences – the Temporale or the Sanctorale – and fixed parts, the Ordinary of the Mass. As images of the Mass suggest, missals were to lie open on the altar while they were being used. Some of those images show a support for the missal on the altar, but others show the missal lying flat on the altar.

Scholars have long looked to missals, alongside other medieval books, as sources for the formal study of liturgy.[18] Andrew Hughes went as far as to argue:

> Liturgical studies must start from the texts. Facts about gesture, ceremonial, actions, vestments, and other such matters, although important as secondary and perhaps corroborative evidence, can tell us little about the character and development of a rite that is not better obtained by studying the texts themselves.[19]

Hughes construed the Mass as fundamentally a verbal event, in which movement, texture, and color can be no more than "secondary," and place, of no consequence.

And yet, missals are not a record of any one celebration of the Mass, or even a year of celebrations of the Mass.[20] Missals are more closely analogous to prescriptive texts than to any description of a living event. Guido of Monte Rochen, for example, in his *Handbook for Curates* addressed many ways priests could fall away from any ideal norm of the celebration of the Mass.[21] Priests could be distracted, forgetful, ill, drunk – in any number of ways, not physically or mentally able to attend to the text. Before Trent, no priest was required to have a text; as Guido suggested, priests might be celebrating the Mass from memory alone.

[16] The Newberry Library, for example, has missals for Benedictines, Carthusians, and Cistercians: *Missale Benedictine // religionis Monachorum cenobij Mel= // licensis* (Nuremberg: Georgij Stōchs de Sulczpach, n. d.); *Missale Carthusiense* (Paris: Theilman Kerver, 1520); and *Missale secundum vsum Ordinis Cisterciensis* (Paris: N. Higman, 1512). See, in addition, Baroffio 1999.

[17] I am grateful to Paul Gehl for helping me to think about survival.

[18] In addtion to Vogel 1986; Hughes 1995; and Palazzo 2016; see Ebner 1896; Peters 1951; and Gamber 1970.

[19] Hughes 1995, xxvii.

[20] On the texts marked simply by rubrics and those fully contained in a sample of medieval manuscripts, see Hughes 1995, 143–146, on the content of missals, Hughes 1995, ch. 7.

[21] Guido of Monte Rochen. *Handbook for Curates*, 87–102.

Some missals also contained a section on "defects," formally and explicitly addressing accidents and mistakes that could occur during a Mass. In a full chapter dedicated to defects, Guido offered a range of examples.[22] Water might be mistaken for white wine. Flies in consecrated wine could be drunk, but spiders, which could be poisonous, were to be set aside with the blood as a relic. The priest might drop the host into the wine, either before or after consecrating one or both. A mouse might consume a host. Worms might be found in consecrated hosts reserved for the sick. In chapters on the consecration of the host and wine, William Durand addressed a priest vomiting and eliminating after receiving but before eating anything else; gnawed or spoiled bread; if wine could not be found or was forgotten; if more wine was added after consecration; or water omitted; if wine had frozen in the chalice, a problem Guido would also address; if a fly or spider fell into the wine before consecration; if Eucharistic blood should fall on the altar cloth.[23] While those missals, Guido, and Durand were all primarily concerned to protect the body and the blood at the center of the Mass, they also explicitly acknowledged how many contingencies were at play in any one celebration of the Mass.

Missals are an artifact of what ought to have been said – but we can never know what was, in the moment, voiced, what was, in the moment, enacted.[24] They are also and more reliably an artifact of time.[25] In their structure as well as in their texts, missals take us into ways of thinking about time, in the plural, that Durand took up throughout the *Rationale*.[26] Those ways are not encompassed in any simplistic separation of "religious" time and "secular" time.[27] Nor could they be encompassed in recent studies of the measurement of time, which are concerned primarily with mechanical devices and the establishment of units constant over distance.[28] They are not encompassed in discussions of calendars and their computation.[29] They are not even encompassed in the concept of "temporalities," which treats liturgical time as a single entity.[30] These approaches, even that of "liturgical time,"[31] share as their predicate what we might call, for the sake of brevity, Einstein's universe: All treat the time of worship as one kind of time, which human beings construct, within a universe that exists quite autonomously of them.[32] Those formulations are rooted in the fragmentation of Reformation, which

[22] These examples come from Guido of Monte Rochen. *Handbook for Curates*, 102–108.

[23] RDOL1, IV, 41, 42; 41, 48–49; 42, 11, 12, 15–17.

[24] For those seeking a textual analysis of missals, Hughes 1995 remains the authoritative introduction. For those seeking histories of the individual parts of the Mass and their texts, Jungmann 2003 remains the best and most comprehensive study.

[25] Cf. Carruthers 2008 and 2001; Kosellek 2004.

[26] On the complexities of liturgical time, see Pfaff 2007; Fassler 2010b.

[27] The single most influential formulation of this opposition remains Max Weber, *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* (1920 [1904/5]).

[28] On the mechanical measurement of time, see Landes 2000; Dohrn-Van Rossum 1996.

[29] See, for example, Borst 1993; Blackburn and Holford-Stevens 1999; Jaritz and Moreno-Riaño 2003, esp. the articles in the section, "Time, Its Computation and the Use of Calendars," 31–126.

[30] Champion develops this term in Champion 2017. He addresses directly the difficulty in speaking about "time" as experienced and as conceptualized in his introduction.

[31] The best introduction to liturgical time remains Harper 1991, ch. 3. See also Hughes 1995, ch. 1. On the relationship of Christian worship to time more expansively, see White 1980, ch. 2.

[32] Cf. Galison 2003; Koselleck 2002.

shattered the constellation of time and worship at the center of this chapter.[33] Einstein's universe postdates by centuries the missals that are the focus of this chapter. Pre-Tridentine missals belong to another cosmos entirely.

One small piece of material and visual evidence reminds us how very complex missals were as books and helps us to reorient our thinking about time in pre-Tridentine missals. Fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century missals and Bibles shared the same letter-form on their pages – those who produced these two kinds of books linked them visually on every single page.[34] That evidence invites us to move past questions of the use of the Bible in the liturgy.[35] It suggests that missals shared with Bibles more than readings, that those who produced them held the relationship between the two kinds of books to be visually and materially close, whether analogous or identical is not our concern here. It invites us, in approaching missals as artifacts of time, to begin where Bibles begin:

> dixitque Deus
> fiat lux et facta est lux
> et vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona
> et divisit lucem ac tenebras
> appelavitque lucem diem et tenebras nocem
> factumque est vespere et mane dies unus
>
> Genesis 1:3–5

> Then God said, "Let there be light"; and there was light. And God saw that the light was good; and God separated the light from the darkness. God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And there was evening and there was morning, the first day.
>
> Genesis 1:3–5

The European Christians who produced missals and Bibles, as well as those who used them, and those who attended Mass did not know Einstein's universe. They knew Augustine's:

> How would innumerable ages pass, which you yourself had not made? You are the originator and creator of all ages. What times exist that were not brought into being by you? Or how could they pass if they never had existence? Since, therefore, you are the cause of all times, if any time existed before you made heaven and earth, how can anyone say that you abstained from working? You have made time itself. Time could not elapse before you made time. But if time did not exist before heaven and earth, why do people ask what you were then doing? There was no "then" when there was no time.
>
> Augustine, *Confessions*, XI.xiii (15)[36]

For them, missals were to be construed within the divine ordering of the cosmos, from the designation of Sunday, through the seven-day week, to the month and the year;[37]

[33] Cf. Ohly 2005b.

[34] "'ind was dat eyrste boich dat men druckde die Bybel zo latijn, ind wart gedruckt mit eynre grover schrifft, as is die schrifft dae men nu Mysseboicher mit druckt [...] ' ('and the first book that they printed was the Bible in Latin, and it was printed with a large letterform, like the letters with which they now print Missals')," *Chronica van der hilliger stat van Coellen* (1499), quoted in White 2017, 32.

[35] On the liturgy and the Bible, see Light 2013; Danielou 1956. On the complexity of the relationship between Bible and liturgy, see Crook 2015. On kinds of biblical literacy, see Ehrenschwendtner 2012.

[36] Augustine, *Confessions* 1991, 229–230.

[37] Dalmais, Jounel, and Martimort 1986. This is the modern English translation of a project, originally French, which, in turn was also taken up by the Liturgisches Institut Trier, which then published in

within the chronology of human history; in the life of Jesus; in moments of divine presence. They were to be construed in a universe of prophecy, human knowledge of the divinely ordered future, and visions which collapsed past and present or present and future in a single moment. Missals are the preeminent physical trace of the temporal complexity of the Mass itself. They are also evidence of just how complexly European Christians, before Reformation, construed time as a medium of divine revelation and, in turn, oriented their worship in terms of time.

The following, then, approaches missals as objects that materialize ways of thinking about God, time, and worship. I have chosen the term, "ways of thinking," in part because it underlines the multiplicity of conceptualizations of time and of kinds of time, but more critically because it takes us into the interplay of practice and thought. The conceptions of time in the missal were not ideas written on a page for consideration in a study. The rubrics in a missal both literally and figuratively point toward a fundamentally different relationship between person and codex: Distinguished by their color, red, hence "rubrics," each one marked a place in the text that was being voiced in which the celebrant's own body was to add to that text a gesture, a movement, most often forming a cross in the air with his hand, held to look like the hands rendered in images throughout the church as Jesus, saints, bishops blessed.[38] Durand suggested something of the layers of association with those movements:

> For this reason, the priest makes three crosses over the host and the chalice when he says: "These gifts, these offerings, these holy and unspotted oblations," as if he says: We offer to You, most merciful Father, these gifts, these presents, these holy sacrifices, remembering that God allowed Him to be handed over as an offering; by Judas, for money, by the Jews, as a "spotless sacrifice;" each time He was handed over to death, death on a cross.
>
> Second, the three crosses are made out of reverence for Him who is the Triune God, whose power converts the bread and the wine.
>
> Third as a symbol of the triple union that is accomplished in receiving the Savior.
>
> Fourth, in memory of the threefold crucifixion. The first was in the desire of those who persecuted Him, about which Matthew chapter 26 says: The chief priests gathered a council, etc. The second was in the voice of those crying out, about which Mark chapter 15 says: But they cried out all the more: Crucify Him! The third was the crucifixion of His hands and feet, about which Luke says: They crucified Him.
>
> Fifth, in the three crosses that are made, we hearken back to the time before the Law, which can be divided into three intervals: namely, from Adam to Noah, then up to Abraham, and then up to Moses. In those times, the just prefigured Christ in their sacrifices: Abel, with the lamb; Melchizidek, with the bread and wine; Abraham, with his son.
>
> *Rationale* IV, 36, 8[39]

Rubrics were not mere prompts but marked places within the movement of the Mass at which the celebrant was to call forth with his own body what Christ had done, and in so doing to place his body in living connection to the images around him as well as to the words on the page of the missal.

German, Martimort 1965; the fourth part, "Heiligung der Zeit," treats the Christian Sunday, week, year, and Sanctoral, 207–323, as well as the Divine Office, 324–422. See also, Sheerin 1996, 157–161.

[38] Cf Bourne 2020.

[39] RDOE4, [36], 8, p. 300; RDOL1, 420–421.

Guiding the following analysis is this sense of the missal as a physical thing that a human being used, that itself was at once the product of and at the same time the instrument for enacting ways of thinking. Scholars are agreed that the Mass is among the most complex of practices of worship, accrued over generations over centuries: not simply ancient but sedimentary, interweaving ancient Jewish texts and practices, such as the psalms and the Alleluia, with prayers and other texts from Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and early Christian leaders. My aim is not to reconstruct any Mass in any one place or to excavate a Mass from a missal, which has been done brilliantly.[40] Nor is my primary aim to make the case that time was ultimately always local in lived Christianity prior to the sixteenth century, though I hope that will become evident in my analysis. My aim is, foremost, to rethink the missal itself, to lift it out of the history of liturgical books – their composition, their variations, their nomenclatures, their music – and to explore it as the material trace of how European Christians prior to the sixteenth century oriented worship within and toward time as one medium of divine revelation.

In order to help orient the reader, let me here lay out the parts one might find in a late medieval missal. At a minimum, missals contained the *Ordinary* of the Mass,[41] that is, those parts of the Mass that were constant from one Mass to the next; the *Canon* was one part of the Ordinary; and at least the two *Propers* of the Mass,[42] that is, those parts of the Mass that changed with the date or season, the Proper of Time, or *Temporale*, the term we shall use;[43] the Proper of Saints, or *Sanctorale*, the term we shall use.[44] In most of the missals I have been able to examine, the Ordinary of the Mass with the Canon is placed in the middle of the codex of the missal, after Holy Saturday in the Temporale and before the Sanctorale. Most missals also contain a *Calendar*, which prefaces the whole, as well as one or more sections on *votive Masses*, for Mary, for the dead. The following analysis will bring to each of these terms fuller definition.

We begin with the Canon. The culmination of the Mass, that toward which the Mass moves, the Canon enacts in each and every Mass two ways of thinking about God in time – narrative and presence – which refract through the other parts in ways we shall explore. We turn next to the alteration between the Ordinary and the Proper – between

[40] Harper and Barnwell 2016.

[41] "[The ordinary's] definition is easy to frame: it refers to the common items or texts of Mass. With few exceptions this includes all the prayers of the Preface and Canon, the preces and benedictions, all those prayers which are invariable, as well as the six sung texts, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Agnus, and dismissal formula. The last of these has two forms and may be considered 'seasonal': the texts of the others are by and large invariable and in this state are they strictly ordinary: the addition of tropes renders them proper," Hughes 1995, 49. On the history, see Botte 1953.

[42] "So far as the rite was concerned, the most obvious distinction in the content of the liturgy from day to day was the use of special texts and chants – the Proper, which accounts for the greater part of the content in medieval liturgical books. The Proper extends not only to antiphons, hymns, responds, and prayers, but also to the choice of psalmody, especially at Matins and Vespers," Harper 1991, 55. On the difficulties of this distinction, see Hughes 1995, ch. 3.

[43] On the definition of Temporale and Sanctorale, see Harper 1991, 49–53; Hughes 1995, 8; Pfaff 2007, 45.

[44] On the structure of medieval missals, see Hughes 1995, ch. 7. In the Prologue to Book IV on the Mass, Durand divides the Mass and the Canon each into five parts, "Rursus, quia quinque fuerunt sanguinis Christi effusions, ideo misse officium ab offertorio in antea in quinque subdiuitur partes, ut ibi dicitur. Sed et quia in sola cruce etiam quinaria fuit sanguinis effusion, ideo et solus canon subdiuitur in quinque partes: prima usque ad 'Qui pridie', secunda usque ad 'Memento', tertia usque ad 'Preceptis', quarta usque ad embolismum, quinta usque ad collectas," RDOL1, 258.

those parts of the Mass that are constant in every Mass and those parts that are pendant on the day. That alteration brings to every Mass two other ways of thinking about time equally at the center of worship: a sense of *traditio*, of human worship passed on over generations, alternating with the collective recognition of God's specific acts within that history. The two great annual cycles – the Temporale and the Sanctorale – consider divine presence and human history in yet other, multiple, iterations. We close with the Calendar, which visualizes yet other ways of conceiving time and worship.

CANON

> 1. After the proclamation of the Preface comes the Secret, in silence, in which the Canon of the Mass is devoutly said, and the sacred mystery is performed; something that can only be done by a priest because, according to Matthew, only Christ prayed. And, according to some, this is where the Mass begins, because all the rest is ceremonial. The Canon of the Mass and the Offertory … are called an "action," "canon," "secret," and "sacrifice." An "action [action]" because of the sacred mysteries that are done there [aguntur], and because in that place, our case is brought before God.
>
> William Durand, *Rationale* Book IV, Chapter 35[45]

Around 1458, Fust and Schoeffer printed a Canon to be placed in manuscript missals.[46] Those printed Canons are material evidence of its changed place within the Mass.[47] They are the materialization of the Canon as itself a discrete entity, a physical unity.[48] Printed as a discrete text, the Canon could thus traverse the local production of missals for specific communities. To find a printed Canon in the center of a manuscript missal is to touch the artifact of the changes in the role of the celebrant and the changing

[45] RDOE4, [35], 1, p. 290; "Post acclamatum preconium, sequitur secretum silentium in quo et misse canon deuote dicitur et sacrum misterium peragitur: quod fit per solum sacerdotem, quoniam, secundum Matheum, Christus solus orauit. Et secundum quosdam, hic incipit missa, quoniam cetera sunt de sollempnitate. Canon autem misse et oblation, ut dictum est in titulo *De prefatione*, et action et canon et sacrificium et secreta vocatur. Actio dicitur propter sacra misteria que in eo aguntur, et quia tunc cum Deo agitur causa nostra, ut dictum est in prohemio huius partis," RDOL1, 414.

[46] White 2014, 25–26; White 2017, 60. "Thus there can remain no doubt that the twelve-leaved Canon was printed by Fust and Schoeffer after 14 August 1457," Masson 1954, 71.

[47] "In all the known liturgies the core of the *eucharistia*, and therefore of the Mass, is formed by the narrative of institution and the words of consecration. Our very first observation in this regard is the remarkable fact that the texts of the account of institution, among them in particular the most ancient . . .are never simply a Scripture text restated. They go back to pre-biblical tradition," Jungmann 1986, II, 194–195; Jungmann 2003, II, 243–244. For a brief introduction to the Canon, see Martimort 1963, Allgemeine Leitung, 404–436. For a history of the earliest texts of the Canon, see Botte 1962, which also offers a critical edition of the text of the Canon; and Cagin 1914. On the Canon as eucharistic prayer, see Jungmann 1954; Williamson 1955. Williamson includes in the Canon the prayers Te Igitur, Memento Domine, Communicantes, Hanc igitur, Quam Oblationem, Qui Pridie, Unde et Memores, Supra Quae, Supplices, Memento Etiam, Nobis Quoque Peccatoribus, Per Quem Haec Omnia, and Per Ipsum, and includes a consideration of the Lord's Prayer and the Libera Nos in a chapter, "After the Canon." For a consideration of the Tridentine Canon, see Gassner 1949.

[48] Strikingly, printed missals might also contain a Canon printed on parchment, thus tactilely distinguished, even as the technology of production was consistent. See, for example, *MISSALE Aquileiense* (Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1494).

PLATE 7 *Missale Constantiense* (Augsburg, 1505), Canon, Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2 Th Lt K 40 Source: Courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

significance of the consecration of the elements – itself now materially separated from communion in the physical codex of the missal (Plate 7).[49]

Printed Canons made haptic as well as visible the separation of some of the words of the Mass from others, what Jungmann called the "splitting" of the "original unity" of the eucharistic prayer, the separation of Te igitur (see Plate 7) from its preface and the preceding prayers.[50] While the separation of Te igitur from the prayers that preceded it – both in the sequence of the Mass and in the codex of the sacramentary – had occurred as early as the eighth century,[51] printed Canons were one way that separation came to be materialized. Another was marking the place of the Canon in the codex physically with a leather tab, which, again, separated the text beginning with Te igitur from those spatially and temporally before.[52] Te igitur, distinguished in color and/or

[49] *Missale Constantiense* (Augsburg: Ratdolt, 1505), first two pages of Canon.

[50] Jungmann 1986, II, 103. "eine Aufspaltung der ursprünglichen Einheit," Jungmann 2003, II, 130. On this text, see "*Te igitur*. The Plea for Acceptance," Jungmann 1986, II, 147–152. It is one more marker of the transformation of the early Eucharist into materially differentiated parts that each of the prayers of the Canon is known by its opening words. This prayer begins "Te igitur, clementissime Pater," "You, therefore, most gracious Father [we beg and entreat]."

[51] Jungmann 1986, II, 105; Jungmann 2003, II, 132.

[52] Acknowledging that others have divided the Canon into five, six, or twelve parts, Durand divides it into eleven parts, beginning with Te igitur and ending with "To Us Also" (*Nobis quoque*), excluding the Lord's

size, opened the text on the recto side of the open codex, usually facing a full page image of the Crucifixion, typically a woodcut, sometimes colored.[53] We can glimpse such a woodcut on the left page in the image of the Mass of Saint Gregory that opens this chapter. The Crucifixion image was for the eyes of the celebrant alone, as was the initial T opening the Canon, itself often rendered as a cross:

> 11. And as it so happens, through divine providence and not through human agency, the Canon begins with the letter "T," which in Hebrew is called "Tau," which through its own form, shows the sign and expresses the mystery of the cross, ... because through Christ's Passion, all of those things were fulfilled and made efficacious on the cross. But in some manuscripts, the Majesty of the Father and the image of the cross are depicted, so that the priest might see that he is in the presence of Him upon whom he calls and whom he addresses when he says, "Therefore, most merciful Father," etc.; and also that the Passion that is represented here might penetrate the ears of his heart.

The image, following Durand, was itself a touchstone for actions that, in turn, multiplied not simply the number of evocations of the Passion, but the ways the priest's body was to traverse the temporal separation of the Passion from the present moment:

> The priest kisses the feet of the Divine Majesty [Christ], and he makes a sign of the cross on himself, indicating that he is reverently entering the mystery of the Passion. Still, others first kiss the feet of the Divine Majesty and then the feet on the crucifix, following the order of the Canon; others do the opposite, because we come to the Father through the Son. And then saying" "Therefore, most merciful Father," he bows, as will be discussed later. The Secret therefore represents the Passion.
>
> *Rationale* Book IV, chapter 35[54]

Durand presented a far more complex relationship between Canon and celebrant than either a text to be read or a script to be enacted. The celebrant, following Durand, "entered" the Canon as though it were a space, the site of the Passion. The matter of the image is not simply a prompt for meditation but a medium between two moments, the Crucifixion and the present. When the celebrant gave voice to the words to which we now turn, he was not merely reading them.

Following the prayers for acceptance (Te igitur), commemorating the living (Memento) and the saints (Communicantes), and over the oblation (Hanc igitur and

Prayer and all that comes after it, RDOL1, Book IV, chapters 35–46. Jungmann treats the Canon in a chapter separate from both the Pater Noster, which some missals included in the Canon, and Communion itself, and divides that chapter into eighteen separate subsections, distinguishing some eighteen separate components of the Canon.

[53] Each of the two Benedictine missals in the Newberry Library has an image of the sacrifice of Isaac instead of a crucifixion, *Missale Benedictine religionis Monachorum cenobij Mellicensis* (Nuremberg: Georg Stóchs de Sulzpach, ca. 1499); *Missale denuo diligentissime castigatum et reuism Ordinis Sancti Benedicti reformatorum nigrorum monachorum per Germaniam* ([Hagenau]: Thomas Anshelmum Badensum, 1518).

[54] RDOE4, [35], 11, p. 294; "11. Et forte diuina factum est prouidentia, licet humana non sit industria procuratum, ut ab ea littera canon inciperet, scilicet a T, que hebraice thau dicitur, qui sit forma signum et misterium crucis ostendit et exprimit, ...quoniam per Christi passionem hec omnia in cruce impleta sunt et efficaciam habent. In quibusdam tamen codicibus, et maiestas Patris et etiam ymago depingitur crucifixi, ut sacerdos quasi presentem uideat quem inuocat et quem alloquitur dicens: 'Te igitur' etc.; et passio que hic representatur cordis oculis ingeratur. Sacerdos autem osculatur pedes maiestatis ipsius et se signat in fronte, innuens quod reuerentur ad misterium passionis accredit. Quidam tamen prius osculantur pedes maiestatis et postea crucifixi, secundum seriem canonis; alii e conuerso, quia per Filium peruenitur ad Patrem. Deinde dicens: 'Te igitur', se inclinat, ut ibi dicetur. Secreta ergo passionem representat," RDOL1, 417.

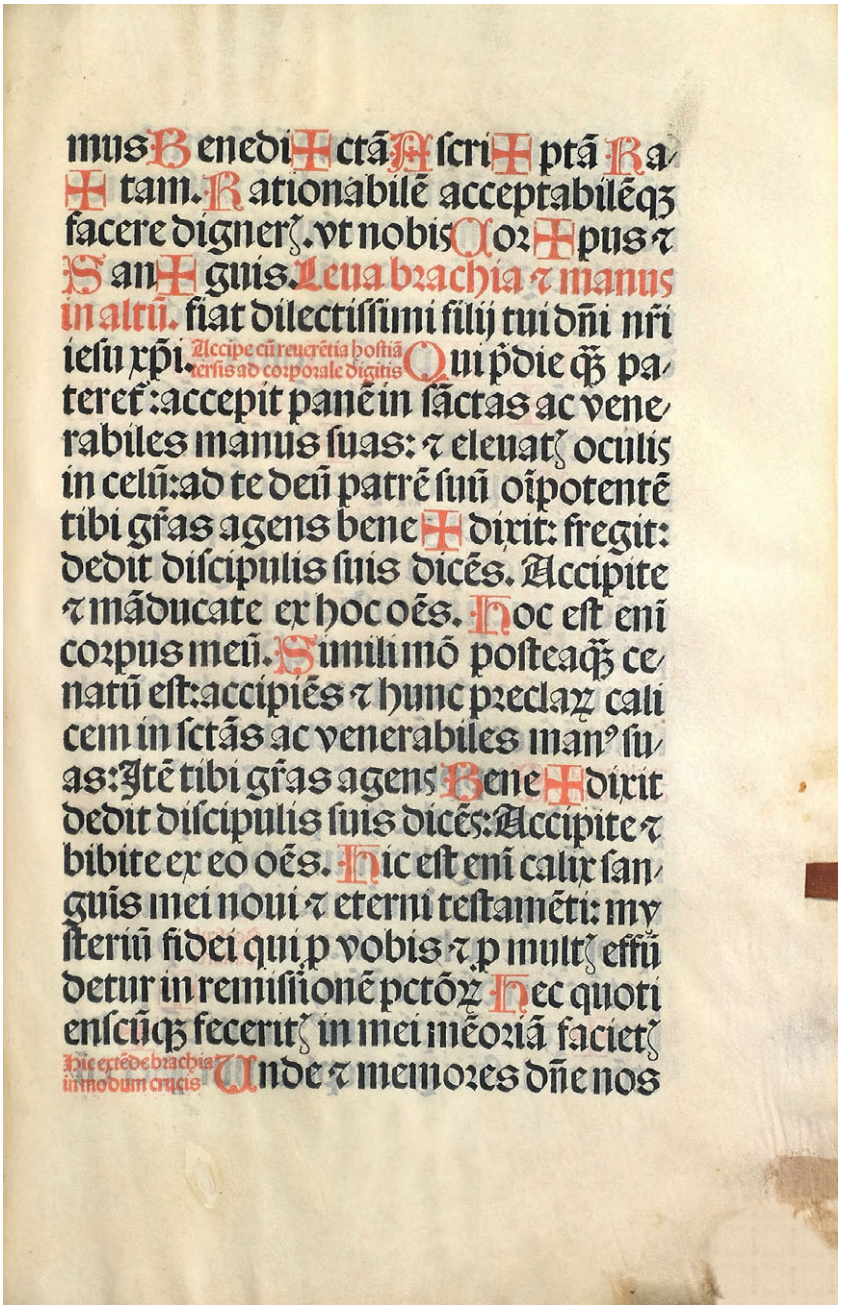


FIGURE 19 *Missale Constantiense* (Augsburg, 1505), "Qui pridie," Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2 Th Lt K 40 *Source*: Courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

Quam oblationem), the relationship among text, person, and time changes. Printed on the page of the missal, often in red, the incipit "Qui pridie" formed a temporal threshold the celebrant crossed (Figure 19).[55] The Mass led to this moment, a process, at one level, of preparation that began with fasting that morning and vesting prayers and moved through prayer and offering.[56] So, too, as Durand suggested, it led through such gestures as kissing the printed feet on the woodcut of the Crucifixion and the celebrant tracing with his hand the form of the cross, bringing to living movement an image of the cross. Those preparations, in which the rubrics in the missal were to serve as a prompt for movements of the celebrant's body as well as his voicing the words on the page, brought the celebrant, in a space often marked by images of the Crucifixion, to the moment when he was to speak these words:

> Qui pridie quam pateretur, accepit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, et elevatis oculis in cælum, ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem, tibi gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, deditque discipulis suis, dicens:[57]

Commentators, including Durand, attended far more to the words that follow these – the speaking of those words that were and are held to transubstantiate, to change, bread and wine into body and blood – and in some missals these words were rendered as rubrics. But immediately before them is the moment when the living celebrant, in the present, brings forth the past: "Who, on the day before he suffered."[58] Each time the celebrant narrated the acts following "who," acts often rendered in rubrics on the page of the Canon, he was to do them: taking up the host in his fingers; lifting his eyes toward heaven, "to you God his Almighty Father"; giving thanks; blessing, breaking, and giving.[59]

Some have viewed the moment as identity, a concept that so troubled sixteenth-century Evangelicals. Durand himself wrote: "When these words are pronounced: 'This is my Body. This is my Blood,' when the priest confects, we can believe that Christ confects, saying the same words."[60] But I would suggest we do not have a single word that captures either the temporal complexity or the multiplicity of engagements with Incarnation that occurred as the celebrant spoke the words and did the acts – let alone one that captures both dimensions. The past is present, but the present is not replaced by the past, nor are the two layered one on top of the other. The past in those few words is not precisely a single moment but a moment defined by a future event that is now past. That second event, the Crucifixion, acquires its full significance only in a longer

[55] For Williamson, "It was not the Crucifixion in itself, but the Crucifixion as the Last Supper interpreted it, which constitutes Christ's sacrifice," Williamson 1955, 97. On the Qui pridie, see Capelle 1955.

[56] Various scholars speak of the movement of the Mass. In addition to Jungmann, see Young 1933. Dix posed a different model, Dix 1945.

[57] This is the text Botte establishes as normative, Botte 1953, 80.

[58] "A proper narrative event occurs when the narrative tempo slows down enough for us to discriminate a particular scene; to have the illusion of the scene's 'presence' as it unfolds; to be able to imagine the interaction of personages or sometimes personages and groups, together with the freight of motivations, ulterior aims, character traits, political, social, or religious constraints, moral and theological meanings, borne by their speech, gestures, and acts," Alter 1981, 63.

[59] As Durand considered at some length, the breaking of the bread and the distribution occur separately, later in the Mass, RDOL1, IV, 41, 15.

[60] RDOE4, [41], 15, p. 337; "15. Cum autem ad prolationem uerborum istorum: 'Hoc est corpus meum, Hic est sanguis meus', sacerdos conficiat, credibile iudicatur quod et Christus eadem uerba dicendo confecit," RDOL1, 446.

narrative of time; the death becomes singular and singularly meaningful only at the resurrection.

In speaking "Qui pridie," the celebrant entered into a narrative of a past which he himself then acted. He entered into "Qui," not simply somatically, but also, following Durand, temporally, "pridie quam pateretur."[61] It was not mimesis or replication or even depiction or performance: The celebrant was to be standing, not sitting; the altar may well have had others standing around it, but they were not seated. Images of the Last Supper, which might have been present in the space in which the celebrant was speaking, would also depict difference: in dress, in posture, in the presence of beards and long hair. The words the celebrant spoke and acted, more ancient than the Gospel accounts according to Jungmann,[62] placed him within the narrative of Jesus's life, within the doing of the Last Supper, or "action," as Durand named it.

Debates in the sixteenth century largely, but not entirely, centered on the elements and the action of the words to which we turn next.[63] The laser focus of those debates was the words of institution and their relationship to the bread and the wine. In them, "presence" attached to the elements.[64] But in the late medieval Mass, according to Durand, "presence" had a threshold, and that threshold was the opening of the Canon, marked by that woodcut, the initial T and its tau cross, and brought forth through words and acts. "Presence" grew, as the celebrant's body spoke to Incarnation and the ways it implicated the physical and visible world. Christ was "present" as body and blood in the elements, but he was also, following Durand, present *at* the consecration – not simply after the words had been voiced – that presence growing from the moment the celebrant "entered" the Canon and with it, the Passion.

Immediately after entering into "who," the celebrant spoke:

> Hoc est enim corpus meum [For this is my body].

The elevation, first of the host, then of the chalice, dramatically isolated element and presence from the full matter of the Canon: kissing the altar, kneeling, kissing the missal, words spoken silently and aloud.[65] But to restore the words of institution and the elevation to their sequence, in ink on the page of the Canon and within its temporal movement, is to recover both the narrative – the structuring of time, which the words of the Canon brought into being at the center of the Mass – and the fusion in the person of the celebrant of scriptural narrative and present moment: the voicing and enacting of the narrative.[66] It is to recover "presence" as not only spatial but also temporal and historical.

[61] "The narrative of what once took place passes into the actuality of the present happening," Jungmann 1986, II, p. 203; "Der Bericht von dem, was gewesen ist, geht über in das gegenwärtige Ereignis," Jungmann 2003, II, 253.

[62] Jungmann 1986, II, 194–195; Jungmann 2003, II, 243–244.

[63] Wandel 2006.

[64] Orsi 2016.

[65] On the elevation, see Browe 2003; Kennedy 1944; Reinburg 1992.

[66] "The God of Israel, as so often has been observed, is above all the God of history: the working out of His purposes in history is a process that compels the attention of the Hebrew imagination, which is thus led to the most vital interest in the concrete and differential character of historical events," Alter 1981, 32. On the relationship of narrative to representations of Christ, I have relied on Coleridge 1994.

At the center or the culmination of each Mass were the words and acts of "Qui pridie" through the elevation of the chalice – no matter the season or the day. These were materially separate from communion, the reception of the sacrament, which was not a part of the physical Canon.[67] Until the Council of Trent, missals differed in where they placed the end of the Canon, but all contained these words and most also indicated the enacting of the words, rendering in ink on paper or parchment not only the artifact of what ought to have been said but also what ought to have been done. And even if, following Guido, celebrants sometimes forgot, misspoke, or failed to act each of the moments, those were deviations, for these words and these acts belonged to "the Mass," the most familiar in the kaleidoscope of the liturgical calendar. In each, the celebrant entered the Canon, entered into the narrative of Jesus's last night, acted moments in that narrative, and in so doing brought together in his person, present and past, "presence" as understood temporally as well as corporeally – a unique fusion of time and person, narrative and Incarnation.

ORDINARY AND PROPER

In the very way missals were structured to be used, they materialized the distinction in texts of the Mass, between Ordinary and Proper, between that which was constant to every Mass and that which honored the specific day, octave, or season. This division was never absolute. Quite apart from the variation in local practice, in notation in missals,[68] or even clerical error, parts of the Mass held to be Ordinary were altered to reflect a season: Gloria in excelsis, normally a part of the Ordinary of the Mass, was not to not be sung during Advent or Lent, for example.[69]

Unlike, say, catechisms, which were intended and designed to be read sequentially,[70] missals were designed to be used in a manner singular to the Mass. Normally a missal contained at least three different parts comprising various texts and rubrics, normally, but not always, set in the following sequence:

the Temporale from the first Sunday in Advent to Holy Saturday
the Ordinary of the Mass or Mass Order, with the Canon
the Temporale for the remaining year
the Sanctorale

Both the Temporale and the Sanctorale contained – at a minimum prompts for – the prayers and the readings proper to the day or an octave or eight days of a feast; the Temporale also contained the texts for the seasons of the liturgical year – Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter, Pentecost – which encompassed all Sundays not otherwise marked by a feast. In the great majority of missals, neither the Temporale nor the Sanctorale contained all the texts for any Mass. In every Mass, the celebrant had to alternate between the Proper, whether of time or of saints, and the Ordinary.

[67] On the ending of the Canon, see Jungmann 1986, II, 259–274; Jungmann 2003, II, 322–340.
[68] On variability, see Hughes 1995, xxx.
[69] Harper 1991, 55.
[70] On the spatial logic of the catechism, see Wandel 2016, esp. 31.

Where in the codex the celebrant located the texts for that day's Mass depended on the date. But the celebrant was never simply to read the pages for a specific day. Each missal also materialized, in the spatial location of the different texts, the distinction in each Mass between the Ordinary and the Proper.[71] For the parts proper to a particular Mass – the Introit, Collect(s), Epistle, Gradual, Alleluia, Sequence, Gospel, Offertory Communion, and Postcommunion prayer[72] – missals specified the text for the particular day of the Christian year. Normally, the Ordinary – the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sursum corda, Preface, Sanctus and Benedictus, Canon of the Mass, Pater noster, Pax domini, Agnus Dei, and Ita missa est[73] – was placed in the center of the codex. In using a missal, then, the celebrant flipped between the page containing the parts of the Mass proper to the day and the center, where the Ordinary including the Canon was placed. In the image of the Mass of Saint Gregory, the missal is open to the Canon.

In this way, missals materialized two experiences of time enacted in each Mass. In each Mass were those texts, sung, chanted, or spoken in every Mass in a person's lifetime. John Harper offered one schematic of a medieval Mass, those texts that would have been heard. The Proper are italicized:

Introit
Kyrie Eleison
Gloria in Excelsis
Collect(s)
Epistel
Gradual
Allelluia
Sequence
Gospel
Credo
Offertory
Secret
Sursum Corda
Preface
Sanctus with Benedictus
[Canon]
Conclusion of the Canon of the Mass
Pater Noster
Pax domini
Agnus Dei
Communion
Postcommunion Prayer
Ite missa est[74]

[71] Cf. Hughes 1995, 158.
[72] Harper 1991, 114–120.
[73] Harper 1991, 115.
[74] Harper 1991, 115.

As we can see, Proper and Ordinary were interwoven in the movement of the Mass, the celebrant alternating words familiar from daily or weekly hearing with words for the specific time in the liturgical calendar. They were also interwoven in the movements of the celebrant himself: In using the missal, he did not read from one section, then turn to another just once, but repeated this motion throughout the Mass. Congregants could have seen the motion, which physically distinguished those parts spoken with every Mass from those parts which changed.

Both Proper and Ordinary texts were ancient by the end of the fifteenth century. Both could have become intimately familiar over a lifetime. The words of the Ordinary belonged to the experience of the Mass as constant over day, week, season, and year. The words of the Proper distinguished a specific Mass within the Christian year, season, week, or date. The Ordinary might be said to enact a sense of *traditio*, of words passed from generation to generation, over centuries. The Proper then might be understood to enact a sense of divine revelation as at once structuring time itself and creating the human experience of time as differentiated by God's ongoing activity.

THE TEMPORALE

Missals are also a physical trace of the proliferation of kinds of Mass in collective life. Long, long before the fifteenth century, two different annual cycles of Masses had been established: the Temporale and the Sanctorale. Over time, both expanded to include more Masses, the Temporale most famously the feast of Corpus Christi and the Sanctorale feasts celebrating women and men that the medieval Church or a local church held to be holy.[75] Each materialized the growing number of days distinguished as significant in the history of Christianity – the ongoing interweaving of Revelation and history.

The Temporale brought together two kinds of time, the year and the life of Christ.[76] In the Temporale, the year began in preparation for the birth of Christ; culminated in the celebration of the resurrection of Christ; and encompassed different modes of his presence among his followers, from Epiphany through Pentecost to Corpus Christi. The Temporale also encompassed Masses for Sundays and weekdays undistinguished in any other way, subsuming the rhythms of daily and weekly Masses within the Christian year and orienting them to the life of Christ. In the Augsburg Missal, for example, Sundays after Pentecost were numbered in relationship to it, from the first Sunday after Pentecost to the twenty-third.[77]

The Temporale and, with it, the Christian year began not on January 1 but with the first Sunday of Advent. That day was determined by Christmas, the date of which, December 25, had long been fixed. Christmas was a fixed date, not day: it might fall on any day of the week. The beginning of the Christian year was a Sunday, that day Christians held God to have rested and to be the day of worship. The beginning of the Christian year was the fourth Sunday before the birth of Christ – reckoned backward

[75] On Corpus Christi, see Rubin 1991, ch. 3. See also Harper 1991, 50; Hughes 1995, 11. On the increase of saints, see Bartlett 2013.
[76] Gamber 1989, 9–45.
[77] *Missale s[e]c[und]d[u]m ritum Auguste[n]sis ecclesie* (Augsburg: Erhart Ratholt, 1510).

from the birth of Christ, counting Sundays. The first Mass in a missal, then, did not have a specific date but looked forward in time to the birth of Christ and took place on a Sunday.

The relationship between the Temporale and the life of Christ was not simply that the first Mass in the Temporale marked the opening of the Christian year. If the Canon offered a fusion of time and person in a moment of "presence," the Temporale took up the mystery of the Incarnation as an event over time, embedding the life of Christ in Christians' experience of the year.[78] The annual cycle began in direct reference to the birth of Jesus and culminated in "Holy Week," a week recalling, enacting, and entering into the last week of Jesus's life, from the entry into Jerusalem, enacted on Palm Sunday, often in processions with palms and Palmesel, through the vigil at the tomb on Saturday evening, to the celebration of the resurrection on Easter Sunday. Unlike Christmas, Easter was a fixed day and not a fixed date: always a Sunday, calculated in relationship to the spring Equinox and the lunar cycle, falling on any Sunday between March 22 and April 25.

Harper and Hughes both accorded the Triduum, the three days of Good Friday through Easter Sunday, singular attention in their studies.[79] Those three days were marked as important in many different ways: by specific processions and enactments, as well as by the Fourth Lateran Council's call for annual communion on Easter Sunday. They were not especially marked in missals, however, either as a separate section such as the Canon or by changes in font or presentation on the page. Liturgically, the Easter Triduum was certainly singularly important, but within missals, those three days belonged to the Temporale. Liturgically distinguished, they were nonetheless not liturgically discrete: not in the matter of the missal, not in its structure, not by letterform.

In the Christian year, Advent to Candlemas on February 2 were oriented to Christmas. The date of Easter fixed the dates of Ash Wednesday (and with it, Carnival), Lent, Holy Week, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, and Corpus Christi. Roughly half the year, in other words, was temporally set by Easter, its timing oriented to Easter. Put into our modern calendar, the birth of Christ oriented worship between the end of November and the middle of February; the resurrection of Christ oriented worship from perhaps as early as mid-February to the middle of June or, as one sees in the missal for Augsburg, into the fall, even up to All Saints' on November 1.

Most scholars of the liturgy distinguish in some way the times oriented to Jesus's birth and resurrection from the rest of the year. John Harper, for example, wrote:

> Broadly speaking about half of the year (from Advent to Epiphany, and from Septuagesima [seven weeks before Passiontide] to Corpus Christi) is seasonal, while the other half (from Epiphany to Septuagesima, and from Corpus Christ to Advent) is not. It is in the non-seasonal period, sometimes alluded to in Latin books as *per annum* or as the Ordinary Time, that the forms of Office and Mass follow a pattern that may be regarded as normative.[80]

[78] Harper 1991, 49–51 and Appendix I. In his consideration of images of Christ's birth, Neuheuser links them directly to the Mass (Gloria, Credo) as well as the Christmas liturgy and Christmas plays, Neuheuser 2001, 117–145.

[79] See Harper 1991, ch. 9; and Hughes 1995, ch. 9.

[80] Harper 1991, 51.

But missals offer another way of conceptualizing time, not only as that which God created and that within which Christ entered into human history, but also as inseparable from the human experience of "presence" as it was enacted in the Canon. In the very matter of missals, the Temporale is placed on either side of the Canon, framing it,[81] making physical the immediate and essential connection between the Incarnation as revelation in the narrative of human history and the Incarnation as divine presence in time itself.

SANCTORALE

In missals, the Sanctorale was normally placed after the second part of the Temporale, fourth in the spatial logic of the codex.[82] Like the Temporale, the Sanctorale was organized in terms of the year. The year in the Sanctorale normally began with the Feast of the Apostle Andrew, November 30, which would have always fallen within the four Sundays of Advent – thus also beginning its year in orientation to the birth of Christ. But there the similarity ended. The Sanctorale was not oriented to a single life. It encompassed many lives, whose numbers had increased over time, and which varied according to place.[83]

Those lives were human.[84] And it is worth pausing over this seemingly obvious point, precisely on the question of time. While the Temporale set the major feasts of the entire year according to the life of Christ, the Sanctorale throughout that year designated dates, fixed year after year, that celebrated human lives lived diversely in relationship to the mystery of the Incarnation, manifesting in their lives so many different aspects of Christ's life. By the end of the fifteenth century, the Sanctorale in various missals contained the Proper for dozens of Masses celebrating lives which enacted Christianity in human history. The Sanctorale differed from missal to missal as to which saints and how much of the Proper for that date was included, but every Sanctorale encompassed a multitude of lives of diverse kinds of holiness. Each life offered an example of living, actively embodying, something of the Incarnation, entering into it in praxis, making it visible as well as vital for others, and in so doing, manifesting divine presence within human history, not chronologically but instantiated.

And to speak of the saints in the Sanctorale in terms of lives lived – of spans of years – is also to connect the time of worship materially to images and relics within each space of worship. The Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi offers the single most dramatic visualization of a life, with the multiple narratives of the saint's acts and miracles as well as his relics, but churches in every part of Europe contained images and fragments

[81] I am grateful to Paul Gehl for suggesting this.

[82] On the history of the Sanctorale, see Auf der Mauer 1994.

[83] "But, as the number of saints available for possible cultic observance grows – important elements here are the virtual papal monopoly of canonization from the late twelfth century on and the proliferation of religious orders, and above all the friars, in the thirteenth – the number who find a place in the *sanctorale* of any given church or diocese or other ecclesiastical unit increases: which not only crowds the calendar but also tends to a desire to have certain observations (generally the new ones) further dignified in either or both of two ways. One is precisely through translation, especially where the death-day feast has fallen at an awkward time of year with respect to the *temporale* (seen most dramatically with Becket). The other is through observance of an octave," Pfaff 2007, 63–64. See also Gamber 1989, 54–58.

[84] Brown 2015; Bartlett 2013.

of persons whose dates were encompassed in their Sanctorale, a part of the local year of worship. On a particular date, that saint's relics might have been carried in procession, their images encompassed in the commemoration of their life, linking that particular Mass to the matter of that particular place – bringing to that place a sense of a life lived, the vibrancy and multidimensionality of Incarnation.[85]

The Sanctorale was not organized chronologically – in the logic of human time. From one Sunday to the next, a church might celebrate perhaps three or four different kinds of lives from different eras in the history of Christianity: one of the persons who had known Christ – an apostle, his or Mary's family; one or more of the early Christian martyrs, a virgin or perhaps one of the early Christian bishops; a Church Father; a founder of a religious order; a pope who had shaped the Church; a life made "holy" through practices of fasting, prayer, and devotion. Most weeks in the year encompassed moments in the history of Christianity, marked by individual lives but not organized by any chronology of those lives. Each life manifested an aspect of Christian history, but history did not set their relationship to one another. The Incarnation did. Every life was in some defining way oriented to the life of Christ, manifesting that life in the time of a human life.

The very earliest dates marked in the Sanctorale celebrated Christian martyrs, whose martyrdoms determined the date of their day in the Sanctorale.[86] This was how apostles were set in the Sanctorale, their feast days determined by their martyrdoms. There were many, such as Stephen, the first martyr, or Perpetua and Felicitas, whose placement in the Sanctorale was a result of their death under the persecution of Rome that came to an end in the fourth century. The specific martyrs differed from place to place, but early Christian martyrs figured among the saints encompassed in every Sanctorale. Among them were those whom the Church had distinguished as virgins, such as Lucy and Agatha, and those, such as Timothy, who had been bishops. Fewer in number were those, such as Ursula and Duke Wenceslas of Bohemia, whose violent deaths spoke to the boundaries of the expansion of Christianity north of the Alps.

Even lives that had not ended violently tended to be celebrated according to the date of their death. Dates for the celebration of Church Fathers, popes, founders of religious orders, and individuals of exceptional piety were largely set by their deaths. While work on the early calendar suggests that the Church was never preeminently concerned with chronological accuracy,[87] the centrality of death in setting the Sanctorale at once links it to the section on votive Masses for the dead[88] and invites us into a deeper consideration of time in worship.

To approach both the Temporale and the Sanctorale in terms of lives takes us more deeply into the interconnections of liturgy and Incarnation. The Temporale oriented worship to the birth, childhood, work, death, and resurrection of Christ – the single life of God Incarnate, which culminated in "sacrifice" on the cross. The Temporale anchored the Christian year to two events in Christ's life, his birth in December and

[85] See, for example, Tacconi 2005.
[86] On martyrs, see Salisbury 2004. On the prevalence of martyrs, see Bartlett 2013, 3–7.
[87] Pfaff 2007.
[88] Bossy 1983; Bossy 1985.

his death and resurrection in the spring. The Easter Triduum, in its very temporal unity, insisted on the inseverability of Christ's death from his resurrection – the one had no meaning without the other.

To set the Sanctorale in Augustine's universe is to restore to "death" its valences, as a threshold, a "passing," not a terminus as in the biological model, but a portal. The Sanctorale celebrated in an annual cycle lives lived in the conviction of the Easter Triduum: the cross and also the resurrection. And while the Temporale shared with the Canon the centrality of Christ in the Christian experience of time itself, the Sanctorale shared with the Canon the naming of saints, of those who were to be "remembered" with every Mass. Those names would come to be regularized in the Tridentine Missal, but they were locally regular in every missal prior to Trent, linking the Canon to the Sanctorale, the Passion to holy men and women, some of whom had lived in the place where the Mass was being celebrated.

The Temporale and the Canon might well contain prayers for local patron saints. The Sanctorale contained the Proper for the Masses for those patrons. Each Sanctorale contained Masses for the patron saints, of an individual church, of the town or village, of the principality. Some of those – as with John the Baptist in Florence, Genoa, Perth, Porto, Turin, and Puerto Rico – were universally known among Christians. Some, such as Wenceslas in Bohemia or Ildefonsus in Castile, were regionally known. Some, such as Afra in the diocese of Augsburg or Genevieve in Paris, were local, their dates celebrated within the same geography within which they had lived and died in the conviction of the resurrection.

MARY

Missals also offer rich evidence of Mary's place in communal worship.[89] The dates of her feast days – her Nativity (September 8), the Annunciation (March 25), the Visitation (July 2), and the Assumption (August 15) – were normally included in the Sanctorale. Unlike her son, her life did not orient the Christian year. Her life was marked analogously, however, albeit not identically, throughout the year and was accorded more dates in the Sanctorale than any other. Those dates were feasts, celebrated with their own Proper. Every Saturday, according to Durand, the Mass of the Virgin Mary was to be celebrated.[90] Mary was also the subject of votive Masses, which were frequently a separate section in missals. So, too, as in the Augsburg Missal, the Proper of Masses in the Temporale might also include prayers to the Virgin, as the patron of that particular church, in Augsburg, the Cathedral of Mary.

OTHER MASSES

Many missals also included one or more sections containing other sorts of Masses: the Common of Masses for saints other than those in the Sanctorale; the Common of

[89] On Mass liturgies for Mary, see Palazzo and Johansson 1996. For a recent history of the cult of Mary more generally, see Rubin 2009. On Mary in the Christian liturgical year, Gamber 1989, 50–53.

[90] RDOE4, I, 31–35, RDOL1, 251–252.

Masses for Mary, for celebrations in addition to those included in the Sanctorale; Masses for the dead, differentiated according to the office of the deceased; other sorts of votive masses. Each of these offers its own kind of evidence for the adaptation of the missal to local practice, to the living of Christianity in a specific place, whether a cathedral or a parish church. The Common of Saints offers evidence for local saints not included even in a missal for a specific place – of the changing constellation of holy men and women any one place considered its own. The Common of Masses for Mary, analogously, suggests not only adaptation but also proliferation of Masses; as in the case of so many churches across Europe, the place was dedicated to her and she was its patron.

Masses for the dead offer us evidence of a different kind of communal worship, toward which John Bossy pointed some forty years ago: one community of the faithful on both sides of the threshold of death.[91] So, too, they affirmed more directly the time of the Easter Triduum, the organic whole, for Christians, of death and resurrection. Their presence in the communal spaces of worship also may have brought to the Masses celebrated on the high or main altar reminders of the connections between the Canon and the dead, the Passion and the promise of resurrection and salvation for the faithful.

Much has been written on each of these kinds of Masses, largely through the lenses of social history and the history of liturgy. Viewed in terms of the missal as an artifact of time, they connect the missal to place and offer evidence of the further layering of time. None of these sections contained Masses to replace those of the Temporale or the Sanctorale. The Masses they contained were to be offered at side altars, at other times of the day, temporally and often spatially discrete from the Masses of the two great annual cycles.

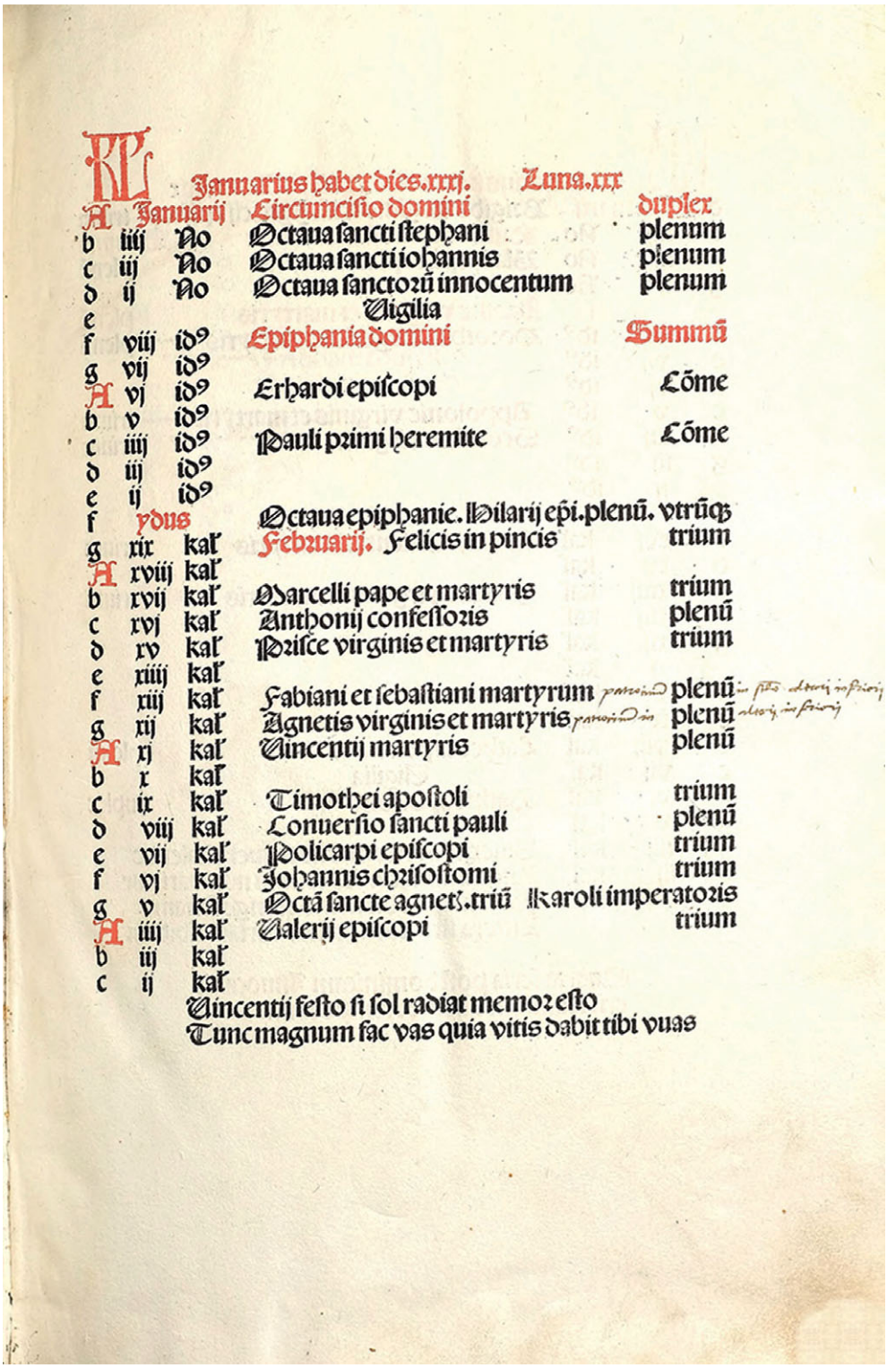
CALENDAR

Most missals, but not all, contained a "Calendar," placed immediately after the title page, if there was one, and the letter from the local bishop or other ecclesiastical authority, if there was one (Plate 8).[92] Typically, a Calendar comprised a series of twelve pages, labeled sequentially, "January has 31 days," "February has 28 days," and the like through "December has 31 days." The days, however, were not individually numbered. The pages of the Calendar were not those of the modern version that shares its name but were themselves visualizations of yet other ways of conceiving time.

Andrew Hughes provided the key to reading a page of a Calendar. The two columns on the left orient each Calendar page to Easter, in terms of the two units of time of the Easter calculus: the lunar cycle, the first column, and the dating of Sundays within a

[91] "Even before the doctrine had been fully formulated, the dead had come to be seen of the society of the living, their 'souls', in the imagination ordinary people, scarcely less physical than their own formed a collectivity which had its alloted space in the community, an 'age-group' between whom and the relationships of concern, devotion and fear, and a complicated age, obtained," Bossy 1983, 37.

[92] Of the ten missals Hughes examined, seven had calendars, Hughes 1995, 158. Of the eight sixteenth-century missals I examined, all had calendars; in one, the calendar was manuscript, inserted for local use in a Roman missal, *Missale Romanum* (Venice: De Franchfordia, 1501). On the Calendar, see Harnoncourt 1994. On the changing calendar in Cologne, see Peters 1951, ch. 3.



KL Jannarius habet dies.xxxj. Luna.xxx

A	Januarij		Circumcisio domini	duplex
b	iiij	No	Octaua sancti stephani	plenum
c	iij	No	Octaua sancti iohannis	plenum
d	ij	No	Octaua sanctoꝝ innocentum	plenum
e			Vigilia	
f	viij	id9	Epiphania domini	Summū
g	vij	id9		
A	vj	id9	Erhardi episcopi	Cōme
b	v	id9		
c	iiij	id9	Pauli primi heremite	Cōme
d	iij	id9		
e	ij	id9		
f	ydus		Octaua epiphanie. Hilarij epi. plenū. vtrūq;	
g	xix	kal'	Februarij. Felicis in pincis	trium
A	xviij	kal'		
b	xvij	kal'	Marcelli pape et martyris	trium
c	xvj	kal'	Anthonij confessoris	plenū
d	xv	kal'	Prisce virginis et martyris	trium
e	xiiij	kal'		
f	xiij	kal'	Fabiani et sebastiani martyrum	plenū
g	xij	kal'	Agnetis virginis et martyris	plenū
A	xj	kal'	Vincentij martyris	plenū
b	x	kal'		
c	ix	kal'	Timothei apostoli	trium
d	viij	kal'	Conuersio sancti pauli	plenū
e	vij	kal'	Policarpi episcopi	trium
f	vj	kal'	Johannis chrisostomi	trium
g	v	kal'	Octā sancte agnetꝫ.triū Karoli imperatoris	
A	iiij	kal'	Valerij episcopi	trium
b	iij	kal'		
c	ij	kal'		

Vincentij festo si sol radiat memor esto
Tunc magnum fac vas quia vitis dabit tibi vuas

PLATE 8 *Missale Constantiense* (Augsburg, 1505), Calendar, January, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, 2 Th Lt K 40 Source: Courtesy of Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

month, the second column. The numbers in the left-hand column are the Golden number.[93] The next column is the Dominical letter: "Each weekday throughout the year is assigned a letter, and 1 January if always A in Kalendars. In normal years the same letter represents the same day."[94] The final column of information on the Calendar pages of those two missals is the information to which we turn next.

Each page contained those feasts that would be celebrated in the month, placed in the sequence in which they could be found in the Temporale and Sanctorale but not given a date. Most immediately, each Calendar in each missal visualized the density of feast days in any one month in the place where that missal was used. Blanks could be read to mark feria, though

> no single week in the medieval Calendar was as straightforward as that. The late medieval expansion of the Sanctorale in general, and the observance of Octaves of important feasts resulted in a dense Calendar with remarkably few ferial days. Maydeston's *Directorium* lists some 200 festal observances, and allowing for Sundays, special commemorative days, and transferred feasts, this leaves fewer than 100 ferial weekdays in a year. The contemporary Roman Missal (1474) has a Calendar that is even more crowded, with only six days without a festal observance in the whole year.[95]

The density of feasts varied from place to place, as did the differentiation between feasts: those marked in red, rubrics, and those marked in black – a visual distinction between feast days marked with a double feast and a those marked with a simple feast. Harper found that double feasts were additionally "divided into as many as four separate ranks" in some places,[96] though those distinctions are not visible on the pages here. Visible on each Calendar page is the distinction among time unmarked by any particular feast, simple feasts, and double feasts. In each diocese, the experience of time was multiple: days in which a daily Mass would have been celebrated, as well as votive Masses; days marking a feast designated in black; and those days, marked in red, that would have encompassed a procession as well as more readings, a high holy day.

As such, Calendars offer us a visualization of the rhythms of worship in a particular place, months for that particular church particularly dense in Masses celebrating holy lives or moments in the life of Christ.[97] No two Calendars were the same, so the pages from any one Calendar offer the clearest representation of Christian time as it was

[93] "Each year has a number and the location of this number in the Kalendar indicates the full moons through the year (the actual lunar full moons may not coincide). Thus, the apparently irrational series of numbers in the first column, spaced in various ways, repeat themselves every 29 or 30 days. In January, the cycle begins again, with *iii*, on the 31st of the month. The number of days in the month and the number of days separating the full moon may be specified at the beginning of each month. In Kalendars, the number denoting the Paschal full moon may be written in black rather than red. To find the Golden number for any given year x, take x + 1 and divide it by 19: the remainder is the number. If the remainder is zero, the number is 19 (*xix*). Thus, for 1236, the equation is 1237 divided by 19 = 64, remainder 1. The number is 1 (or *i* in the Kalendar)," Hughes 1995, 277.

[94] Hughes 1995, 277.

[95] Harper 1991, 53.

[96] Harper 1991, 53.

[97] "It has become increasingly apparent, in the compilation of a comprehensive liturgical Kalendar, that the *only* reliable source of the liturgical date is a manuscript liturgical Kalendar *for the area and years in question*. The date in a Kalendar for Rome may differ from that in a Kalendar for Hereford, and those two dates from the date in every other Kalendar," Hughes 1995, 280.

locally experienced.[98] Those pages are also a trace of lived Christianity within a single place, as Marica S. Tacconi has shown for the city of Florence: marking dates for processions, the movement of specific relics within the urban topography, all of which were anchored to dates visualized in the Calendar.[99]

TIME AND WORSHIP

The missal has its origins in the moment when Jesus spoke to his disciples while holding the unleavened bread and then the cup, a moment rendered in the synoptic Gospels and the First Letter to the Corinthians. But not simply that moment. As the words of the Canon made visible as well as material, the words spoken at the Seder acquired their first layer of temporal complexity the following day, when Jesus was crucified, when, as so many images made explicit, the body hung on the cross and the blood flowed from the wounds from the Roman form of execution. Jesus' words acquired more resonance on what was to become Easter Sunday, and even more in the time that Christians marked as Pentecost. Missals originate not simply in words spoken but in words that were recalled through the lens of subsequent acts that in turn altered how the words were construed. Missals materialize, in many different ways, the singular and singularly complex temporal layering of the words that came to be called the words of institution.

Each page of any missal offers eloquent evidence why we should revisit "religious time" and rethink the relationship between worship and time. The visual evidence begins with the letterforms, which connect its pages to the Bible. That connection, as we have seen, is not mere transferal of excerpts from the Bible to the liturgy but something far more complex. The Bible articulated many different ways of thinking about time: the beginning of time in Genesis and the end of time in Revelation; narrative in both the Old and New Testaments; prophecy, and in particular Isaiah and that sense of meaning revealed in a later time; divine presence in the very events of human history, from the angel staying Abraham's hand to the Ten Commandments to the Incarnation which, for medieval Christians, following Augustine, defined time itself. Depending on the day and the readings, Genesis, prophecy, Last Judgment, time's beginning, or time's end might figure in the Mass. And those ways of thinking about time might, depending on the place, also be rendered visually in images. The Bible was not, let me suggest, simply the source of the liturgy, nor simply woven into the words of the liturgy, but offered ways of thinking about time that, as we have seen, were enacted in the liturgy.

Each page also reflects that sense of human worship as at once in time – whether the page is from the Proper or the Ordinary – and also collective over time. On a page from the Proper one finds abbreviations for specific texts, some, such as the psalms and the Epistle and Gospel readings, from the Bible, but some both ancient and oral, such as the Alleluia, and some a legacy from monastic use. Abbreviations directing the celebrant to voice these texts appear together on the page, at one level a sequence of prompts for recitation, but at another level the visualization of a sense of worship as accruing over time, layered, generation to generation, and all generations materialized on that single

[98] Harper 1991, 49.
[99] Tacconi 2005, esp. at 54–78; on processions, see esp. 101–105.

page. The "we" of each of the first-person plural verbs, in a context of collective worship over time, itself then blurs in yet another way any clear distinction between the present moment and the *traditio* of human worship.

Each Mass offered both a sense of human worship over time – psalms, prayers, the Alleluia – and oriented collective worship to God in time: the Incarnation, the lives of saints. The Temporale reinforced a sense of time as linear – as moving from the birth of Christ through Epiphany, the Presentation in the Temple, and the forty days in the desert to Christ's death, resurrection, and appearance before his disciples – even as that line was lived year after year. The Sanctorale emphasized a different tempo of divine presence, marking individual lives over the course of human history. In the enactment of both cycles, experienced every week of the year, death was revealed again and again as a threshold, not an endpoint. The Easter Triduum, every year, passed from death to resurrection, embedding it in the Christian experience of the year. In both annual cycles, biological time was subsumed within divine time.

The tempo of each Mass also enacted thresholds of time as well as space. If each Mass culminated in the Canon, the Canon was not the end of the Mass. The Canon, as object, was followed by, although physically discrete from it in late medieval missals, the Lord's Prayer, the Agnus Dei, the Pax, the sacrament of Communion, as well as the dismissal. In the medieval Church, the consecration of the elements was both materially discrete in the missal and temporally separated from the sacrament of Communion.

Those thresholds offered yet another way of thinking about God in time. Within the Canon, the celebrant, voicing printed words and enacting printed prompts, invoked historical time, narrative, and at the same time entered into it, blurring its distinction from the present. Presence extended over time in the Mass, from "Qui pridie" through reception.

Missals help us to see and to touch different ways of thinking about time, not only from place to place with their differing Calendars, or over time as manifested on any single page. Their organization – physically discrete fascicles – materialized different ways of conceiving divine presence in time: Canon, Temporale, Sanctorale. And to return to the Mass of Saint Gregory with which we opened, the body of Christ was rendered as physically discrete from the body of the celebrant, the Pope, the elements of the sacrament, the host and covered chalice, and also from the missal. Neither the Pope nor the Canon are replaced by Christ. Or, to put it another way, those images materialize multiple ways of conceiving of divine presence, none of which exclude the others, all of which together intimate a far more complex relationship among time, presence, and worship.

4

Vestments

On an upper floor of the Tridentine Diocesan Museum in a series of darkened rooms the walls are lined with glass cases. Inside them are vestments. It is yet one more measure of our great distance from William Durand. Chasubles, copes, surplices, and dalmatics are displayed as fragile matter: behind glass in cases controlled for temperature, moisture, and light. Chasubles are arranged in chronological order along one wall; copes, surplices, and dalmatics, fewer in number, are in other cases. It is not merely that all are separated from the persons who, Durand's word, used them – as they would have been when those persons were not celebrating a Mass. Nor is it that they are fixed in place and separated from one another. We come closer when we recognize that all have been removed from their place, the place of worship, but that, too, still is only part of their transformation. All are kept permanently physically and spatially isolated both from those persons and also from the place with which they had so complexly participated in the meaning of the Mass. They have become objects, their intricate embroidery now the focus of our gaze.

In the wake of Reformation, we treat as categorically discontinuous vestments; the persons of clergy;[1] their *order* or what scholars have come to understand as their rank;[2] their *office*, or the work that they did in each Mass; and Scripture.[3] Evangelicals severed vestment, order, and office from Scripture, and in so doing, recast the relationship among worship, time, human bodies, and what Barbara Newman suggested might be called *personae* in Durand's time.[4] Like church buildings, vestments have become their

[1] This chapter follows Durand's definition, *Rationale*, II, 1, 11: "Clericales sunt qui in Ecclesia deseruiunt uel ipsam regunt, a cleros quod est sors prout iam dicitur. Hec autem subdiuiduntur in monachos, id est singulariter degentes, nam monos grece dicitur latine singularis, et alios religiosos," RDOL1, 124.

[2] "What orders and an order were was s subject of constant debate among medieval theologians, canonists, and liturgiologists, but it was generally the case that orders was the special status conferred on one entering any of the grades of the clerical state, and an order was the individual step, grade, or status within the clerical state," Reynolds 1987, 263.

[3] Nicholas Orme has found evidence that, in practice, office and order had become separated by the end of the thirteenth century, such that minor orders fulfilled the offices of major orders, up to and including confecting the host and wine, Orme 2021, 71–77.

[4] "Boethius, a sixth-century heir to those debates, bequeathed a famous definition to the Middle Ages: *persona vero rationalibus naturae individua substantia*. This apparently simple formula is more complex than it

own discrete category of scholarship. They have histories apart from the persons who "wore" them, histories which trace the development of the crafts of silk and embroidery, the changing forms of particular pieces with the classical antecedents.[5] They have become textiles of singular beauty, provenance, and symbolism, but a thing, quite apart from the bodies which they "cover," a relationship even the splendid work done on them "in movement" holds.[6]

Newman took up directly what we can only acknowledge in passing: the great distance between medieval conceptions of "a person, a human self" and modern. If vestments are now kept in glass cases in museums, the person who was vested with them has undergone a singularly dramatic change, taken up in formal considerations of "the modern self," such as Charles Taylor offers in *A Secular Age*, and reflected in everyday speech.[7] In this chapter we explore how complexly Durand wove together vestment and person.[8] While Newman's focus was the "reciprocal indwelling" between human beings, in this chapter I extend her sense of "permeability" to vestments as well as the work each member of the clergy did in a Mass.

Traces of another dynamic of persons, *materia*, and Scripture do survive – not least that clergy and vestments were consistently rendered as a unity in oil, wood, stone, tempera, or ink, even as those traces have been read in terms set forth in Reformation. Pultträger, figures, frequently vested, who hold a support for folio-sized codex, have been read as sculpture but offer a material unity of vestment and person; suggest a material connection between them and codex; and point toward a further unity of person and the voicing of Scripture – whether lesson, Epistle, or Gospel.[9] More than 500 images – illuminations, sculpture, altarpieces, panel paintings – were gathered together under a single rubric or type of image (Bildtypus): the Gregorsmesse or the Mass of Saint Gregory (Plates 6, 9, and 10; Figure 20).[10] Most of the scholarship on

looks; even its translation is vexed. 'A person is an indivisible substance' – or as we would now say, a subsistent individual – possessed of a rational nature.' Three points stand out. First, a person is a subject ('substance' or existent being) who possesses a specific nature. Second, no person can be divided, for that is what *individua* means. And third, a person's nature is rational, thus including God, angels, and human beings but not (at least in medieval thought) animals," Newman 2021, 4.

[5] Bock traced first the histories of silk, brocade, and then embroidery before turning to specific forms, Bock 1970. Braun divided vestments between those beneath and those above, considering each first in its present, contemporary use, then tracing a history for each piece, Braun 1907. Like Bock and Braun, Paci approached vestments as a thing apart from the persons who wore them, treating them first in relationship to other ceremonial clothing, then their symbolism, and then turning to individual vestments, arranged in categories such as "accessories," Paci 2008. Kapustka and Woodfin note in passing – but do not develop – Durand's notions of *velum* and *figura* with regard to vestments, Kapustka and Woodfin 2015, 8.

[6] Röper and Scheuer 2019. The collection of articles, Wetter 2010, seeks to connect various textiles – vestments, tapestries, altar frontals – iconographically to their setting, specific church buildings, or to specific texts, or to the wishes of donors. Roulin, for instance, refers to vestments as "garments," Roulin 1950, 2. For an effort to trace the fabrics that came to constitute one chasuble, see Shalem 2016.

[7] Taylor 2007.

[8] My use of the term "person" is informed by Newman's formulation of *persona*.

[9] Lempges 2017, 58–75.

[10] "The Mass of St. Gregory which appears in the fifteenth century in wall paintings, panel paintings, textiles, manuscripts, and printed books in the North of Europe, is an image based upon the need to verify images not through texts but through images," Camille 1992, 95. In 2004, the University of Münster research project had identified "514 Objekte." That project has now closed, but its findings can be searched at https://gregorsmesse.uni-muenster.de/, accessed 11 August 2024. For some of the research engendered by

them concentrated on the doctrinal question of real presence.[11] Gregory and his assistant(s) are no longer read as materially or corporeally constitutive of a Mass; they are witnesses to, not media of, divine revelation. While these images all render a papal Mass, which most Christians would never have witnessed, they offer eloquent evidence of the interweaving of person and vestment. We recognize Gregory, after all, by his vestments, and the order and office of his assistants by theirs. So, too, in representing a papal Mass, many of these images offer us visualizations of all the orders and their vestments that might participate in a Mass. Finally, these images invite their viewer not only into the aporia of real presence but also into a world in which *materia* mediates: Even as we recognize him by his vestments, these are, after all, images of his holiness, his ability to see the real presence in or through – as diverse images visualize – the host he elevates. I draw on them in this chapter primarily as evidence of different vestments, but they also remind us insistently that we do not see as Durand's contemporaries did.

Here, too, Mary Carruthers' work helps to reorient our thinking. Her work on mnemonic practices and image-making posited a fundamentally different way of thinking about the relationship between Scripture and clergy: not as codex and individual reader, nor as memorized text – chapter and verse – but as complexly incorporated and lived.[12] When we turn to the clergy who made a Mass, we do not take up their mnemonic practices, but, as we shall see, the relationship between them and Scripture was also one of embodiment. Frequently in the *Rationale*, to take an example that encompasses many offices, what the modern translator marks with italics were the words that a specific office would have sung or spoken or proclaimed or preached, Durand distinguishing with his choice of verb the kind of sound each office was to voice in mediating Scripture in worship. "Reading" was not an intimate or solitary activity in the *Rationale* but one way that a specific human being made present and audible Scripture within communal worship. Those words were not text but psalm or Epistle or Gospel or Canon, each constitutive of a Mass for a particular feast or a Sunday within the Christian year. Like the clergy Carruthers studied, those of the *Rationale* lived within Scripture in a number of ways, not least when they vested themselves in textiles that were scriptural *res*. At the end of the chapter on the tunic, for example, Durand wrote of Christ the weaver. He linked the hyacinth tunic of Old Testament priests to the Gospels, which Christ wove and then gave to his apostles. That in turn signified the tunic that the soldiers would not tear apart, because it was seamless and wondrously made, unlike heretics who would tear apart the Gospels.[13]

that project, see Meier 2006; Gormans and Lentes, 2007. See also *Die Messe Gregors des Grossen* 1982) and Bynum 2006.

[11] Rudy identified deacons in a manuscript illumination of the Mass of Saint Gregory "[a]s representatives of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the deacons mediate between historic time and present time and therefore signal the continuity of the Church and its rituals," Rudy 2017, 126. Eggert's point of departure for her analysis of orphreys is the Saint Gregory triptych of Heisterbach Abbey, Eggert 2015.

[12] Carruthers 1998 and 2008.

[13] Book III, 10, 4, "Precipue tamen hanc tunicam habuit euangelice textrix doctrine sapiential Dei, Iesus Christus, et dedit illam apostolis suis: Omnia, inquit, quecumque audiui a Patre meo nota feci uobis. Hanc ergo significauit illa tunica Domini quem milites scindere noluerunt, eo quod esset inconsutilis desuper contexta per totum," RDOL1, 204.

Of all the liturgical commentaries, Durand offered the fullest discussion of clergy and their vestments. Book II of the *Rationale* took up "On Ministers and Ecclesiastical Orders and Their Offices," Book III, "On the Apparel or Ornaments of Priests and Bishop and Other Ministers," and in his commentary on the Mass in Book IV, Durand also included the gestures of the celebrant and his assistants.[14] While those gestures belong to a fuller sense of the matter of the liturgy, in this chapter I concentrate on the complex interconnections Durand wove among person, order, office, and vestment.[15] The titles of Books II and III might seem to suggest a more modern division of person and garment, but Durand took up vestments in his consideration of clergy in Book II and those who would be vested in Book III. As with churches, so too with vestments, for Durand *materia* linked as well as mediated: specific moments in biblical time – the lives of Old Testament patriarchs, Christ, the apostles – and in so doing also called to mind or instantiated those moments within the movement of each Mass.

While I rely primarily on Books II and III of the *Rationale* for the following, I do not follow Durand's structure. We begin, as he did, with setting clergy simultaneously as an essential category of humanity and within a continuum of biblical time reaching back to the Book of Genesis. Because Durand's conceptualizations of both order and office differed from modern definitions, I offer a brief consideration of what he encompassed in these two terms he held essential to thinking about clergy. We then turn to the process Durand articulated by which a person became a member, first of clergy as a discrete category and then of orders which he organized in a sequence leading to the priesthood. In this chapter, that process is interwoven with the one from tonsure to the vestment of the chasuble. I have sought, in other words, to reconnect person and vestment within a process of the transformation of the *personae* of clergy. These *personae* – encompassing self, body, and vestment – in turn participated in making a Mass in ways this chapter aims to illumine.

Throughout, I have sought to preserve Durand's own formulations, so many of which are strange to us. To hear him, finally, we need to set aside modern physics, our sense that Scripture is a text, and also any modern conception of self. For Durand, "worship" was living Scripture, not only voiced but also enacted, materialized, and visualized. For him, as we shall see, entering the clergy began with tonsure, which materialized, among many things, unity of thought and collective living within God's omnipresence as well as omniscience.

"CLERGY" IN TIME

Durand opened his consideration of clergy by setting them in one historical continuum, of three "sects," moving from Rome through Judaism to Christianity.[16] Each of these

[14] "Liber Secvndvs De Ministris et Ordinibvs Ecclesiaticis et Eorvm Officiis" and "Liber Tertivs De Indvmentis sev Ornamentis Sacerdotvm atque Pontificvm et Aliorvm Ministrorvm," RDOL1, 120–176 and 177–239, respectively.

[15] Durand takes up the gestures of the celebrant in Book IV. See Suntrup 1978. See also Lubienska de Lenval 1957.

[16] Book II, I,1, "tres sunt secte famose, uidelicet gentilium, hebreorum et christianorum. Prima est erroris, secunda ueritatis, tertia ueritatis et salutis. ... Sicut enim apud nos duo sunt genera personarum, scilicet laicales et ecclesiastice, sic et apud gentiles et Hebreos," RDOL1, 120.

sects had two *genera* of persons, lay and clerical. Here and later, Durand used the term *genera personarum*, underlining an essential difference between clergy and laity.[17] Clergy and laity each had orders.[18] For Durand, humankind was elementally differentiated, first according to "truth" – the movement from Rome through Judaism to Christianity – then between clergy and laity, and finally into hierarchies of persons, orders, each of which did work, office. The remainder of Books II and III concerned exclusively clergy, all of whom were visibly and materially distinguished from laity, first by tonsure and then in their vestments.[19]

From the beginning of his consideration, Durand set a temporal continuum. In undergoing ordination a person entered the antiquity of an order, and in doing the work, its office, embodied a kind of living continuum of voice, gesture, and conduct. Durand held that the orders of the church had their precedents in Rome and the Old Testament – in ancient practices of organizing human communities. That said, Durand also held that Christians differed significantly from those precedents. Between Roman and Jewish orders and Christian clergy was the life of Christ – the Incarnation that altered the relationship among the human body, God, and worship.

Durand's detailed consideration of the names, "Christ" and "Jesus," prefaced his discussion of all clergy, from monks and abbesses to those who then formed the subject of the following chapters.[20] He defined the clergy as those who serve devotedly (*deseruiunt*) or rule the church, and then subdivided clergy between monks and other religious.[21] Durand treated female religious separately from monks.[22] For the remainder of this chapter, "clergy" refers exclusively to male members; in the celebration of a Mass, Durand did not speak of female roles at all.

ORDERS AND OFFICES

Orders were not fixed in number for Durand. In the *Rationale*, for example, he gave first six and then seven as the number of orders; in his Pontifical, seven.[23] Thus, for Durand, "order" was not defined as it would come to be in later histories of ordination and the priesthood.[24] For Durand, each "order" was made by a rite of ordination. His Pontifical articulated seven discrete rites of ordination for what he named the four nonsacred minor orders – porter, lector, exorcist, and acolyte – and the three sacred major orders:

[17] Book II, 1, 1, RDOL1, 120. That difference, as a number of scholars have shown, was itself historically constructed, Macy 2003; Osborne 1988.

[18] Durand's understanding of the relationship between order and history differs from modern scholars such as Lécuyer 1983.

[19] On tonsure, see Book II, 1, 26–32, RDOL1, 130–134. On vestments, see Norris 2002; Bailey 2013; Miller 2014. On the various ways that textiles were worked, see Ireland 1971.

[20] Book II, 1, 5–10, RDOL1, 121–124.

[21] Book II, 1, 11, RDOL1, 124.

[22] When he turned to the culmination of the life of a female religious, he offered a fleeting glimpse of their altered status within the church: A "Velum ordinationis" had been given to deaconesses at the age of 40, the "Velum prelationis," to abbesses of 40, Book II, 1, 48, RDOL1, 143.

[23] Book II, 1, 49, RDOL1, 144; PRGD, 338. On the numbering of orders, see Reynolds 1979.

[24] Cf. Gy 1962.

subdeacon, deacon, and presbyter or priest.[25] In the *Rationale*, Durand did not approach the different orders as themselves steps in a process, as a *cursus honorum*,[26] but his sequence began with the office of cantor and ended with the order of priest and then the office of bishop.

The rite of ordination for each order encompassed the instruments of the work of each, its office. These instruments were the "substance of the order" (*ordinis substantia*).[27] In both Durand's Pontifical and the *Rationale*, order and office were embodied simultaneously in a person. Those instruments were not symbols but take us into the *materia* of the clergy, how their distinctive modes of materializing made a Mass. They invite us to reconceptualize clergy, not as persons of status, but as human beings who – and here the question becomes pressing: What verb should we choose? The relationship among act, sound, and human person was redefined in wake of Reformation. For Durand, clergy were not actors performing worship. Their relationship to worship was far more complex. At the end of the Prologue to Book II, for example, Durand suggested that "office" did not consist solely in specified acts but encompassed a particular relationship to *ecclesia*: the lector taught mores, the subdeacon manifested humility, the priest offered himself as the holy sacrifice to God.[28] In the following, then, I have chosen various verbs – made, embodied, manifested – all of which remain rooted in modern constructions of personhood, agency, and the relationship between any human body and effects. But they reflect an effort to recover Durand's sense that clergy were a medium of divine communication in the ways that this chapter seeks to chart. The *Rationale* called clergy again and again to see themselves within the context of divine Creation and Scripture, to be mindful of their place between human worship and divine revelation.

Because the focus of this book is the Mass, we shall not be directly concerned with the porters of the church, "anyone who spiritually leads others into the church,"[29] and who received keys at the altar in their ordination.[30] Nor shall we be considering the exorcist, who received the book of exorcisms.[31] We consider those who did something specific to making each Mass: cantor, psalmist, lector, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, and priest.

[25] PRGD, 333–373. Peter Lombard offered a definition of the sacrament of ordination which became authoritative: "a certain sign, that is something sacred, by which a spiritual power and office is given to the one ordained." Osborne's translation for the original text he also provides: "Si autem quaeritur, quid sit quod hic vocatur ordo, sane, dici potest, signaculum quoddam esse, id est sacrum quiddam, quo spiritualis potestas traditor ordinato et officium," Osborne 1988, 204–205. On the history of ordination, see, in addition to Osborne, Lécuyer 1983; *Sacrament of Holy Orders* 1962; Macy 2008; Bradshaw 2013. On sequential ordination, see Gibaut 2000.

[26] Gibaut 2000.

[27] Book II, 7, 4, RDOL1, 154.

[28] Book II, 1, 53, "Rursus spiritualiter ostarius est quicumque spiritualiter alios in Ecclesiam introducit, id est qui fidem predicando docet. Lector est quilibet mores docendo; exorcista orando; acolitus illuminando; subdyaconsu humilitatem monstrando; dyaconus alios exhorrtando; sacerdos seipsum hostiam sanctam Deo offerendo; episcopus sacramenta ministrando," RDOL1, 145.

[29] Book II, 1, 53, "Rursus spiritualiter ostarius est quicumque spiritualiter alios in Ecclesiam introducit, id est qui fidem predicando docet. Lector est quilibet mores docendo; exorcista orando; acolitus illuminando; subdyaconsu humilitatem monstrando; dyaconus alios exhorrtando; sacerdos seipsum hostiam sanctam Deo offerendo; episcopus sacramenta ministrando," RDOL1, 145.

[30] Book II, 4, 4, RDOL1, 149–150.

[31] Book II, 6, RDOL1, 151–153.

That said, Durand did not separate porters from deacons as we shall be doing; in the *Rationale*, clergy were first united in the act of tonsure.

TONSURE

> Around the crown of clerics three things are to be attended to, that is, the scraping of heads, the mutilation of hair, and the circular form.[32]

If, in modern eyes, tonsure marks clergy, Durand held it to be the beginning of a process of cleansing and the material reorientation of both head and mind (Plate 9). He accorded it lengthy consideration. It was the first formal step toward becoming clergy, the initiation into a transformation of the whole person – the *Rationale* would also, as we shall see, articulate those virtues that each order was to manifest in the work of the Mass. The removal of hair, Durand continued, removed where filth gathered on the head. That cleansing of the head was not – again in contradistinction to modern physics – merely superficial but also mental: a living embodiment of cleansing as an ongoing praxis. That cleansing encompassed wealth and comfort: Hair was a place of all temporal things; it dragged clergy toward secular things. The tonsured lived "content with food and clothing." Tonsure also removed a source of pride, as hair was an

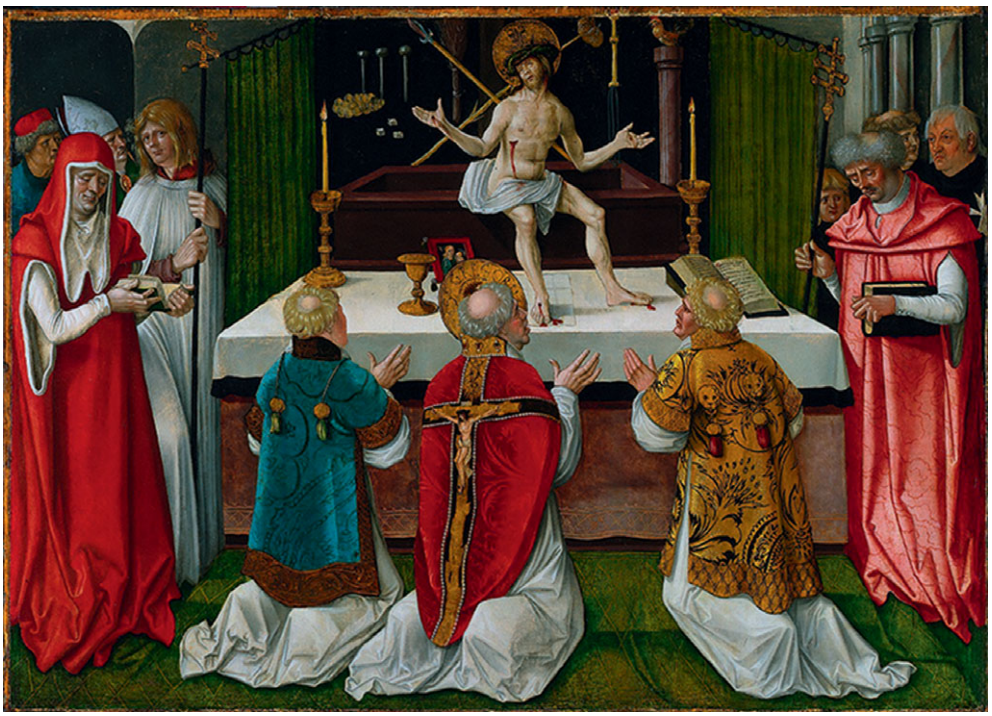


PLATE 9 Hans Baldung, *The Mass of Saint Gregory*, 1511, the Cleveland Museum of Art Source: www.clevelandart.org/art/1952.11.

[32] Book II, 1, 26, "Circa coronam clericorum tria attendanda sunt, scilicet capitis abrasio, capillorum detruncatio, et forme circulatio," RDOL1, 130.

adornment. Durand, quoting Gregory, wrote, "hairs on the exterior of the head are the thoughts in the mind"; emerging insensibly from above the brain, they express present cares.[33] The cleansing reoriented, excising "all superfluous thinking" from their mind.[34] Tonsure freed all five senses to serve God. The top of the head was to be denuded, "to show that nothing is between us and God."[35] Tonsure was to serve as a vital reminder of a life lived in the full sight of God – exposed to God's full knowledge.

The circular form or crown, scraped onto the head, was to serve as a kind of living and lived prompt to mindfulness. First, it was the sign (*signum*) that Christ, "as he was to be offered on the altar of the cross, wore a crown of thorns." We "who desired to be saved through that same Passion, wear on the top of our heads the sign of the Passion of our Lord, that is, the crown of thorns, which he carried to offer himself for the thorns of our sins."[36] With tonsure, clergy showed that they were prepared to suffer mockery and reproach for Christ, "just as he had done for us." Tonsure materially linked clergy not only to the crown of thorns and the Passion but to the emotions that crown materialized in the giving and the wearing.

For Durand, the circle of tonsure was itself a multivalent sign. In addition to its evocation of the crown of thorns, the circle of hair also "designates" the virtue of equality and the agreement of reason: unity of reasoning benefits thinking about temporal things. Third, circles have no beginning and no end; clergy served God "who had no beginning and shall have no end." Fourth, circles have no angles, just as clergy were to have no filth in their lives; as Durand wrote, quoting Jerome, "truth does not love angles."[37] Fifth, the circle is the most beautiful form; God made celestial creatures in this form. Through it was signified that clergy ought to have beauty inwardly in mind and outwardly in conversation. Sixth, it is the simplest of forms; as Augustine wrote, no figure consists in a single line except the circle. Through it was signified that clergy should have the simplicity of doves. Seventh, the circle "shows" (*demonstrat*) that clergy in particular are in the kingdom of God, that, in being kings and priests, they rule themselves and others in virtue and thus have a kingdom in God.[38] As Durand noted separately, the circle also served to mark (*ad notandum*) "us" the elect and the regal priesthood.[39]

[33] Book II, 1, 27, "Siquidem uta it Gregorius in Pastorali, I, II, c. xviii: 'Capilli in capite exteriors sunt cogitationes in mente. Qui dum super cerebrum insensibiliter oriuntur, curas uite presentis exprimunt,'" RDOL1, 131.

[34] Book II, 1, 26, "clerici omnes superfluas cogitations debent a mente abscindere," RDOL1, 131.

[35] Book II, 1, 26, "Denudatio autem ipsa superioris partis capitis, nullum debere esse medium inter nos et Deum demonstrat," RDOL1, 131.

[36] Book II, 1, 28, "Circa forme circulationem seu coronam, sciendum est quod sit propter multa. Primo, in signum quod Christus rex noster seipsum in ara crucis oblaturus spineam coronam portauit; unde et nos qui per eandam passionem saluari desideramus, dominice passionis signum, id est formam spinee corone, quam ispe ut spinas peccatorum nostrorum aufferet in passione portauit, in capite in uerticibus nostris portamus, ut sicut ille pro nobis, sic et nos pro illo irrisiones et opprobria paratos essen libenter sufferer monstremus," RDOL1, 132.

[37] Book II, 1, 29, "clerici sunt ministry Dei qui non habuit principium neque finem habebit. ... quoniam ueritas angulos non amat, ut dicit Ieronymous," RDOL1, 132.

[38] Book II, 1, 30, "Septimo, corona clericos esse specialiter regnum Dei demonstrat, ipsi namque, secundum Ieronymum, sunt reges et sacerdotes, id est regales sacerdotes; et sunt reges, id est, se et alios in uirtutibus regents, et ita in Deo regnum habent," RDOL1, 133.

[39] Book II, 1, 31, "Pars ergo capitis rasa tyaram circulus crinium designat coronam, ad notandum quod instituit nos Deus genus electum et regale sacerdotium," RDOL1, 133.

Shaving the heads of clergy placed their bodies within Christian history. According to Bede, Durand wrote, clergy in his time continued to do in memory what those who were with Peter while he was preaching in Antioch had done: shaved the tops of their heads in name of their Christian belief and of the Passion of their Lord. Some say, Durand continued, tonsure was the practice of the Nazarites, who kept the Old Law and who shaved their heads of hair at the end of a life of continence, and threw it into a sacrificial fire, that they might consecrate the perfection of their devotion to God.[40] The apostles introduced their example, which then formed a scriptural and also material connection, from the Old Testament, through Jesus and his disciples, who were called "Nazarenes" as a term of opprobrium, to the present moment. The shape of a crown materially linked Ezekiel, Old Testament kings, Christ, and the living clergy.

Durand quoted Ezekiel (5:1) at the end of his consideration of tonsure: "take a sharp sword and use it on your head and beard."[41] The matter – sharp metal against human head and face – linked Ezekiel's time to living clergy. And with Ezekiel Durand turned from tonsure to the shaving of beards. Shaved faces designated that clergy ought to cut out vices and sins, of which there was a superfluity. With faces shaved, one could see the innocence and humility of boys. With them, clergy approximated angels, who were always youthful. While tonsure was a living and lived sign of clergy as order, office, and person, beards could be allowed to grow at times that had been stipulated – shaved faces did not work the same way as tonsured heads did for Durand. They, too, were to call forth ways of thinking and being in the world, but they were not a corporeal prompt to conceiving oneself within the Passion and the kingdom of God.

THE SURPLICE

As with *ecclesia*, so with vestments, Reformation severed a dynamic between person and made world that would have been encompassed in a notion of *persona*. In this chapter and throughout this book, I use the word *vestments* to refer to those textiles which distinguished clerical bodies after tonsure. This, too, is a choice: Durand used a number of terms – most often *indumenta*, *ornamenta*, or *vestis*. For Durand, sacred textiles materialized virtues within and called forth behaviors of those bodies in them – intimating fundamentally different relationships among a self, human body, and linen, cotton, silk, velvet, gold thread, gems.[42]

As we take up the relationship between person and vestment, we confront, again, the problem of verbs. Modern studies speak of "wearing" vestments, preserving a separation enacted in Reformation. Durand, however, articulated a more complex interaction among person, vestment, and space. He opened his consideration of vestments with their essential difference: vestments, "sacred clothing," were not to be used in daily

[40] Book II, 1, 31, "Fuerunt tamen qui dicerent quod tonsure ecclesiastice usus a nazareis, qui omnia ueteris legis custodiunt, exortus est. Hii enim prius crine seruato, denuo post magne uite continentiam caput radebant et capillos in ignem sacrificii mittebant, ut perfectionem deuotionis sue Domino consecrarent," RDOL1, 133.

[41] Book II, 1, 31, "Sume gladium acutum et educ per caput tuum et barbam," RDOL1, 133.

[42] For an allegorical reading of vestments, see Suntrup 2019. On the relationship between specific vestments, such as the chasuble, and specific places of worship, see Seeberg 2019.

life; they belonged to the consecrated space of a church.[43] Clerical bodies were "in" vestments; vestments were "used"; they belonged to a space defined for worship. Clergy in quotidian clothing polluted a church – which textiles their bodies were in actively affected the space in which they were located. Sacred vestments belonged to the work, the ongoing making, of the consecrated place of a church.

By the time Durand wrote the *Rationale*, vesting prayers, said as the priest put on the vestments in preparation for the Mass, had become widespread.[44] Durand's choice of helmet for considering the amice, for instance, might have been drawn from the vesting prayer, "Place upon my head, O Lord, the helmet of salvation to conquer and overcome diabolical errors and the fury of my persecuting enemies."[45] Joanne Pierce noted the connection those prayers made, "between exterior washing of the body (hands) and both interior purification of the mind as well as growth in holiness."[46] As the cloth of each piece touched the body, the priest receiving that vestment was reciting prayers that echoed the senses the *Rationale* had named for each. Speaking and vesting, sound and touch, wove person and vestment together.[47]

Cleanliness was an attribute and an action of those vestments shared by all clergy. Porters, lectors, exorcists, and acolytes were all to wear white vestments – the surplice, amice, and alb, as well as the belt – so that, Durand wrote, even these lower orders of clergy might imitate angels and be associated with the spiritual work angels did through their glorified flesh.[48] White mediated cleanliness, manifesting it in the appearance of the fabric, even as it was also the materialization of the ideal state of each cleric, whom Durand had called, in the first paragraph of Book III, to enter the sanctuary "with clean conscience and clean and sacred vestments while we touch the sacrament."[49]

The surplice was made of linen – the matter of corporals and many altar cloths, as well as other vestments. In some images of the Mass of Saint Gregory, linen linked clergy and altar to Christ's loincloth. In the image from the Groeningemuseum in Bruges (Plate 10), in addition, it linked to the Vera Icon, the piece of linen which took on Christ's face in the Passion. As the images show, that linen was to be bright white – neither dyed nor stained nor natural, but worked by artisans, as Durand addressed directly in his discussion of the alb. Because of the radiance (candor), Durand's word, of its linen, the surplice designated cleanliness and the purity of chastity.[50] Because of its name, the surplice figured the mortification of the flesh.[51] The surplice also "denotes

[43] Book III, 1, 1, "In cotidiano usu non est uestibus sacris utendum. . . . Non ergo cum uestibus communis uite usu pollutes in sancta sanctorum ingrediamur, sed cum conscientia munda et uestibus mundis et sacris, dum sacramenta tractemus," RDOL1, 177.

[44] Miller 2014, 77–87. Reifenberg noted, "Die seit der Karolingerzeit mehr und mehr als liturgische Zeremonie ausgestaltete Anlgegung der Gewänder geschieht im Mainzer *Ordo* in der Gleichen Reihenfolge wie heute. Auf das Schultertuch folgen Albe und Zingulum, Manipel und Stola nebst Kasel. Beim Anziehen derselben betet der Priester jeweils einen Begleitvers oder deren zwei," Reifenberg 1960, 12–13.

[45] Miller 2014, 81.

[46] Quoted in Miller 2014, 80.

[47] Miller 2014, 77–87.

[48] Book III, 1, 15, "Et nota quod ostiary, lectores, exorciste, et acoliti uestibus albis utuntur, uidelicet superpellicio, amicto, et alba, et baltheo; u tangelos Dei ministros per castitatis munditiam imitentur, et eis in carne gloriosa, effecta spirituali, quasi in albis uestibus socientur," RDOL1, 183.

[49] Book III, 1,1, RDOL1, 177.

[50] Book III, 1, 10, RDOL1, 181–182.

[51] Book III, 1, 11, "Propter nomen uero suum carnis mortificationem figurat," RDOL1, 182.

PLATE 10 Anonymous, *Mass of Saint Gregory*, c. 1500, Groeningemuseum Source: Open access. https://collectie.museabrugge.be/en/collection/work/id/2016_GRO0020_I.

innocence, and it is often put on before all other sacred vestments, because those deputed to the divine cult should place innocence over all other virtuous acts."[52] In the surplice, cleanliness was affiliated with chastity, the mortification of the flesh,

[52] Book III, 1, 11, "Tertio, denotat innocentiam, et ideo ante omnes alias uestas sacras sepe induitur; quia diuino cultui deputati innocentiam uite cunctis uirtutum actibus superponere debent," RDOL1, 182.

and innocence. So, too, did the form of different vestments manifest and call forth Christian virtues. The width of the surplice designated for the body in it the virtue of charity, which "covers a multitude of sins," materializing love, the ideal relation between human beings and of humankind to God. Formed in a cross, the surplice figured the passion of Christ "and the vices and concupiscences of those in it should be crucified."[53] And finally, each vestment brought scriptural history to the person in it. Should the surplice be made of the linen used in the baptism of infants, it recalled the example of Moses, who in turn made vestments of purple and cotton and other offerings of the people in the tabernacle in which Aaron and his sons then ministered in the sanctuary (Ex. 39).[54]

THE AMICE, THE ALB, AND THE BELT

The surplice, amice, and alb were all made from cloth worked to brilliance. They were shared among the minor and major orders of clergy, visually and materially linking each to the altar and to the celebrant. The bodies of all those clergy who participated in a Mass – from cantor through bishop – did their distinctive work in an amice, alb, and surplice. Although Durand took up the amice, alb, and belt each in its own separate chapter in Book III in the sequence in which a priest would be vested in preparation for celebrating a Mass, we take them up here, before turning to the orders who were to use them. We begin, as he did, with the amice.

The amice was "the first of the six ornaments common to bishops and priests."[55] It "covered the head," rested on the shoulders, and was to be rolled over the opening of the chasuble, when the priest completed vesting for Mass. In most of the images of the Mass of Saint Gregory, it can be seen, white, just above the chasuble. Its placement signified the salvation which was bestowed through faith. It also signified chastity of heart and body, because it was to surround and cover the breast. It was to be worn beneath all the other vestments, but it surpassed them all, because chastity was both within the breast and shone forth in works. It was tied around the neck, through which the voice was to be understood as castigated, such that it was not possible to lie. It also represented the veil Jews placed on the face of Christ.

Following the amice, next the alb was vested. It was to be close-fitting, "nothing should be shown to be superfluous or dissolute in the life of a priest, or in his limbs."[56] The sleeves of the alb were to fit the arms, so that the arms were never exposed.[57] Through the alb, in covering the body from top to bottom, hope was figured, which came from grace.

[53] Book III, I, 12, "Quinto, propter sui formam, quia in modum crucis formatur, passionem domini figurat; quodque illud gerentes crucifigi debent uitiis et concupiscentiis," RDOL1, 182.
[54] Book III, 1, 12, RDOL1, 182.
[55] Book III, 2, 1, "Primo de sex ornamentis episcopis et sacerdotibus communibus est," RDOL1, 184.
[56] Book III, 3, 1, "Post amictum camisiam, siue albam, sacerdos induit, que mebris corporis conuenienter aptata, nichil superfluum aut dissolutum in uita sacerdotis, aut in eius membris, esse debere demonstrate," RDOL1, 186. Durand returned to close-fitting sleeves in III, 3, 5, RDOL1, 187.
[57] Book III, 3, 5, RDOL1, 187.

Because it extended to the ankles, it designated perseverance.[58] The fabric of the alb was to show brilliant cleanliness, following the scriptural injunction, "at all times your vestments should be white." It was, therefore, to be made of Egyptian cotton or linen. Neither cotton nor linen was white in its original state. Like the flesh of humankind, they were made clean through thrashing, castigation. The white of the fabric mediated the cleanliness of the flesh, both of which had been worked by human hands.[59] "Christ's vestments were always clean and white, because he did not sin nor was deceit to be found in his mouth."[60]

If the surplice, amice, and alb materialized cleanliness as set forth in scriptural loci and as it explicated Christ's purity, the belt was a scriptural *res* for girding. The belt thus signified continence as was found in Luke 12:35, Job 40:11, and Ephesians 6:14.[61] A golden girdle designated the perfect charity of Christ.[62] The belt also signified justice and the whip Pilate used on Jesus as found in John 19.[63]

SOUND: CANTORS AND PSALMISTS

Durand included in the *Rationale* one office for which there was no order, the cantor, and one office, the psalmist, who numbered among the tonsured, and therefore the clergy, but who had an unclear relationship to order: possibly to be included under the order of lectors, possibly not an order at all.[64] Each did work in a Mass. The cantors "ought to sing in a single voice and with sweet modulation that they might excite the souls of those listening to them to devotion to God."[65] To psalmists belong, Durand wrote, quoting Isidore, "the office of chanting; speaking the benediction, that is, 'Benedicamus Domino'; praise, that is, the Alleluia or 'Christus vincit Christus regnat'; the sacrifice, that is, the Offertory; the response, that is, the office of the Mass; and whatever belongs to the expertise of chanting."[66]

Both cantor and psalmist did the office of chanting.[67] This office, in other words, did not attach to a particular order but was shared. Durand's discussion of them also

[58] Book III, 3, 5, "Per albam etiam, qua a corpus a sursum usque doorsum tegitur, spes, que ex gratia prouenit, Ecclesie desursum et ex meritis Ecclesie dorsum, figuratur . . . Quia uero usque ad talos descendit, perseuerantiam designat," RDOL1, 187.

[59] Book III, 3, 1–2, RDOL1, 186–187.

[60] Book III, 3, 5, "Semper enim uestimenta Christi munda fuerunt et candida, quia peccatum non fecit, nec inuentus est dolus in ore eius," RDOL1, 188.

[61] The editors of *Gvillelmi Dvranti Rationale Divinorvm Officiorvm* I-IV provide the scriptural loci in their notes, RDOL1, 188–190.

[62] Book III, 4, 4, "Per zonam auream perfecta Christi caritas designator," RDOL1, 189.

[63] Book III, 4, 6, "Cingulum ergo iustitiam significat. . . Representat etiam flagellum quo Pylatus cecidit Iesum, Io. Xix," RDOL1, 190.

[64] Book II, 2 and 3, RDOL1, 146–149. On the cantor, psalmist, and lector, see also, Douteil 1969, 18–30.

[65] Book II, 3, 3, "Porro debent cantores consonis uocibus et suaui modulatione concinere quatenus animos audientium ad deuotionem Dei ualeant excitare," RDOL1, 146. On polyphony in churches, see especially Howard and Moretti 2009.

[66] Book II, 3, 3, "Ad ipsam namque pertinent, secundum Ysidorum, officium canendi; dicere benedictiones, id est, 'Benedicamus Domino'; laudes, id est alleluia, uel 'Christus uincit Christus regnat' etc.; sacrificium, id est offertorium; responsorial, id est officium misse; et quicquid ad canendi peritiam spectat," RDOL1, 148–149.

[67] Lower orders of clergy were obligated to do this office in their churches, Lefèvre 1942, 64–65.

provides further evidence that at the time he was writing "order" did not have clear boundaries. Durand's discussion of cantors and psalmists offers us evidence of the sonic complexity of a Mass in a church with multiple clergy: not only different human voices or different modes of giving sound such as chanting, singing, or speaking but also different kinds of clergy and different ages of male voices.[68]

Books II and III of the *Rationale* are not descriptive of any one place and its clergy – and indeed, studies of English parish churches suggest less definition among orders and offices than Durand sketched.[69] Nor is the *Rationale* prescriptive in the manner of a handbook for parish priests such as proliferated at the end of the Middle Ages.[70] As his discussion of cantors and psalmists suggests, Durand was concerned that the work of each order be informed by the complex sense of "worship" at the center of the *Rationale*. Sweetness was not a physical attribute alone but a medium for touching the souls of those listening.

SOUND: LECTORS

Lectors were both an office and an order. To them belonged speaking of lessons at Matins, and "to preach, that is, to read" (*predicare*, *id est legere*) to the people what the prophets prophesized and the apostles said. They were to speak the benediction over the bread and all new fruits.[71] "We fulfill this office," Durand wrote, "when we correct those living evilly in *ecclesia* and instruct some in good morals."[72] Lectors were to receive at their ordination a codex; as the bishop handed it to the ordinand, he was to say, "Accept and become one who relates the Word of God, [and] if faithfully and usefully fulfilling this office, part of those who have ministered the Word of God."[73] Lectors also had a locus in *ecclesia*. "Pope Martin" had decreed that no one could sing the psalms or read *in pulpito*, in the pulpit or from the lectern, unless ordained a lector by a bishop.[74] Cantors and psalmists could sing but not from the place of Scripture in the choir.

As with cantors and psalmists, lectors' work in a Mass was sonic. Some lectors, Durand wrote, spoke so poorly (*miserabiliter*) that their listeners were "compelled to grief and lamentation." They were also called *pronuntiatores*, Durand wrote, derived from the verb, *pronuntiare*, to declare, speak, announce. The character of the sound they were to make was not sweetness but clarity, so that, no matter how distant a

[68] Orme found that psalmists belonged to "'minor orders' of first tonsure," and could be as young as seven years old, Orme 2021, 52.

[69] See, for example, Heath 1969; Orme 2021.

[70] See, for example, John Myrc, *Instructions for Parish Priests*.

[71] Book II, 5, 3, RDOL1, 151.

[72] Book II, 5, 5, "Hoc officium implemus dum male uiuentes in Ecclesia corrigimus et aliquem bonis moribus instruimus," RDOL1, 151.

[73] Book II, 5, 4, "Post hoc, spectante plebe, tradit ei codicem in quo lecturus est, dicens: 'Accipe et esto relator uerbi Dei habiturus, si fideliter et utiliter impleueris officium, partem cum eis qui uerbum Dei ministrauerunt," RDOL1, 151.

[74] Book II, 5, 3, "Martinus papa stuatuit ut nulli liceat in pulpit psallere aut legere nisi qui ab episcopo fuerint ordinati lectores," RDOL1, 151.

lector's listeners might be, "their ears would be filled."[75] They were "ordained to this, to read the books of God distinctly that their listeners might understand, just as we receive that Ezra did, in the Old Testament, Nehemiah viii."[76] Christ, too, fulfilled this office when, opening the book of Isaiah, he read distinctly in order to be understood (*distincte ad intelligendum*), "saying, the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me."[77] Lectors were to give sound in the manner that the prophet Ezra and Christ had done, distinctly, toward making what they were reading intelligible to those whose ears were to be filled with that sound.

LIGHT: ACOLYTES

Acolyte, Durand wrote, was the Greek word for "torch-bearer" (*ceroferarii*).[78] In their rite of ordination, acolytes were to receive the candelabra with its candle and an empty pitcher, for administering the wine for the Eucharist. Plate 6 represents one form of work they did in a Mass: illumination. They were to carry lit candles while the Gospel was being read or the sacrifice offered. They illumined, Durand wrote, not only the shadows but the heart. And that light, in turn, showed the light which could be read in the Gospel: "He was the true light who enlightens all humankind coming into this world."[79] Following directly on these words of John 1:9 in the *Rationale* was other work acolytes were to do in a Mass: the preparation of the eucharistic wine and water. In the work of acolytes, candles and the wine to be consecrated were materially connected.

THE TUNIC

Over the amice and the alb, the major orders wore intricately worked silk and wool brocades and embroidered velvets (see Plates 6, 9, and 10). The vesting of the celebrant culminated in the chasuble, to which we turn shortly. The dalmatic affiliated with the order of deacon, where we shall consider it. Here we take up the tunic, which Durand

[75] Book II, 5, 1, "Lector, secundum Ysidorum, a legend, psalmista a psalmis canendis, uocati sunt. Lector enim predicat, id est legit siue recitat populis quid sequantur; psalmista uero canit ut excitet ad compunctionem animos audientium, licet quidam lectores ita miserabiliter pronuntient, scilicet alte et per uocem sonogram, ut quosdam ad luctum lamentationemque compellent. Lectores etiam pronuntiatores uocantur, pro eo quod porro siue a longe pronunitant. Tanta enim et tam clara esse debet eorum uox ut, quamuis longe positorum, aures impleat," RDOL1, 150.

[76] Here as in the last section on lectors, Durand used the phrasing, "ad intelligendum," Book II, 5, 2, "Ad hoc enim ordinantur ut libros Dei distincte et aperte ad intelligendum legant, sicut in ueteri testament accipimus Esdram fecisse, Neemie viii," RDOL1, 150–151.

[77] Book II, 5, 5, "Christus hoc officium impleuit quando in medio seniorum, librum Ysaie prophete aperiens, legit distincte ad intelligendum, dicens: Spiritus Domini super me eo quod unxit me, etc.," RDOL1, 151.

[78] Book II, 7, 1, RDOL1, 153.

[79] Book II, 7, 2, "Acoliti autem, secundum Ysidorum, cereos ferunt accensos dum legitur euangelium aur offertur sacrificium, non ut tenebras aeris sed cordis illuminent cum sol forte eodem tempore rutilet, et ut proximis opera lucis ostendat, atque ad signum letitie demonstrandum, ut sub typo luminis corporalis illa lux ostendatur de qua in euangelio legitur: Erat lux uera que illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum. Ipsi etiam pro eucharistia preparant suggesta, id est uinum et aquam seu uasa in quibus ponitur aqua et uinum," RDOL1, 153–154.

considered in chapter 10 of Book III. In his chapter on the tunic, Durand affiliated it with the bishop. In his chapter on the subdeacon, Durand wrote that the subdeacon also uses the amice, alb, and belt, just as the porter, lector, exorcist, and acolyte did, "and above those the tunic and sudarium."[80]

In Plate 10 Gregory wears, beneath the chasuble, the outermost vestment and, above the alb, a tunic, in red in the image. It is identifiable as a tunic by its shape, the straight line and sharp corners, and its length. As we have seen with the surplice, for Durand, the spatial placement of each vestment also signified, "above" and "below," along a spectrum of visibility and revelation. The tunic was to be placed above the alb, which "chastises the body"; at the same time, "through the tunic the innermost virtues are perceived."[81] If a bishop wore two tunics, one on top of the other, the one beneath "is not seen by the people, but is known to the clergy, so, too, the sublime and perfect virtues that they ought always to have, which are signified through [the tunic], should not appear to all, but to the major orders and the perfect."[82]

In the Old Testament, Durand wrote, there were two tunics, one white and the other hyacinth, a practice which some bishops, again according to Durand, continued, thereby manifesting their knowledge of both Testaments. The white tunic, like the alb, signified chastity; if made of silk, that silk came from worms created without sexual union, demonstrating chastity and humility.[83] The second tunic was to be hyacinth, made in the color of the purple stone that "imitates the serenity of ether and signifies the saints in their celestial thinking and imitation, as well as conversation."[84] If, however, the tunic were another color, Durand concluded, it would have another signification.

RECEIVING, CARRYING, CLEANSING, READING THE EPISTLE: SUBDEACONS

In Book IV of the *Rationale*, on the Mass, Durand called for a minimum of two others to be present when a priest celebrated a Mass.[85] We can see them in Plates 6, 9, and 10 and Figure 20; their vestments distinguish them not only from the acolytes and other clergy but also from the celebrant who kneels between them. Like the celebrant, they are fully tonsured. Like all the clergy at the altar, they are wearing the white alb that materially links all those at the altar to the altar cloth. Above the alb, they wear the tunic.

[80] Book II, 8, 5, "Subdyaconua autem utitur amictu, alba et baltheo, sicut et ostarius, lector, exorcista et acolitus, et insuper tunica et sudario," RDOL1, 156.

[81] Book III, 10, 1, "Rursus ideo post albam tunica induitur, quia sicut per albam castigatio corporis, ita per tunicam uirtutes intime intelliguntur," RDOL1, 203.

[82] Book III, 10, 4, "Ceterum pontifex unam tunicam sub alia induit, ad notandum quod sicut cooperta tunica a populo non uidetur, sed tantum a clericis scitur, ita et ratio sublimum et uirtutes quas perfectus semper habere debet, que per illam significantur, parere non debent omnibus sed maioribus et perfectis," RDOL1, 203.

[83] Book III, 10, 2, "Prima etiam tunica si serica est, quia originem traducit ex uermibus qui sine coitu creantur, castitatem et humilitatem demonstrat," RDOL1, 203.

[84] Book III, 10, 3, "Secunda tunica que iacinctina esse debet sicut et olim erat, id est coloris lapidis iacinctini qui etheris serenitatem imitator, sanctos significat celestia cogitantes et imitantes, siue celeste conuersationem," RDOL1, 203.

[85] Book IV, 1, 37, RDOL1, 253.

The order of subdeacons was the first of the major or sacred orders. The subdeacon was to read the Epistle in a Mass; the deacon, the Gospel; and the priest, the Canon.[86] According to Pope Innocent III, Durand wrote, they "represented *Nathineorum*," who ministered to the Levites. Subdeacons thus continued a lineage of service at the altar named in the Book of Ezra. Nathanial, whom Christ commended, "Behold the true Israelite in whom there is no deceit" (John 1:47), also belonged to this "order."[87] In the *Rationale*, the order of subdeacon linked Temple servants, Christ's disciples, and those standing in Durand's present moment before the altar.

In their ordination, subdeacons were to receive from the bishop an empty paten and an empty chalice, and from the archdeacon, a jug with water and wine, a basin, and a towel (*manutergium*).[88] One part of the office of subdeacon was receiving and carrying: receiving from the faithful their gifts; carrying those gifts to "the Levites" (the deacons in the contemporary church) at the altar; carrying the chalice and the paten to the altar and handing them over to the deacons. Subdeacons mediated between the laity and the altar, carrying the laity's gifts to the altar.

The office of the subdeacon was also holding the jug with wine and water, as well as the basin and towel, for the bishop, priest, and deacons to wash their hands with water before the altar and to wash the corporal and altar cloth.[89] There is a motif of hands in so many of the subdeacon's offices: receiving, carrying, holding that with which the celebrant cleanses his hands. That cleanliness inheres in the office, Durand wrote, which, "by its example and counsel washes sordid sins from others." "Christ exercised this office when in Cana in Galilee he made wine from water, and when, the meal done, putting water in a basin, he washed the feet of his disciples."[90]

CHASUBLE I

In his chapter on deacons, Durand devoted considerable attention to one aspect of the vesting of subdeacons and deacons: the chasuble. Folded and placed on their left shoulder during days of fasting and the Sundays of Advent and Lent,[91] the chasuble of subdeacons and deacons was thus differentiated from the chasuble of the celebrant, which was worn, as we see in the images of the Mass of Saint Gregory, hanging from both shoulders and covering the torso. Like the priest's chasuble, theirs communicated charity. But the chasubles of subdeacons and deacons did different work: its folding, placement, removal, and replacement marking parts of a Mass.

[86] Book II, 9, 3, RDOL1, 158.

[87] Book II, 8, 1, "Ordo enim subdyaconatus sacer hodie secundum Innocentium tertium reputatur. Siquidem subdyaconi nathineorum uices in Ecclesia representant, de quibus in Esdra legitur quod Dauid dederat nathineos ad ministerial leuitarum. . . . ex quorum ordine fuit ille Nathanael quem Dominus in euangelio commendauit dicens: Ecce uere Israelita in quo dolus non est," RDOL1, 155.

[88] Book II, 8, 3, RDOL1, 155–156.

[89] Book II, 8, 2, RDOL1, 155.

[90] Book II, 8, 5, "Hoc officio utitur qui tante munditie est quod ipsius exemplo et consilio ceteri a sordibus criminum lauantur. Christus hoc officium exercuit quando in Cana a Galilee de aqua uinum fecit, et quando, cena facta mittens aquam in peluim, pedes discipulorum lauit," RDOL1, 156.

[91] Book II, 9, 2–8 RDOL1, 157–160.

Subdeacons were to remove their chasubles when they read the Epistle. For deacons, Durand offered evidence of heterogenous practices and therefore different significations. He first wrote that deacons, before reading the Gospel, were to rearrange their chasubles, placing them still on their left shoulders but cincturing them beneath their right arms, in the manner of the stole that was given them at ordination. Not removing the chasuble belonged to the office that preached the Gospel, "which is the law of love, and from this love which makes the yoke of the Lord sweet, which yoke . . . is signified by the stole above the left shoulder."[92] Durand then wrote that deacons were to remove their chasubles as subdeacons did, before they read. Removing the chasuble communicated that it was "not their vestment" (but, presumably, the celebrant's).[93]

Both subdeacons and deacons were to keep the chasubles as they had been set at reading until the prayer after communion – through the entire Canon. At that moment, they were to place it as they had before, folded on top of their left shoulder. At the end of each Mass, subdeacons and deacons were to remove the chasuble. Durand accorded far more attention to the chasuble than to any other of the vestments of the deacon, and yet our preeminent visual evidence for deacons in a Mass, images of the Mass of Saint Gregory, depict no chasubles other than the one the celebrant wears.

The presence of the chasuble on their shoulders separated subdeacon and deacon from the minor orders and linked them materially to the priest. They were to be held to the same perfection as priests. Their chasubles, just as the priest's, communicated charity: They were to minister from love, not fear, because without love, acts would not be meritorious. Where the chasuble rested on their bodies – above the arms – freed deacons to serve more fully the celebrant, who carried the open chasuble on both shoulders and arms. Charity in the mind, Durand wrote, was designated through hands and arms together.

THE DALMATIC

The dalmatic was immediately to follow the tunic in the vesting of a bishop. In this way, Durand wrote, the bishop "shows himself to have all orders perfectly."[94] Durand distinguished the dalmatic of the deacon from that of the bishop. The sleeves of the dalmatic of the deacon were wider than the sleeves of the tunic of the subdeacon, "because they should have more charity than the subdeacons," but they were not as wide as those of the bishop, whose hands needed to be unrestrained and whose charity extended to his enemies.[95] The tunic of the subdeacon, the dalmatic of the deacon, and the chasuble of the priest all, Durand wrote, "succeed in the place of the hyacinth tunic which was of celestial color, that is, of the sky, denoting that all who minister at the altar should have celestial conduct, be it according to major or minor order, which is marked

[92] Book II, 9, 4, "quia eius officium est doctrinam euangelicam, que est lex amoris, predicare; et hoc ex amore qui facit iugum Domini suaue, quod iugum, pro omnia mundane premuntur, per stolam super sinistrum humerum significatur," RDOL1, 159. On deacons and the stole, see Suntrup 2019, 74–75.

[93] Book II, 9, 6, "non esse uestem propriam," RDOL1, 160.

[94] Book III, 11, 4, "Episcopus autem simul utitur et dalmatica et tunicella et ominium ornamentis, ut ostendat se perfecte omnes habere ordines," RDOL1, 205.

[95] Book III, 11, 3, RDOL1, 205.

in the width or the fit of the dalmatic and tunic."[96] The color linked heaven and conduct through its material referent, tunics, dalmatics, and chasubles, which were, by the time of Durand, no longer restricted to that color.

Durand distinguished between dalmatics of order (deacon) and dignity (bishop), in terms of the width of sleeves and what they said about the office and person of each. His discussion of the dalmatic, then, underlined the different work that deacons and bishops embodied within the life of the church, even if both were vested with the dalmatic which thus materially linked the two orders and offices. The bishop's dalmatic was to have two scarlet stripes, on the front and back, from top to bottom, in order that "the bishop is shown to have the glow of charity towards God and his neighbor, in prosperity and adversity, according to the precept of the Old and New Testaments: 'love your Lord God with all your heart, and your neighbor just as yourself.'"[97] The stripes showed the bishop's charity. Sometimes the stripes were purple, "signifying that faith in the blood of Christ was necessary to the people in both [Testaments]." Edging on the left side of the dalmatic signified the bishop's solicitude for his subjects' active lives; the right side, lacking such edging, denoted celestial contemplation without care and rest from multiple disturbances. Dalmatics might have had fringes on the front and back of different numbers, calling forth, for example, the fifteen psalms and the fifteen steps of charity or the twenty-eight front and back, whose total number called forth the sevenfold spirit multiplied by eight.[98] In the dalmatic, there was, Durand wrote, variety without division, just as there was a variety of religious works for God.

The dalmatic served as a mnemonic for the Passion. Open at the sides under the arms, it conveyed to him in it that he was to imitate the steps of Christ, whom a lance had perforated on his side. When the arms were extended, the dalmatic formed a cross, figuring the Passion of Christ; it was to be born (*portatur*) – like the cross – in the Mass, where Christ's Passion was represented.[99] A white dalmatic signified a holy and immaculate life; red, martyrdom. A dalmatic worked from various white threads denoted cleanliness and a variety of virtues – fabric and the life of the person in it were not discrete from one another. The dalmatic mediated divine communication: Its wide and large form signified the mercy of Christ, evoking those many scriptural loci, such as Matthew 5:7, in which Christ called for mercy.[100]

During Advent, the subdeacon was to set aside the tunic, the deacon, the dalmatic, "because the Law, which the subdeacon signifies, before the Incarnation of our Lord, lacked the ornament of the Gospel, and the charity of the Gospel, which the deacon

[96] Book III, 11, 3, "Nempe tunicella subdyaconi, dalmatica dyaconi et casula presbyteri succedunt in locum tunice iacinctine que erat coloris celestis, id est aerei, ad notandum quod omnes ministri altaris celeste debent habere conuersationem, licet secundum maius et minus, quod notat latitude uel strictura manicarum dalmatice et tunicelle, ut premissum est," RDOL1, 205.

[97] Book III, 11, 5, "Debet autem habere dalmatica duas lineas coccineas hinc ante et retro a summon usque deorsum, ut pontifex ostendatur habere feruorem caritatis a Deum et proximum, in prosperis et aduersis, iuxta ueteris et noui testament preceptum quod est: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et proximum tuum sicut teipsum. . . . Quandoque line ipse purpuree sunt, significantes fidem sanguinis Christi in utroque populo necessariam," RDOL1, 205.

[98] Book III, 11, 6, RDOL1, 206.

[99] Book III, 11, 7, "Ad hec dalmatica formam crucis pretendit, unde per eam Christi passio figuratur, ideoque in misse officio portatur ubi Christ passio representatur," RDOL1, 206.

[100] Book III, 11, 8, RDOL1, 206–207.

signifies, had not yet appeared."[101] Chasubles were to be used during Advent, so that subdeacons and deacons materialized through their changing vestments the complex time of Advent, at once a time of hope and a time of growing darkness, the time prior to the Incarnation that would define the Christian year.

PREACHING AND ASSISTING THE CELEBRANT: DEACONS

"The order of deacons," Durand wrote, "one reads in the Book of Numbers, takes its source from the tribe of Levy, son of Jacob, and from that time called Levites, that is, *assumpti* [those called], because they were called to assist the priests, such as Eleazar and Ithamar."[102] As with subdeacons, Durand identified in the Old Testament not simply an order but actions, offices, that continued to the present moment – for the deacon, ministering, taking up, offering. For Durand, Christian orders existed in a continuum of worship: Subdeacons, deacons, and priests all had their origin in Jewish worship; all were rooted in the Old Testament; each formed a continuum through time as it was set forth in the two Testaments. The order of deacons originated in divine command: God said to Moses, Durand wrote, quoting the Book of Numbers, the tribe of Levy was "to stand in the sight of the priest Aaron, and minister to him."[103]

In the New Testament, Durand wrote, the order took its beginning from the apostles when they elected seven men of good reputation, full of the Holy Spirit, to be deacons. For this reason, he continued, seven deacons served a bishop around an altar in the celebration of a Mass. In the Book of Revelation, they were said to be the seven angels trumpeting. They were said to be the seven golden candelabra, because they were to show the light of Christ's Gospel to others. They openly called the people to prayer and genuflection (in a Mass).[104]

The deacon had two offices, preaching to the people and ministering to the priest. With "preaching," Durand encompassed a number of modes of speaking: When the deacon read the Gospel, he said to the people, "the Lord be with you"; prayer; reading the Gospel and the Apostle, that is, the Epistle, should the subdeacon be absent.[105]

[101] Book III, 11, 9, "quia lex quam subdyaconus dignificat, ante incarnationem Domini euangelii ornatu carebat et caritas euangelii, quam dyaconus significat, nondum apparuerat," RDOL1, 207.

[102] Book II, 9, 1, "Dyaconi grece dicuntur, hebraice leuite, latine uero ministri siue assumpti, siue offerentes secundum Ysidorum, Dyaconorum quidem ordo in libro Numerorum a tribu Leui filii Iacob sumpsisse legitur exordium et inde leuite, id est assumpti uocabantur, quoniam assumpti sunt ad auxilium sacerdotum, ut Eleazar et Ythamar," RDOL1, 157.

[103] Book II, 9, 2, "Dominus enim ad Moysen locutus est dicens: Applica tribum Leui et fac eam stare in conspectu Aaron sacerdotis, et ministrant ei," RDOL1, 157.

[104] Book II, 9, 9, "In nouo uero testament ordo iste ab apostolis sumpsit initium, qui septem uiros boni testimonii, plenos Spiritu sancto, dyaconos elegerunt, ut iam dicetur. Vnde et sancti patres decreuerunt ut, in matrice ecclesia, septem dyaconi circa altare pontifici in celebratione misse assistant. Hii in Apocalypsi dicuntur septem angeli tuba canentes, quia illorum est alta mysteria de superna inspiratione foris resonare. Hii sunt septem candelabra aurea, quia Christi lucem euangelii aliis ostendere debent. Hii dicuntur septem tonitrua, quia terribiliter comminari debent: quod omnis arbor que non facit fructum bonum etc. Hii preconis more palam admonent ad orandum et genua flectendum," RDOL1, 161.

[105] Book II, 9, 6, "Rursus dyaconus duplex gerit officium, scilicet predicandi populo: unde lecturus euangelium dicit populo: 'Dominus uobiscum', et ministrandi sacerdoti. . . . unde in Toletano concilio ita legitur: 'Vnum orarium oportet leuitam gestare in sinistro humero, propter quod orat', id est pro eo quod predicat"; "et predicare, id est legere euangelium et Apostolum, id est epistolam, put subdyacono deficiente," RDOL1, 159–160, and 162, respectively.

Reading, for Durand, was preaching. The lector preached the Old Testament reading; the subdeacon preached the Epistle; and the deacon preached the Gospel – because Christ had preached the Gospel.[106] The chasuble also communicated that the deacon was a preacher "fervent in love and longing for the contemplative life"; placed on his shoulder, it introduced the work of preaching, praying, and reading.[107]

Durand's conception of "preaching" encompassed much that we now distinguish from it. To the deacon belonged the office of prayer, to speak the litanies.[108] He was to recite the names of those to be ordained or baptized. He admonished ears to listen to God when he said, "Bow your heads to God" or "Bow yourselves for the benediction." He exhorted them to cry out, saying, "Kyrie eleïson" during Rogation. He gave peace when he said, "The Lord be with you" and announced feasts.

Assisting the priest extended beyond the Mass to "all things done in the sacraments of Christ," in baptism and in chrism. It centered, however, on the work of a Mass: carrying oblations, the host on a paten, the chalice to the altar; adorning the altar and vesting it; carrying the cross in processions; and reading the Scripture for the day's liturgy.[109] At their ordination, deacons were to receive the stole and the codex of the Gospels. "Christ exercised this office when, after the meal he dispensed the sacrament of his body and blood with his own hands to his disciples; and again, when the apostles were exhorted to pray, saying, keep watch and pray, etc., and when he preached the Gospel."[110] As with subdeacons, deacons embodied actions narrated in the Gospels; each order did specific offices first done by Christ.

THE STOLE

The stole belonged to deacons and priests – subdeacons, lectors, psalmists, and porters were not to use it.[111] For deacons, the stole "signifies the yoke of the Lord, or is the yoke of the Lord's precepts."[112] The stole was both a yoke and a burden at the same time, a

[106] Book II, 9, 10, RDOL1, 162.

[107] Book II, 9, 7, "Tertio, etiam dici potest quod dyaconus casulam induens innuit se esse predicatorem, qui in dilectione ferueat et uite contemplatiue inhiet; dum uero se illa precingit, et humero duplicatam imponit, opus predicationis, orationis, et lectionis intromittit," RDOL1, 160.

[108] Book II, 9, 11, "Ad ipsum quoque pertinent officium precum, id est dicere letanias, et recitatio nominum eorum qui ordinandi, uel etiam baptizandi sunt. Ipse premonet aures adhibere ad Deum cum dicit: 'Humiliate capita uestra Deo', uel 'Humiliate uos ad benedictionem'. Ipse hortatur clamare, dicendo: 'Kyrieeleyson', in Rogationibus. Ipse donat pacem, scilicet subdyacono, uel saltem cum dicit: 'Dominus uobiscum'; et annuntiat festiuitates," RDOL1, 162.

[109] Book II, 9, 10, "Ad eos quidem pertinet assistere sacerdotibus et ministrare in omnibus que aguntur in sacramentis Christi: in baptism scilicet, in crismate; in patena et in calice, oblationes, id est hostias inferre et disponere in altare; componere etiam, id est ornare mensam Domini, id est altare, atque vestire; crucem ferre, puta in processionibus; et predicare, id est legere euangelium et Apostolum, id est epistolam, puta subdyacono deficient," RDOL1, 161–162.

[110] Book II, 9, 19, "Ad hec dyacono cum ordinatur traditor sub certis uerbis stola, et codex euangelii, que res et uerba sunt huius sacramenti substantia; cetera sunt de sollempnitate. Ideo autem stolam accipit quia euangelium, quod per Christi iugum figuratur, lecturus est. Hoc officio utitur, qui corpus et sanguinem Christi discrete dispensat, et qui ad orandum et uigilandum sui exemplo alios hortatur. Christus uero hoc officium exercuit quando post cenam sacramentum corporis et sanguinis sui propriis manibus discipulis dispensauit; et iterum quando apostolos hortatus est ad orandum, dicens: Vigilate et orate, etc., et quando euangelium predicauit," RDOL1, 165.

[111] Book III, 5, 8, RDOL1, 192.

[112] Book III, 5, 1, "Post cingulum sacerdos orarium, siue stolam, que leue Domini iugum significat, siue que est iugum preceptorum Domini, super collum sibi imponit," RDOL1, 190.

yoke for priests and a burden for deacons.[113] It signified the yoke of the Lord, which was the yoke of the precepts of the Lord; it was placed on the neck, to show that the one being vested had placed himself under the yoke of the Lord. When the priest accepted the stole in ordination, "the bishop said to him, 'Accept the yoke of God, for his yoke is sweet, and his burden light,' sweet in prosperity, light in adversity."[114] The stole also signified patience, Durand wrote, and it was a signification of innocence.[115] Its length signified perseverance; the two "arms" (*brachia*) that hang down, prudence and temperance.[116]

At ordination, the stole was turned from the left shoulder to the right, "because obedience begins in the active life through love of neighbor and moves into the contemplative life through love of God."[117] It was placed around the neck of the priest and on the left shoulder of the deacon.[118] Just as a yoke was to be carried on the neck, a burden was to be carried on the shoulders. The stole could also signify a yoke for the deacon, but it was to be placed on the left shoulder of the deacon, "because he should leave temporal things to serve spiritual, and because the right of the deacon should be free" for serving the priest.[119] The stole was to be bound to the loins, in order to be strong and prepared to fight lust.[120]

The stole was also called an *orarium*, because without it, a priest could not baptize, seal, or do other forms of praying, unless there was great necessity.[121] The ancient stole was white, reaching to the ground. Later, when they began to be vested in albs, stoles changed. The first stoles signified innocence. In Durand's present, through the stole, which priests used, they accepted obedience to the Gospel of the crucified one.[122] When the priest took the stole on his neck, above the amice, it signified the obedience and servitude of Christ, when he submitted for all humankind's salvation. The stole represented the ligature by which Jesus had been bound to the column.[123]

THE MANIPLE

Placed on the left hand of the celebrant, the maniple wiped away the sweat of the mind and the sleepiness of the heart.[124] Through the maniple, good works and vigilance were

[113] Book III, 5, 3, "Orarium itaque iugum simul et onus est: iugum sacerdotibus, onus dyaconibus," RDOL1, 191.

[114] Book III, 5, 1, "Vnde et cum sacerdos in ordinatione stolam accipit, dicit illi episcopus: 'Accipe iugum Dei, iiugum enim suaue est, et onus eius leue', suaue in prosperis, leue in aduersis," RDOL1, 190.

[115] Book III, 5, 2, RDOL1, 190–191.

[116] Book III, 5, 3, RDOL1, 191.

[117] Book III, 5, 3, "Rursus, stola ab humero sinistro sacerdotis in dextrum dum ordinatur reflectitur, quia cum obedentia incipiat ab actiua per dilectionem proximi, transit in contemplatiuam uitam per dilectionem Dei," RDOL1, 191.

[118] Book III, 5, 4, RDOL1, 191.

[119] Book III, 5, 4, "Adhuc stola sinistro humero dyaconi imponitur, quia decet temporalia spiritualibus deseruire, uel quia dextram dyaconi oportet esse libera mut expeditious ad ministerium sacerdotis discurrat," RDOL1, 191.

[120] Book III, 5, 5, RDOL1, 191.

[121] Book III, 5, 6, RDOL1, 192.

[122] Book III, 5, 6, "que nunc utimur, obedientiam accipimus euangeli crucifixi," RDOL1, 192.

[123] Book III, 5, 7, "stola, que super amictum collo sacerdotis incumbit, obedientiam et seruitutem significat quam Dominus omnium propter suorum salute subiit... Stola etiam representat ligaturam qua Iesus ligatus fuit ad columpnam," RDOL1, 192.

[124] Book III, 6, 1, "Quia uero mentibus bene compositis et diuino cultui mancipatis sepe subrepit acidia, que quodam torpore reddit animum dormientenm dicente Psalmista: Dormitauit anima pre tedio; ideo consequenter in sinistra manu quaedam apponitur manipula, ... Per mapulam enim bona opera ue uigilantia

FIGURE 20 Diego de Alvarado Huanitzin, *Mass of St. Gregory*, Musée des Amériques, Auch, France *Source*: Wikimedia Commons.

designated; as the Lord said, Keep watch because you do not know at what hour the Son of Man will come; as the spouse said in Canticles, I sleep and my heart keeps watch. Through it penance was designated; by it were washed away the stains of daily life and the

designantur, de qua Dominus ait: Vigilate quia nescitis qua hora filius hominis uenturus sit. Vnde sponsa dicit in Canticis: Ego dormio et cor meum uigilat. Per sudarium etiam penitentia designator, qua labes cotidiani excessus et tedium mundane conuersationis extergitur, . . . Item quia manipulus pentitentiam designat, inde est quod sudarium subdyaconi magis fanone sacerdotali formatur, quia ubi maior excessus, maior exigitur penitentie fructus," RDOL1, 193.

tedium of mundane conversation. The maniple also represented the rope by which Jesus, seized, was bound by Jews, whence John xiii: They seized Jesus and bound him.[125]

The maniple on the left arm marked (*ad notandum*) that one should be restrained toward terrestrial things but without impediment to celestial. So, too, the maniple on the left designated faith in this life.[126] The left hand was the present life, as in, his left hand under my head, and his right embraced me.[127] Deacons and subdeacons, he wrote, were to be without their maniples when they helped the bishop vest and remove his vestments.[128]

THE CHASUBLE II

If the Baldung altarpiece of the Mass of Saint Gregory (Plate 9) offers evidence of the kind of chasuble that survives in modern collections, the feather Mass of Saint Gregory (Figure 20) offers evidence for the centrality of the chasuble in the celebration of a Mass. After the celebrant in a Mass had clothed his person with all other vestments – the amice, the alb, the belt, the stole, the maniple – he was to put the chasuble over them.[129]

As with other vestments, Durand attended to the matter of the chasuble and its signification. It was, Durand wrote, said to be like a small house. It was the only vestment to which Durand attributed movement: "it is called planeta in Greek, from planon which is to wander." It materially divided, even as it remained a whole. The extension of the hands divided it into a front and a back. The back designated the ancient church, which preceded the Passion of Christ, and the front, the new, which followed the Passion of Christ.[130] For those who went ahead and those who followed cry out, saying Hosanna son of David, blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. It thus also offered a materialization of Christian time, before and after, in which the Passion of Christ existed between the two, located at the celebrant's body.

Durand remarked on the cotton or linen of the alb but neither the raw material nor cloth work of the chasuble. If the alb was to be consistently white, brilliant, to represent and to manifest purity of both cloth and person, the chasuble's preeminent significance was *caritas*. That significance was not represented by a particular kind of cloth – linen,

[125] Book III, 6, 5, "Manipulus etiam representat funem quo Iesus comprehensus a Iudeis ligatus fuit; unde Io. Xiii: Comprehenderunt Iesum et ligauerunt eum," RDOL1, 194.

[126] Book III, 6, 2, "Sane ministri manipulum in brachio sinistro ferunt, ad notandum quod stricti debent esse ad terrena, sed ad celestia expediti, … Adhuc manipulus in sinistra, fidem in hac uita designat," RDOL1, 193.

[127] Book III, 6, 4, "Per leuam uita presens accipitur, iuxta illud: Leua eius sub capite meo, et dextera illius amplexabitur me," RDOL1, 194.

[128] Book III, 6, 6, RDOL1, 194.

[129] The order of the vestments in the *Rationale* does not correspond to the order of vesting set forth in books of prayers for the act. While Durand placed the chasuble over all the other vestments, Miller found "in most sets of vesting prayers, the final vestment to be put on was the maniple (*mappula*, *manipulum*, *fano*, *sudarium*)," Miller 2014, 85.

[130] Book III, 7, 5, "Quod autem casula unica et integra et undique clausa est, significat fidei unitatem et integritatem; uerumptamen in extensione manuum in anteriorem et posteriorem partem quodammodo diuiditur, designans et antiquam ecclesiam que passionem Christi precessit; et nouam que passionem Christi subsequitur. Nam et qui priebant et qui sequebantur clamabant dicentes: Hosanna filio Dauid, benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini," RDOL1, 196.

cotton, or silk – or by a particular process of making the cloth. The chasuble signified *caritas* – primarily as presented by Paul.[131] In his discussion of the chasuble, Durand accrued layer after layer of how the chasuble signified *caritas*, and thus, many different ways the celebrant was to live *in caritas*.

Wandering above the arms, it was elevated, thus signifying *caritas*, Durand wrote, without which a priest is like a roaring or ringing cymbal.[132] Just as *caritas* covered a multitude of sins, the Apostle said, the fullness of the law is *caritas* – so did the chasuble cover all other vestments. Among vestments, the chasuble was the *res* of *caritas*: "And I shall show you a more excellent way: if I speak in the tongue of men and angels, and do not have *caritas*, I am nothing. And further: if I have faith to move mountains, but have not *caritas*, I am nothing."[133]

The chasuble was the nuptial vestment – "Friend how did you get here without having the nuptial vestment?" – a scriptural *res* for Matthew 22:12 as well as for the motif of sponsa.[134] Without it, a priest ought not to exercise his office, because it was fitting for him always to be bound in *caritas*. Again, while doing his office, the priest ought not remove the chasuble, because, Durand wrote invoking Leviticus 21, it was not permitted to leave the holy place, neither things nor precepts.[135] So, too, then, was the chasuble a place; one lived in *caritas*.

The amice rolled over the chasuble signaled that good works ought to lead back to *caritas*, for the end of the precepts was *caritas* of the pure heart and good conscience and not feigned faith. When the chasuble, through the extension of the hands, divided into front and back, it "signified the two arms of *caritas*, that is, toward God and one's neighbor: Love, he said, your God, etc. In these two commandments hang the whole law and the prophets."[136] The width of the chasuble signified the *caritas* that was to be extended to one's enemies. The two folds, left and right, were the two precepts of *caritas*, that is, love of God and neighbor. It was folded in front of the breast and the

[131] In the following, I have kept the Latin form, *caritas*.

[132] Book III, 7, 1, "Postremo super omnes uestes induitur casula, que quasi parua casa dicitur, et a grecis planeta uocatur a plonon quod est error, quoniam errabundus eius limbus super brachia eleuatur; significans caritatem, since qua sacerdos est sicut es sonans aut cymbalum tinniens. Sicut enim caritas operit multitudinem peccatorum et onia legis et prophetarum mandata continent, dicente Apostolo: Plenitudo legis est caritas, sic et hec uestis cuncta planat et omnia alia indumenta intra se claudit et continet," RDOL1, 195.

[133] Book III, 7, 2, "De caritate dicit Apostolus: Adhuc excellentiorem uiam uobis ostendo: Si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum, caritatem autem non habeam, nichil sum. Et iteru: Si fidem habeam ut montes transferam, caritatem autem non habeam, nichil sum," RDOL1, 195.

[134] Book III, 7, 2, "Hec siquidem est uestis nuptialis de qua Dominus inquit in euangelio: Amice quomodo huc intrasti, non habens uestem nuptialem? Sine hac nunquam sacerdos suum debet officium exercere, quia semper eum decet in caritatis uinculo permanere. Per hoc auttem quod amictus super os planete reuoluitur, innuitur quod opus bonum debet ad caritatem referri; nam finis precepti est caritas de corde puro et conscientia bona et fide non ficta," RDOL1, 195.

[135] Book III, 7, 4, "Sane sacerdos suum agens officium non debet saulam exuere, quia, precipiente Domino, Leuit. c. xxi, non licet ei egredi de sanctis, scilicet rebus uel preceptis," RDOL1, 196.

[136] Book III, 7, 2–3, "Quod uero casi;a in extensione manuum in anteriorem et posteriorem partem diuiditur, signifcat duo brachia caritatis, scilicet ad Deum et ad proximum: Diliges, inquit, Deum tuum, etc. In hiis duabus mandatis pendet totat lex et prophete. 3. Due quoque plicature, sinister uidelicet et dextre, sunt duo precepta caritatis, scilicet amor Dei et proximi. ... Rursus ante pectus duplicator, quoniam per caritatem bona uoluntas et sancta cogitatio generator. ... Ad brachia autem leuatur dum bona opera caritatis operamur: ad dextrum dum operamur bonum ad domesticos fidei; ad sinistrum dum extenditur etiam ad inimicos," RDOL1, 195.

heart, and between the shoulders, by which works are expressed, because *caritas* engendered goodness of will and holiness of thinking. When arms were raised, the good works of *caritas* were done, to the right, good works were done to the familiar faithful, to the left, it was extended to enemies. That the chasuble was single, whole, and closed on all sides signified the unity and the integrity of the faithful.

When Durand wrote, chasubles did not yet materialize the liturgical seasons; their color, while perhaps shared by the altar cloth, dalmatics, stoles, or maniples, did not necessarily mark time in the annual cycle of Christ's life. While liturgical colors were prescribed, "there was," Nigel Morgan wrote, "a considerable freedom on the use of liturgical colours for certain feast days and the seasons of the Church year."[137] Red, for instance, was not restricted to martyrs, as it ultimately would be, but used for vestments the motif of which was the Virgin.

In 1210, the Bishop of Paris ordered that priests were to hold the host chest-high before consecrating, then, after the consecration, to lift it high so that all could see it.[138] Such a movement then exposed the sleeves of the alb, which in turn offered contrast of texture, color, and complexity to the chasuble.[139] Putting the chasuble in movement made visible not only the differing textures of cotton or linen on the one hand and silk and velvet on the other but the different play of light on these different materials. Different silk weaves reflected the light of candles and oil lamps differently. Before Italians were producing silk brocades or velvets,[140] central European churches were importing Byzantine silk brocades for chasubles, such as the Willigis Chasuble, now in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. The fabric of the chasuble of St. Anno, now in the Schnütgen Museum in Cologne, was made around 1000 in Byzantium, while the orphreys were made in the fifteenth century in Cologne.[141]

Putting the chasuble in movement also changed the orphreys on the back (Plate 11):[142] These were not stable or fixed images, as, for instance, altar cloths might be said to have been, but themselves in movement as the priest moved through the actions of the Mass, kneeling, bowing, elevating. The image in the orphrey moved, and in ways distinct to the chasuble and its placement within the liturgy of the Mass. Insofar as the image was embroidered of gold thread, in silk velvet, with pearls, the different textures differentiated the play of light and reflected light differently as they moved with the body.[143]

Each chasuble was unique, and no surviving chasuble was made of a single fabric; each was layered, embroidered, and built from different fabrics of different reflective

[137] "Many of the chasubles and copes with fully embroidered surfaces are essentially multicoloured, with no single colour predominating, and therefore they could serve for any purpose, transcending specific colour requirements," Morgan 2016, 26.

[138] Jungmann cites this as the earliest evidence for what would become the formal movement of the elevation of the host, Jungmann 2003, II, 257–258.

[139] On the changing form of the chasuble, see, inter alia, Braun 1897, 162.

[140] Norris notes a particular silk velvet, invented in Italy and first mentioned in 1277, which became increasingly popular in the later Middle Ages, Norris 2002, 80–81.

[141] Chasuble of St. Anno, Cologne, fifteenth century, 146 × 112 cm, Inv. No. P1, Schnütgen Museum, Cologne.

[142] Victoria and Albert Museum number T.256 to B-1967 http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O84718/chasuble-unknown/.

[143] On the kinds of embroidery in vestments, see Dean 1958. On the craft of embroidery, see Staniland 1991.

PLATE 11 Chasuble, silk, Italy and England, c. 1400–1430 Source: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

qualities. Some, such as the Chichester-Constable Chasuble or the chasuble from Whalley Abbey, were worked in cloth and embroidered images shared by a stole and maniple or a dalmatic from the same collection,[144] a practice that may have been more

[144] Browne, Davies, and Michael 2016, 218–221, 249–250.

widespread than surviving textiles allow us to see. Another chasuble, also in the Victoria and Albert Museum textile collection, was made, probably in the fifteenth century, of silk woven in Italy and embroidered in England.

Chasubles could be made of different histories, as Maureen Miller found. She adopted the term "reliquary vestments" to point toward another practice in the making of vestments. It also suggests another dimension of the connection between person and cloth:

> instead of burying vestments associated with revered clerics, some clerical communities preserved the memory of deceased brothers by continuing to wear their liturgical garb. . . .
>
> When they wore out, new vestments were made to hold the venerated pieces. These new vestments were, in effect, both liturgical garments and reliquaries.[145]

Among Miller's examples was a vestment called the chasuble of Saint Ulrich, who had been bishop of Augsburg 923–973 (Plate 12). Beneath the eighteenth-century silk, conservators found

> fragments of various fabrics stitched onto a kapok and linen base. Most of the fragments were of a purple tenth- or eleventh-century, Islamic silk, some with pieces of a golden tapestry-woven border. Like so many puzzle pieces, the fragments could be reconstructed to form the type of bell-shaped chasuble typical of Saint Ulrich's time.[146]

PLATE 12 Augsburg, Diözesanmuseum St. Afra, Chasuble of Saint Ulrich Source: Author.

[145] Miller 2014, 163–164.
[146] The chasuble belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Saint Urban in Lucerne, Miller 2014, 164–165.

As Miller suggested, the person who wore the chasuble could well know of the more intensely sacred fabric that was hidden beneath the silk of the surface, fabric that, in the composition of the chasuble, might be proximate but in the layers of vestment, not touching the person wearing it.

MEDIATORS BETWEEN GOD AND HUMANKIND: PRIESTS

> Priests act in the place of Christ when they beseech for sins and reconcile sinners through penance. For they are mediators between God and humankind.
>
> *Rationale* II, 10, 11[147]

When we turn to priests, sixteenth-century polemics and our own modern conceptions of matter and person make it most difficult to hear Durand. Sixteenth-century Evangelicals rejected vehemently the very notion that priests were "mediators." They construed that role differently, however, than Durand had done. For them, as we shall see in Part II, no living human being could be a scriptural *res*. They severed both the temporal continuity Durand held from Moses through Christ to the living present and the material continuity of persona and vestment. For Evangelicals, "mediator" placed one discrete and integral human being between other discrete and integral human beings and God.

Scholars have traced the "apotheosis" of the priesthood to the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which met some seventy years before Durand composed the *Rationale*.[148] In its opening Confession, the Council decreed "Jesus Christ is both priest and sacrifice," and "Nobody can effect [the sacrament of Communion] except a priest who has been properly ordained according to the church's keys, which Jesus Christ himself gave to the apostles and their successors."[149] Formally and legally if not always in practice, priests were thus decreed the one order of the clergy essential to the sacrament of Communion. Other clergy might celebrate a Mass, but they had not been ordained to the office Fourth Lateran had singled out as necessary to "effecting the sacrament." Equally potent from the perspective of the sixteenth century was the Council's identification of Jesus as "both priest and sacrifice," which would, over time, alter just what the order and the office of "priest" encompassed.

The *Rationale* sits awkwardly in any constructed line between the Fourth Lateran Council and the sixteenth century. In its evocation of specific conduct and *personae*, it might be read as belonging to the Fourth Lateran's call to reform the clergy. So, too,

[147] Book II, 10, 11, "Sacerdotes uicem gerunt Christi dum pro peccatis obsecrant et per penitentiam reconciliant peccatores. Mediatores enim sunt inter Deum et homines," RDOL1, 169.

[148] On the history of the priesthood, see Osborne 1988; Macy 2008. That scholarship sees as one milestone in the elevation of the priesthood the Constitution of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215): "Una vero est fidelium universalis ecclesia, extra quam nullus omnino salvatur, in qua idem ipse sacerdos et sacrificium Iesus Christus, cuius corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transsubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem potestate divina, ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de suo, quod accepit ipse de nostro. Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere,nisi sacerdos, qui fuerit rite ordinatus secundum claves ecclesiae, quas ipse concessit apostolis et eorum successoribus Iesus Christus," *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, I, 230.

[149] "sacerdos et sacrificium Iesus Christus. . .Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere, nisi sacerdos, qui[b] fuerit rite ordinatus secundum claves ecclesiae, quas ipse concessit apostolis et eorum successoribus Iesus Christus," *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, I, 230.

might Durand's characterization of the priest as mediator be read through the lens of the Confession, which linked Christ, sacrifice, and priest. But if we restore the order of priest to the structure of the *Rationale*, "mediator" was situated within order, office, and vestment. It was not a position of isolation but essentially connected – that permeable self – not only to other orders through the sacrament of ordination and vestments but also to Scripture itself. Durand set the order of priests in the penultimate chapter of Book II, after he had considered all the other orders participating in the liturgy, from cantor to deacon. It was the last order he considered, as the episcopacy, the final chapter, was for Durand "the head of the sacerdotal order."[150] Equally significant, Book III, in taking up the vestments of priests, bishops, "and other ministers," materially connected priests – through their amice, alb, and belt – to all the other orders of clergy. For Durand, "mediator" was not an isolated individual but someone within a tissue of connections of *materia*, order, and Scripture.

Durand built the multilayered complexity of priests along lines we have seen elsewhere in the *Rationale*: their particular work as scriptural *res*, which, for him, placed them in a temporal continuum from both the Old and New Testaments; the multiple terms by which the order and the office had been named and the connotations each brought to them; their vestments and what those vestments then made visible about their *personae*. The order of priests, Durand wrote, was instituted when God commanded Moses to have his brother Aaron and his sons serve God as priests. Like the order of deacons, it originated in divine command. Moses anointed Aaron in the major priesthood, his sons in the minor, and Moses was the first among priests, Aaron the second. In one way, Moses differed from Durand's contemporary priests: He never offered *hostiae*; his work as priest was to pray for his people.[151] Durand then traced Old Testament instantiations of priests: Melchizedek, Canaanite priests, and the twenty-four high priesthoods and chief priest that David instituted.[152]

In the New Testament, "Christ himself" constituted the major and minor priests, from the twelve apostles and the seventy-two disciples, respectively. From the apostles came the major priests, "that is, the bishops," who were said to be the highest; from the disciples, the minor priests, "that is, the presbyters."[153] Order linked Moses, Christ, apostles, and Durand's own contemporary priests. Contemporary priests were in this way scriptural *res*, the living referents of scriptural loci.

Not only did priests originate in divine command as found in the Old Testament but so, too, did the hierarchy within the priesthood that specified the relationship

[150] "3.Pontifex uero princeps sacerdotum est," RDOL1, 172.

[151] Book II, 10, 1, "Sacerdotalis ordinis institutio a ueteri lege exordium sumpsit; Dominus namque legitur precepisse Moysi: Applica, inquit, fratrem tuum Aaron ad te cum filiis suis de medio filiorum Israel, ut sacerdotio michi fungantur. Vnxit ergo Moyses Aaron in maiorem sacerdotem, filios uero illius in minores. Vnde Propheta inquit: Moyses et Aaron in sacerdotibus eius, id est primi et summi inter sacerdotes fuerunt; ipse tamen Moyses prior fuit quam Aaron ordine, et maior administratione. Hinc est quod Moyses illum instruebat, et tanquam minorem redarguebat; sed quoad consecrationem sacerdotalem pares fuerunt. Moyses autem non offerebat hostias, sed solum uota pro populo," RDOL1, 165.

[152] Book II, 10, 2–3, RDOL1, 166.

[153] Book II, 10, 4, "In nouo quopque testament, ipse Christus maiores et minores sacerdotes constitutit, uidelicet duodecim apostolos et septuagintaduos discipulos, . . . Apostolorum itaque uices maiores optinent sacerdotes, id est episcopi, qui dicuntur summi; discipulorum uero minores, id est presbyteri," RDOL1, 166.

between priests and bishops – which Christ, in turn, instituted within his circle. Durand took up bishops in the following chapter; in the chapter on priests, he addressed a contemporary debate – whether bishops were a separate order – by locating them at the apex of the order that could be traced to God's speaking to Moses. Peter was the summit of this hierarchy, placed there by Christ. "Priests, therefore, are the successors of the seventy men by whom the Lord extended the spirit of Moses, and the seventy disciples, just as bishops are the vicars of Moses and the apostles."[154]

Durand then turned to various terms, all of which he held to name the order of priest, each of which brought its own particular connotations to the order. Presbyter, according to Isidore, Durand wrote, was the Greek for the Latin *senior* (elder); it did not refer to age but to that honor and dignity that belong to it.[155] *Sacerdos* (priest) was also called *antistes* (priest/bishop), because he stood before (all others) and had nothing above him in *ecclesia*.[156] *Sacerdos* was said to come from sacrificing, "because he consecrates and sanctifies, whence Bede and Gregory, in the Pastoral Letters 1.II.C. xviii, said 'giving sacred things and sacred leader.'" They were also called chaplains.[157]

In ordaining a priest, other priests as well as the bishop placed their hands on top of the head of the ordinand, invoking the Holy Spirit. That imposition of hands signified the working of the Holy Spirit, Durand wrote, "For we figure through the head the spirit is received, through the fingers, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and through the hands, the work."[158] In that same sense, the hands of the priest were anointed with oil in his ordination. Here, again, a different sense of *materia* operated, Barbara Newman's sense of permeability. The ordinand was changed – which Evangelicals would reject.

At their ordination, Durand wrote, priests received the stole on their shoulders, from which they understood themselves to have been fortified with the weapons of justice – and here, Durand used the same word, *arma*, as named the instruments of the Passion. They received from the hand of the bishop the chalice with wine and the paten with the host, "so that by these instruments, they know themselves to have accepted the power of

[154] Book II, 10, 4, "Sacerdotes ergo sunt successors septuaginta uirorum quibus Dominus Moysi spiritum propagauit, et septuaginta discipulorum; sicut episcopi sunt uicarii Moysi et apostolorum," RDOL1, 167.

[155] Book II, 10, 5, "Ceterum, secundum Ysidorum, presbyter grece, latine senior interpretatur, non modo pro etate uel decrepita senectute, sed propter honorem et dignitatem quam acceperunt," RDOL1, 167.

[156] Book II, 10, 7, "Sacerdos uero antistes dictus est, quia ante stat et supra se in ecclesia nullum habet. Dicitur quoque sacerdos a sacrificando, quia consecrate et sanctificat; unde etiam dicitur sacerdos, quasi sacra dans, uel sacer dux, uta it Beda, et Gregorius in Pastorali, 1. II.C.xviii," RDOL1, 168.

[157] Book II, 10, 8, RDOL1, 168. Durand traced the etymology of chaplain through the cape of Saint Martin to chapels. "Une chapellenie es tune fondation de messes ou d'autres offices, faite dans une église pour rehausser le culte d'un saint, objet d'un devotion locale ou même purement privée. . . . Les fondateurs des chapellenies sont des particuliers, laïcs ou ecclésiastiques. . . . Chaque chapellenie constitue une fondation autonome," Lefèvre 1942, 49–51.

[158] Book 10, 10, "Sane secundum canonicam traditionem, presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente, et manum benedictoriam supra caput eiue tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri qui presentes sunt, manus suas iuxta manus episcopi teneant supra caput illius, Spiritum sanctum inuocantes, que manus impositio operum sancti Spiritus exercitationem significat. Nam per caput mens accipitur, per digitos Spiritus sancti dona, per manus opera figuramus. . . .Vngitur etiam manus presbyteri oleo in sui ordinatione," RDOL1, 168–169.

offering pleasing sacrifices, and the body and blood of Christ."[159] As the bishop bestowed these, he said, "Accept the power to offer sacrifice to God and celebrate the Mass, as much as for the dead as for the living, in the name of the Lord."

For Durand, Scripture was living in so many different ways. With regard to priests, they were to know (*scire*) all the books of the liturgy as well as Scripture – their *personae* were not discrete from Scripture but inseparable from what we now conceive as a thing apart.[160] Through their order, priests were scriptural *res*. Through their living knowledge of the entirety of Scripture, they themselves blurred precisely that distinction we make between a codex and a person. So, too, Durand held that priests were to know all the liturgical books. Just as Augustine said, Durand wrote, priests ought to know the sacramentary or missal, lectionary, antiphony, book of baptism, calendar (*compotum*), penitential canons, psalter, homilies appropriate for the annual cycle of Sundays, and feasts. Were one to lack knowledge of any of these, he ought not be called "priest" – the word named a person who knew what, again, modern scholarship considers texts but which the celebrant embodied.

Durand's articulation of the office and order of priest could be read as an "ideal" – and not a description of living priests. Given Durand's attention to terminology, however, we might also note how carefully Durand defined his term "priest." For him, let me suggest, the role of mediator was inseparable from both the function of scriptural *res* and also the knowledge of all those texts that was to inform the *persona* of each true priest. To be mediator, a person had to be a "priest" in Durand's sense: through the working of the Holy Spirit; as an instantiation of order and office set forth in Scripture and in this way as scriptural *res*; and embodying knowledge of the entirety of Scripture and liturgical texts. To be a mediator, a person had to have become in many different ways a medium of divine revelation:

> Christ exercised this office when after the meal he converted the bread and wine into his body and blood by divine power, saying to the apostles, "Take and eat, this is my body, etc." The use of this office was most excellent when Christ sacrificed himself to the Father on the altar of the cross for the sins of humankind, at once bishop, priest, and sacrifice, and having fulfilled this in glory, sitting to the right of the Father, he intercedes for us.[161]

As with subdeacons and deacons, so, too, with priests, Christ "exercised this office." Each order had its own office in worship; each gave living manifestation to what

[159] Book II, 10, 11, "Accipiunt quoque de manu pontifices calicem cum uino et patenam cum hostia, quatenus hiis instrumentis potestatem se accepisse cognoscant placabiles hostias, et corpus et sanguinem Christi offerendi. Vnde episcopus hec tribuens dicit: 'Accipite potestatem offere sacrificium Deo missamque celebrandi, tam pro uiuis quam pro defunctis, in nomine Domini,'" RDOL1, 169.

[160] Book II, 10, 14, "Porro, sicut ait beatus Augustinus, sacerdotes scire debent librum sacramentorum siue missale, lectionarium, antiphonarium, baptisterium, compotum, canones penitentiales, psalterium, omelias per circulum anni diebus dominicis et festiuis aptas, ex quibus omnibus si unum defuerit, sacerdotis nomen uix in eo constabit. ... id est uera disciplina sue scientia diuinarum Scripturarum. ... Non enim debent discere que ex officio alios debent docere," RDOL1, 170.

[161] Book II, 10, 14, "Hoc officium Christus exercuit quando post cenam panem et uinum in corpus et sanguinem suum diuina uirtute conuertit, dicens apostolis: Accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum etc. Excellentius quoque hoc officio usus est, cum pro peccatis humani generis se ipsum in ara crucis optulit Patri, idem episcopus, sacerdos et hostia, et adhuc gloriosius implet dum, sedens ad dexteram Patris, interpellat pro nobis," RDOL1, 170–171.

Gospels narrated. Priests' office was the conversion of bread and wine into body and blood. It was also the sacrifice on the altar and intercession, but sacrifice and intercession understood within both temporal and material continuities. Order, office, and vestment connected the living community of Christians over time with that which Evangelicals would hold to be recorded history in the codex Bible. "Mediator" was not a substitute for, but a material medium of, Christ's agency among the faithful.

CATHEDRA

Many of the largest churches surviving in Europe are cathedrals, named for the seat, *cathedra*, on which the bishop was to sit. The seat, Durand wrote, citing the decree of Pope Clement I, was to be raised, so that the bishop could see all, serve as superintendent and custodian of *ecclesia* as people. Bishops celebrated Masses – on feast days, as the culmination of the consecration of a church, and within their own cathedrals – but the bishop, with which Durand concluded Book II, did so because he was the chief priest, the highest member of the order of priests.[162] To all priests belonged to catechize, to baptize, to preach, to confect (the host and the wine), to absolve, and to bind. To the bishop, in addition, belonged to ordain clergy, to bless virgins, to consecrate bishops, to impose hands, to dedicate basilicas, to depose degraded clergy, to celebrate synods, to make chrism, and to consecrate vestments and sacred vessels.[163] The bishop was central to the life of the church, and those acts which belonged specifically to him built *ecclesia* in other ways, but those ways lie outside our consideration.

As images of the Mass of Saint Gregory visualized, bishops were present at papal Masses and did themselves, as a smaller number of images visualize, celebrate a Mass. They shared with all clergy the amice, alb, and belt; with subdeacons the tunic; with deacons the dalmatic; and with priests the stole, maniple, and, when celebrating a Mass, the chasuble. When they celebrated a Mass, then, their persons manifested all the orders at the altar. They brought, in addition, vestments specific to their dignity: sandals and stockings, orale and a small cross, gloves, miter, ring, and pastoral staff.

The miter marked the liturgical year. Durand wrote, a miter embroidered with gold was to be used from Easter to Advent and from Christmas to the first Sunday of Lent, in all double feasts and nine lessons the whole year, on all Sundays in these times, and generally whenever "Gloria in Excelsis" and "Te Deum laudamus" were said.[164] At other times, a simple miter was to be used – that is, from Advent to Christmas and in Lent, unless the pope used a gold-embroidered miter on Gaudete Sunday, Laetare Sunday, in the Masses on Maundy Thursday and Holy Saturday, the Feast of Saint Mark, and the Office of the Dead.[165] In his final paragraph on the miter, Durand noted difference in practice as he had

[162] Book II, 11, 3, RDOL1, 172. On the relationship of bishops to priests, see, for example, Bradshaw 2013, 141–145. Reynolds 1999, XI, 4.

[163] Book II, 11, 13, "Differt autem inter episcopos et sacredotes, quia licet sex sint que communiter ad omnes pertinent sacerdotes: uidelicet catechezare, baptizare, predicare, conficere, soluere, ac ligare; tamen ad pontificem nouem specialiter spectant: scilicet clericos ordinare, uirgines benedicere, pontifices consecrare, manus imponere, basilicas dedicare, degradandos deponere, synodos celebrare, crisma conficere, uestes et uasa sacrare," RDOL1, 175.

[164] Book III, 13, 6, RDOL1, 211.

[165] Book III, 13, 7, RDOL1, 211.

done with deacons and subdeacons and the chasuble. Some bishops removed their miters at the benediction and censing the altar; others did not. Neither was essential to the consecration of the body of Christ. Wearing a miter distinguished a bishop from a simple priest, and indeed to the bishop belonged greater solemnity, in his ornaments and other things but not with regard to the consecration. At the end of his consideration of the miter, Durand's ambivalence about the distinction between the priest and the bishop gave him no clear principle to adjudicate just when the miter ought to be removed in a Mass.

PERSON, TIME, REVELATION

Books II and III of the *Rationale* bound all clergy to Scripture in ways that were severed in the sixteenth century, from Durand's notion that priests were to know Scripture such that they held it in their *personae* as clergy to his notion that Christ exercised the same offices as did subdeacons, deacons, and priests. A watershed distances us from Durand and makes all the more difficult discerning just how these two books were intended to function, let alone how they might have worked in practice among those clergy who read them. Did they see themselves as mediating divine communication in all the ways Durand articulated, from circlets of hair on crowns of their heads to the brilliance of their albs to their own bodies sounding specific parts of Scripture as the exercising of their offices?

In the shadow of sixteenth-century severances, it is nearly impossible to recover Durand's conception of clergy as mediating Scripture in their order, the doing of their office, and in the vestments with which they were vested. For him, they were scriptural *res* in ways that expand Friedrich Ohly's meaning. The contemporary human beings who were ordained to those orders were not Moses any more than they were Christ. But in being ordained and in enacting the office of that order, each member of the clergy became – through order and office – a living, visible, haptically and sonically present referent to those named in Scripture who had held that order and done that office.

The lesser orders were not named in Scripture. In the doing of their office, cantor, psalmist, lector, and acolyte gave living form to words and phrases that became through them among the most familiar in Scripture. So, too, the offices of cantor, psalmist, and lector called for those ordained to them to use their bodies as a medium for voicing – in distinctive modes – specific parts of Scripture, that is, not simply to give those words sound but to embody them and to make them complexly present through their own living human voices. Each office differentiated scriptural words in its own particular mode of giving them sound, even as it wove those words into the tapestry that was a Mass.

Order, office, and vestment all complicated a sense of time as linear. Each linked individual persons over time that was itself understood as a very specific line, divided, as Durand had done in Book II, between the time of the Old Testament and the time of the New by the life of Christ.[166] Each brought into the living present earlier instantiations. The present was not merely informed by Scripture but existed in ongoing, vital, and vibrant dialectic with it.

[166] Ohly 2005b.

For Durand, revelation was not restricted to a codex, not fixed in a text. It was ongoing in the living dynamic between Scripture and Creation – in which all clergy participated. Clergy were encompassed in Creation as men and written into Scripture through the institution of their order. They participated in that dynamic through their offices which gave living *res* to scriptural *voces*, to borrow Ohly's key words, and through their vestments.[167] Vestments participated complexly in the meaning of each Mass and in each Mass's participation in revelation. They evoked ancient continua of order and office, calling forth Old Testament patriarchs as well as the church descended from Christ and his apostles.

By way of closure for this chapter, let me reverse the relationship between the *Rationale* and images of the Mass of Saint Gregory. Thus far, they have provided us with illustrations of specific vestments. Viewing them through the lens of Books II and III of the *Rationale* transforms how we see them and also helps us to recover more fully Durand's conception of clergy and their place in worship. We begin by setting aside our modern conception of time and history.[168] Gregory's vestments seem to modern eyes "anachronistic" – Gregory was Bishop of Rome in 590–604.[169] Following Durand, they link Gregory to the present moment; textures, colors, and shapes form material links from Moses and Christ through the moment of Gregory's Mass to the living present of the images. What for modern viewers would be three discrete moments – the Crucifixion, the Mass of Saint Gregory, and the living present – Durand held as simultaneous through the materialities of those vestments.

Gregory's chasuble forms another complex of material and temporal connections. In some of the images, the crucifixion on the orphrey of the celebrant lies in a direct line with the rising Christ on the altar. In all, the chasuble's significance as charity forms a direct line with Christ, the motif of charity suffusing the central drama of the image. In Plate 6, Gregory's hand links the crucifixion on the opening page of the Canon to the crucifixion on his orphrey which, in turn, is in direct line with the cross in the image on the altar. In each, that chasuble distinguishes the celebrant, Gregory, from Christ even as it manifests complex connections between the celebrant and the Crucifixion – not identity, but the *persona* of the celebrant is materially, visually, linked to Christ, the Passion, and the crucifixion. In the images, spatially, Christ is behind Gregory; the crucifixion might be said then to radiate from the person of Christ, on the altar, through the chasuble of the *persona* of the celebrant, to the viewer.

We have noted in passing the visual connection in some of the images among the white linen of albs, amices, altar cloths, and the sudarium, all of which Durand held to signify cleansing. For modern eyes, the linen is less dramatic – less worked than brocade, less expensive than silk. Following Durand, the linen in these images calls forth cleansing: of the *materia* of the cloth; of the place to which that cloth belongs; of the

[167] Ohly 2005a, 5.

[168] "We need to put aside all of the usual ideas about what history is or ought to be and take a good close look instead at the one thing that underlies all forms of history. That one thing is the distinction between past and present. This is so elementary, so necessary for the very possibility of thinking about the past at all, that it may be considered the founding principle of history," Constantin Fasolt, *The Limits of History*, quoted in Schiffman 2011, 1.

[169] For an introduction to the question of anachronism, see the discussion "Interventions" 2005.

persons, the celebrant and his assistants, who are vested in that cloth; and by extension of the worship that was haptically connected to linen in so many ways. It suggests a dimension of worship no less important than *caritas*.

In those images, Gregory sees Christ rising from the altar before which he kneels. That seeing, let me suggest, is inseparable from how one sees the vestments. Or, to put it another way, the vestments in the images participate in the images' representation of "presence," not by equating Gregory and Christ – who are so visibly differentiated by the textiles each uses – but by invoking an ongoing, living dialectic of Scripture and Creation. Through the lens of the *Rationale*, revelation in these images becomes more complex and more diffuse. Gregory's vestments and those of his assistants call forth not simply a continuum of priests, altars, and sacrifices but the attendant awareness of divine communication through each of those instantiations – another aspect of Durand's conception of mediator. The vestments and the *personae* of clergy were in many different ways scriptural *res*. As Durand set forth, for "priests," his definition, Scripture was itself to be experientially, somatically present in every moment. Scripture was to be lived in multiple ways: embodied, voiced, evoked, enacted, instantiated. That sense of Scripture, in turn, alters just how one construes the figure of Christ on the altar, but that lies beyond this chapter.

PART II

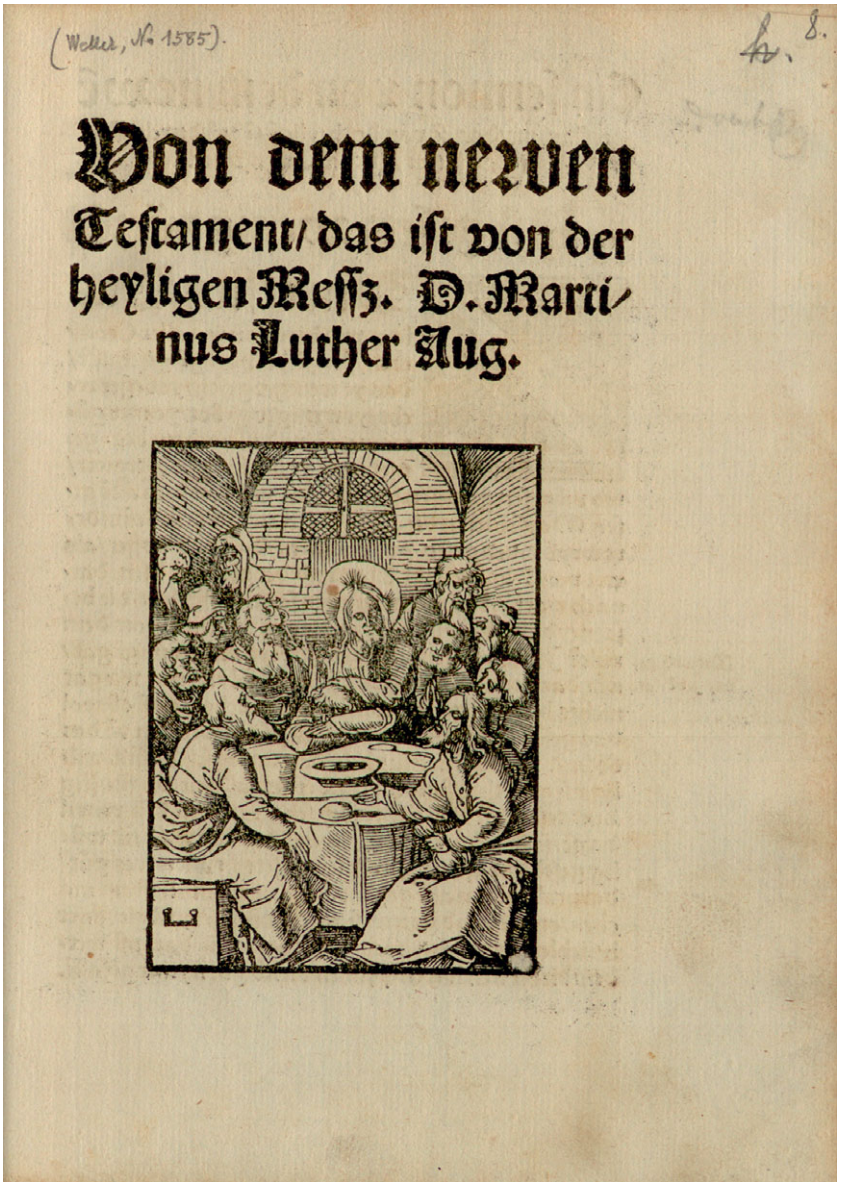


FIGURE 21 Martin Luther, *Von dem newen Testament: das ist von der heyligen Messz*, [Basel]: [Adam Petri], [1520], Universitätsbibliothek Basel, UBH FM1 XI 13:8 *Source*: e-rara.

5

Codex

The second part of this book opens with a title page (Figure 21). In itself, a title page marks one of the many changes that lie between William Durand's *Rationale* and the sixteenth century.[1] It belongs to book markets: something that a passer-by might see in a printer's shop and decide to purchase. Durand's *Rationale* was first a manuscript; it, too, came to be printed – in 1459 – one of the earliest medieval works to be printed using moveable type.[2] Print, as we shall see, is also very much a part of our story.

This title page, however, is something more. Most immediately, it is one of a number of print editions of a sermon Martin Luther probably gave in April of 1520. Johann Grünenberg of Wittenberg first printed *A Sermon on the New Testament, that is, the Mass*, probably in July, sometime after the *An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility*, in June, and before *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, in September, and months before *The Freedom of a Christian*, in November – all in 1520.[3] By the end of that year, 1520, Grünenberg had printed two more editions; another printer in Wittenberg, Melchior Lotter, had also printed an edition; in Augsburg, Silvan Ottmar printed two editions; in Nuremberg, Friedrich Peypus also two editions; in Leipzig, Valentin Schumann printed one; and in Strasbourg, Martin Flach printed one.[4] A Czech edition was printed the next year in Prague.

Figure 21 is the title page for the edition of the pamphlet Adam Petri in Basel printed, also in 1520.[5] For his title page, Petri made two choices that set his edition apart. One is there in the title, *Von dem newen Testament, das ist, von der heyligen Mesß* (On the New Testament, that is, on the Holy Mass), by "Dr. Martin Luther, Augustinian."[6] Petri chose to drop part of the original title, "A Sermon," a variation in keeping with

[1] Bland 2010, 66–67.

[2] White 1974, 49–50. On the incunabula of the *Rationale*, see Albaric 1992.

[3] Introduction, "A Treatise on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass, 1520." LW 35, 77.

[4] Benzing 1966, numbers 669–682, pp. 80–82. "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heiligen Messe. 1520," WA 6, 349–351.

[5] Hieronymus 1997, 252–253.

[6] *Von dem newen Testament, das ist von der heyligen Messz*. D. Martinus Luther Aug. (Basel: Adam Petri, 1520), Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Signatur 40 Th H 1700 188. Hereafter I refer to the text as *A Sermon*, but when discussing the Petri edition I preserve his title.

sixteenth-century printing practices. In doing so, the title became the equation Luther had made: between what the reader would learn Luther understood "the New Testament" to be and the Mass. Petri had been printing Luther's works since 1517.[7] He may have seen that in this pamphlet, Luther was not simply criticizing medieval practices – such as withholding the chalice or speaking the Canon silently[8] – but sketching a new conceptualization of the relationship between Scripture and worship.[9]

The second choice Petri made was to place beneath those words a woodcut of the Last Supper.[10] Petri did not choose an image of the crucifixion, which had been so frequently placed at the beginning of the Canon, itself rendering a very different sense of time: "qui pridie quam pateretur." Nor did he choose an image of a priest in vestments celebrating a Mass in front of an altar, missal on the side, chalice and paten before him. He chose an image which had a different history. This particular woodcut seems to have appeared first in 1514, in the lectionary, *Das Plenarium oder Ewangely buoch* (Figure 22), on the page facing the narrative of the Last Supper, for the Thursday of Passion week.[11] The image, in other words, was first used in the book that contained the readings from the Gospels and the Epistles for each Mass, organized according to the liturgical year. It visualized the moment when Christ instituted the Eucharist. It was embedded, however, within the narrative that culminated not in the meal but in the Triduum of Easter – death and resurrection. Albrecht Dürer and Albrecht Altdorfer had each included a similar image, Dürer in the *Large Passion* of 1510 and Altdorfer in *The Fall and Salvation of Mankind Through the Life and Passion of Christ* of 1513.[12] Prior to the Petri title page, woodcuts of the Last Supper were construed within the particular temporal frame of the Canon, "qui pridie," linking the Seder and the crucifixion, the Eucharist and the sacrifice. So, too, were the painted and sculpted images of the Last Supper in altarpieces immediately proximate to the altar at which the celebrant silently voiced the Canon.[13] Prior to Petri's title page, images of the Last Supper were framed within the liturgical time of the Passion, embedded within a narrative sequence which led to the crucifixion. Petri's title page reoriented the Last Supper, placing it in proximity

[7] According to Hieronymus, the first Luther work Petri published was *Disputatio D. Martini Luther theologi, pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum*, Hieronymus 1997, no. 80, pp. 237–239.

[8] In this chapter, as in earlier chapters, to signal the different uses of the word "canon," I have capitalized Canon when it refers to the part of the missal and left lowercase canon when it refers to the biblical canon.

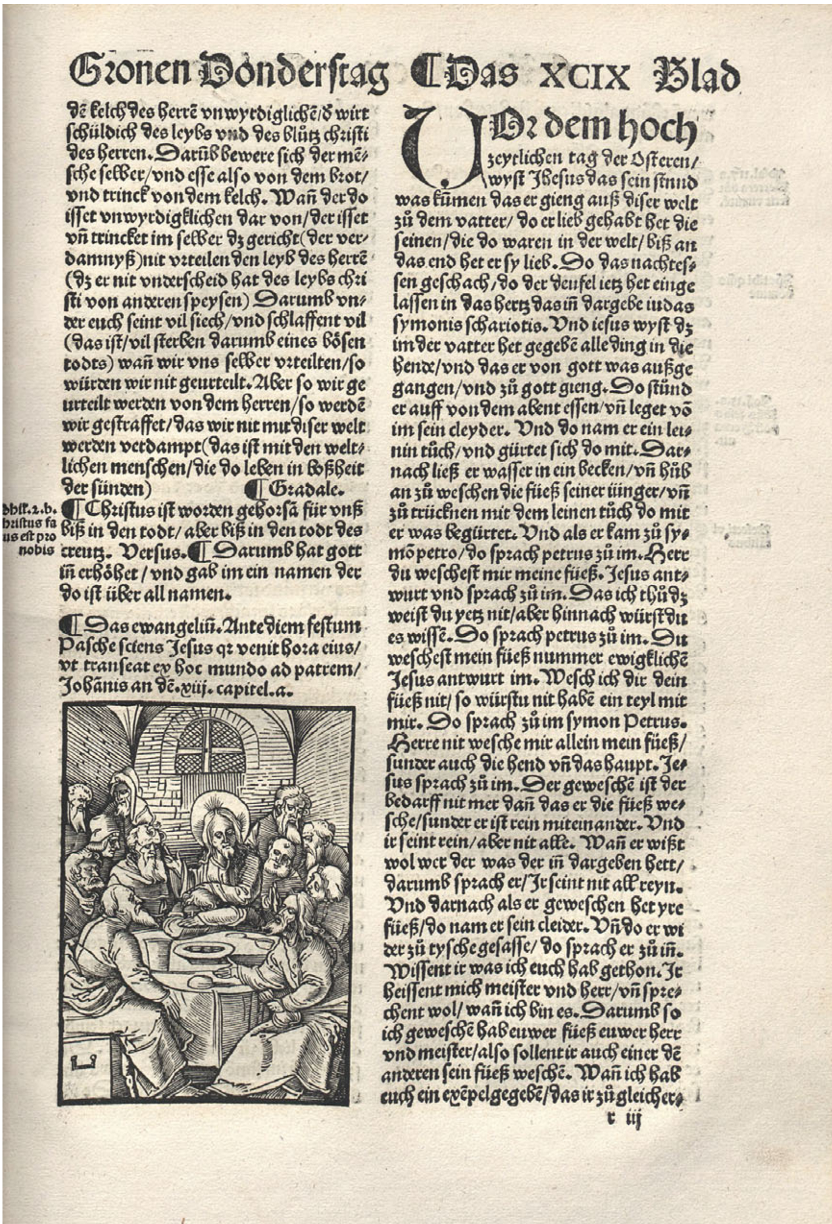
[9] The second of Luther's works Hieronymus lists Petri as publishing was *Ein gut trostliche predig von der wyrdigen zuo dem hochwirdigen sacrament Doctor Martini Luther Augustiner zuo Wittenberg*, in 1519, in two editions, Hieronymus 1997, nos. 81 and 82, pp. 240–241.

[10] Hieronymus offers no information on the woodcut, but it may have first been used for one of the passionals Petri published beginning in 1509, Hieronymus 1997, nos. 19a, 20a, 21a, 23a, 29, 31, pp. 68–69, 73, 82–83, 92.

[11] *Das Plenarium oder Ewa[n]gely buoch … M.D.XIIII* (Basel: Adam Petri, 1514), f.XCIX, held by the Bayereische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 2064: https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV001478695, accessed August 18, 2024. The same woodcut appears in a lectionary from 1517, *Das Boek des hillighen Euangelii: Prophetien unde Epistelen auer dat ghantze Jaer: mit der glosen unde Exempelen* (Basel: Adam Petri, 1517), f. LXXV^{v}. The Metropolitan Museum of Art has identified a single image from the *Plenarium* as designed by Hans Schäufelein, www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/356791, accessed August 11, 2024.

[12] For the Dürer, see www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/387750. For the Altdorfer, see www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/429635, both accessed August 11, 2024.

[13] Welzel 1991.



Gronen Donderstag ¶ Das XCIX Blad

dē kelch des herrē vnwyrdiglichē/d wirt schüldich des leybs vnd des blůtz christi des herren. Darūb bewere sich der mē- sche selber/vnd esse also von dem brot/ vnd trinck von dem kelch. Wañ der do isset vnwyrdigklichen dar von/der isset vñ trincket im selber dz gericht(der ver- damnyß)nit vrteilen den leyb des herrē (dz er nit vnderscheid hat des leybs chri sti von anderen speysen) Darumb vn- der euch seint vil siech/vnd schlaffent vil (das ist/vil sterben darumb eines bösen todts) wañ wir vns selber vrteilten/so würden wir nit geurteilt. Aber so wir ge urteilt werden von dem herren/so werdē wir gestraffet/das wir nit mit diser welt werden verdampt(das ist mit den welt- lichen menschen/die do leben in boßheit der sünden) ¶ Gradale.

bhil.2.b. hristus fa us est pro nobis ¶ Christus ist worden gehorsā für vnß biß in den todt/ aber biß in den todt des creutz. Versus. ¶ Darumb hat gott iñ erhöhet / vnd gab im ein namen der do ist über all namen.

¶ Das ewangeliū. Ante diem festum Pasche sciens Jesus qr venit hora eius/ vt transeat ex hoc mundo ad patrem/ Johānis an dē. xiij. capitel. a.

Vor dem hoch zeytlichen tag der Osteren/ wyst Jhesus das sein stund was kūmen das er gieng auß diser welt zů dem vatter/ do er lieb gehabt het die seinen/die do waren in der welt/ biß an das end het er sy lieb. Do das nachtes- sen geschach/do der deufel ietz het einge lassen in das hertz das iñ dargebē iudas symonis schariotis. Vnd iesus wyst dz im der vatter het gegebē alle ding in die hende/vnd das er von gott was außge gangen/vnd zů gott gieng. Do stůnd er auff von dem abent essen/vñ leget vō im sein cleyder. Vnd do nam er ein lei- nin tůch/vnd gürtet sich do mit. Dar- nach ließ er wasser in ein becken/vñ hůb an zů weschen die füeß seiner iünger/vñ zů trücknen mit dem leinen tůch do mit er was begürtet. Vnd als er kam zů sy- mō petro/do sprach petrus zů im. Herr du weschest mir meine füeß. Jesus ant- wurt vnd sprach zů im. Das ich thů dz weist du yetz nit/aber hinnach würst du es wissē. Do sprach petrus zů im. Du weschest mein füeß nummer ewigklichē Jesus antwurt im. Wesch ich dir dein füeß nit/ so würstu nit habē ein teyl mit mir. Do sprach zů im symon Petrus. Herre nit wesche mir allein mein füeß/ sunder auch die hend vñ das haupt. Je- sus sprach zů im. Der geweschē ist der bedarff nit mer dañ das er die füeß we- sche/sunder er ist rein miteinander. Vnd ir seint rein/aber nit alle. Wañ er wißt wol wer der was der in dargeben hett/ darumb sprach er/Jr seint nit all reyn. Vnd darnach als er geweschen het yre füeß/do nam er sein cleider. Vñ do er wi der zů tysche gesasse/ do sprach er zů iñ. Wissent ir was ich euch hab gethon. Jr heissent mich meister vnd herr/vñ spre- chent wol/ wañ ich bin es. Darumb so ich geweschē hab euwer füeß euwer herr vnd meister/also sollent ir auch einer dē anderen sein füeß weschē. Wañ ich hab euch ein exēpel gegebē/das ir zů gleicher-

x iij

FIGURE 22 *Das Plenarium oder Ewa*[n]*gely buoch* (Basel: Adam Petri, 1514), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 2064, XCIX *Source*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

not to the Passion but to "the New Testament," the meaning of which Luther explicated in the text, as he reset its relationship to "the Holy Mass." Although we do not know Petri's thinking, that constellation foreshadows what Evangelicals would come to call their worship, "the Supper."

In this second part, we turn to the sixteenth-century reconceptualization of worship and its relationship to divine revelation and Creation. The three chapters chart different aspects of that reconceptualization. This chapter takes up the changing understanding of just what "the Bible" was and its relationship to worship. In it, I use the term "Evangelicals" to name diverse preachers, magistrates, artisans, and peasants, all of whom shared a sense that "the Bible" was a codex, that is, the Word of God had a particular material form; and that that codex contained (a word that this chapter clarifies) the Word of God. As we shall see, they disagreed on much, but they shared a sense that the Bible was a codex that contained the words God had given humankind. The term names not a single theological position, not a single anthropology, but a conception of the Word of God as something apart from the Mass.

In redefining the word in this way, I also wish to avoid any of the simple constructions of causality that so haunt histories of the Reformation. While I begin with Martin Luther (1483–1546), who was, by any measure, a path-breaking theologian, I do not wish to argue that Luther "caused" the thought of other Evangelicals. Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) also held the Word of God apart from the Mass, but, as we shall see, he conceived of the relationship between worship and the Bible in radically different terms.

At center in this chapter and Chapter 6 are texts that I present as material traces in shifts in conception. I do not seek to reconstruct what any Evangelical "thought" but to read closely an artifact that circulated in a material form and was read, inspiring some, certainly, but also provoking, confusing – all the many different encounters between diverse readers and texts. Thus, I do not provide lineages of texts but have chosen texts that help us to trace, in this chapter, a changing understanding of just what the Bible was; and, in Chapter 6, the diverse conceptualizations of the matter of the liturgy, primarily among Evangelicals but also as we might glimpse in the final session of the Council of Trent. In Chapter 7, I turn to Evangelical dismantlings of the made world and enactments of their understanding of worship.

"THE BIBLE" AND LITURGY

In the wake of Reformation, "the Bible" has become not simply "the book" but a material codex, finite in the words it "contains."[14] It was not always so. As Joseph Verheyden noted, "the question of the canon became a much more crucial issue in the sixteenth century than it had ever been before."[15] Prior to the sixteenth century, theologians and scholars continued to differ as to which texts belonged to the New

[14] "It is not simply that all our language is bound up with the habits which make such language intelligible, but, more specifically, in the case of the language of Christian theologians until at least the sixteenth century, a grammar is formed which gathers its meaningfulness from its use in the liturgy. The attempted abstraction of this language in the sixteenth century implies a radical shift in the direction of the divorce of a certain 'text,' the Scriptures, from the way in which it is *used* in the community of people whose story it is supposed to tell – indeed, not only from the manner of its presentation but from the voice of its oration or incantation. Due in part to printing, the language of Scripture becomes frozen in textual space, irrespective both of its positioning and its contextualizing within the Mass, but also of the sound of its intonation. The shift here is from a story told and performed (with the whole of the body) to a text seen and interpreted," Candler 2006, 9–10.

[15] Verheyden 2013, 403.

Testament. This, in turn, was rooted, according to Verheyden, in the differing reading practices of dispersed communities of the faithful – that is, the differing words that local communities of Christians voiced in their practice of worship.[16]

As Gerard Rouwhorst noted of the first centuries of Christianity:

> From the very beginning of Christianity, there was an ongoing mutual interaction between liturgy and the Bible. One the one hand, the liturgy can be considered as the cradle of the (Christian) Bible, as from the very beginning biblical books were read during the (liturgical) gatherings of early Christian communities. The Bible did not only and certainly not in the first place function as a book to be studied by individual believers or scholars. It was primarily a liturgical book that was read, chanted and explained by communities in liturgical settings.[17]

The Christian Bible did not exist prior to the communal worship of Christians.[18] The rise in the number of feasts (for saints, of Christ's and Mary's lives) from the fourth century onwards, Rouwhorst noted, had as its corollary the increase of books that contained specific passages or pericopes from the Epistles (epistolaries) or the Gospels (evangelaries), then both (lectionaries). These books materially divided what we call "the New Testament" according to the distinction each Mass made between Epistle and Gospel.[19]

As we have seen, different clergy – in their distinctive vestments – gave voice to the parts so differentiated in a Mass: subdeacons reading the Epistle pericope for the day, deacons or the priest the Gospel pericope. According to Joseph Dyer, "Isidore encouraged the reader to express by appropriate vocal inflections the 'specific meanings of the thoughts' (*proprios sententiarum affectus*)."[20] Dyer also noted "a special tone" for reading the passion during Holy Week: "the words of Jesus were sung slowly at a low pitch, that of the 'narrator' more rapidly at a medium pitch, and the words of other participants (Pilate, Peter, the crowd) at a higher pitch," marked in lectionaries; later, these parts were assigned to three different clerics.[21]

So, too, from the fourth century onwards, Christian worship "appropriated" the psalms, both read and sung, in the Eucharist and in the Divine Office, "the texts themselves were combined and interwoven – in a manner which did not happen to any other category of biblical texts used in liturgical settings – with other biblical and non-biblical textual elements."[22] The chants of the Proper of the Mass – those parts that

[16] On those reading practices, see Boynton and Reilly 2011.

[17] Rouwhorst 2013, 823.

[18] For a study of what she calls "Bible-Missals," a thirteenth-century development, see Light 2013.

[19] "One may distinguish two basic ways of selecting biblical pericopes. One may either take as one's guiding principle the unity of a specific biblical book and read through either in its entirety or in part, but anyway consecutively within a certain period of time (*lectio continua* or semi-*continua*), or one may start from the calendar and look for texts that fit in best with the theme of a special feast or time of the year," Rouwhorst 2013, 838. According to Joseph Dyer, before these separate books were developed, some early codex Bibles had "marginal indications indicating the first and sometimes the last words of the assigned reading ('pericope')," Dyer 2012, 671.

[20] Dyer 2012, 672.

[21] Dyer 2012, 674–675.

[22] Rouwhorst 2013, 839. Rouwhorst also notes "the increasing importance of the institution narrative(s) which gradually assumed an authoritative character for the celebration of the Eucharist and was

varied according to the Calendar – were drawn from a psalter. They were "created by the addition or suppression of words to render the text suitable for musical setting."[23]

For centuries, European Christians experienced "the Bible" as psalm, Epistle, Gospel.[24] They experienced it chanted, sung, or read aloud.[25] In the wake of Reformation, we speak of "the Bible and liturgy," but as Dyer concludes: "For all practical purposes the medieval liturgy was the singing of the Bible."[26] For medieval European Christians, "the Bible" was experienced regularly, normally, as sound: in the Divine Office as well as each Mass. While late medieval vernacular translations of various books of the Bible placed codex Bibles in the hands of devout laity, "the Bible" they were reading seems to have been preeminently those texts – psalm, Gospel, and Epistle – familiar from the Mass.[27]

FROM LITURGY TO CODEX

In 1516, Erasmus of Rotterdam published his edition of the Greek New Testament.[28] He prefaced his edition with "A Paraclesis to the Pious Reader," in which he called for every Christian to read "the literature of Christ," that is, "the Gospel" and "the Epistles of Paul."[29] He called for Christians – all Christians, men and women, adults and children, Scots and Irish – to *read* the words of Christ.

The edition of the Greek New Testament is one material trace of a growing sense of the text as historically a thing apart from the liturgy, which was spoken in Latin.[30] The Greek New Testament was the product of Erasmus' acute attention to Christ speaking and his apostles witnessing, recording, textualizing his life – and his sense that a codex contained Christ's words. The Greek New Testament materialized Erasmus' philological sense of Scripture, as being *written* in a specific time and place; the codex was

incorporated in the Eucharistic prayer" (840), but it is unclear whether he means those narratives came to form the Canon or to inform the whole of a Mass. Cf. Jungmann 2003, I, 9–29, and II, 127–138.

[23] Dyer 2012, 673.

[24] Wehrli 1980, 59.

[25] "Even when sufficient literacy is achieved by the medieval monk so as to permit reading privately in one's cell, this form of engagement with the text is never abstracted from a rigorous daily routine of matins, masses, vespers, and so on. *Lectio divina* is, however 'private' reading might be, always a matter of reading and interpreting not just communally but liturgically. '*Lectio divina* is always a liturgical act, *coram*, in the face of, someone – God, angels, or anyone within earshot'," Candler 2006, 7.

[26] Dyer 2012, 679.

[27] "'Pandects' or single-volume Bibles were not common until the thirteenth century; usually a Bible consisted of several volumes, each containing single books or groups of books," Smith 2012, 364, note 4. On the laity and the Bible, see Corbellini 2012, esp. p. 35, note 62; Folkerts 2017. On early German Bibles, see Strand 1966 and 1967. The Latin psalter "was among the most frequently commented, cited, translated, copied, and privately owned books of the entire Middle Ages, as pervasive in the earliest centuries as in the latest," Gross-Diaz 2012, 445.

[28] For an introduction to Erasmus's biblical work, see Sider 2019. On Erasmus's Greek New Testament, see also Bentley 1983, chs. 4–5.

[29] Erasmus, "The Paraclesis of Erasmus of Rotterdam to the Pious Reader." As Wim François suggested, this has a longer history. See, for example, François 2020.

[30] Another might be the call in many cities for a preacher who read the Bible aloud. See, for example, Blickle 1985.

the direct artifact of that writing. Materially and conceptually it was a thing apart from the living human communities who gave voice to words in it.

The Paraclesis is also a trace. It called for the praxis of reading the literature of Christ quite apart from the Mass – the Paraclesis did not mention Mass at all – and quite apart from clergy. In the Paraclesis, the preeminent praxis of devotion was *reading* the *words* of Christ. In it, Erasmus called for an immediate, unmediated relationship between a single reader and a codex. That codex did not encompass the entirety of Scripture, but it was a locus for divine revelation, which Erasmus understood to be Christ's *words*.

Print was also at the center of what Gerald Bruns characterized as "a modern, as opposed to medieval, text of the Bible":[31] unmediated by clerical voice, whether chanted, preached, glossed, or commented; the materialization of that moment Bruns found in 1513–1514. In 1512, as a monk of the Augustinian Order of Hermits, in obedience to his superiors, Luther received not the traditional medieval degree, Master of the Sacred Page, but a degree, Doctor of the Bible, which had only recently been instituted.[32] The following year, when he began to teach, he "instructed Johann Grünenberg, the printer for the university, to produce an edition of the Psalter with wide margins and lots of white space between the lines."[33] He turned to print to produce a single text from which all his students would then work. In that beginning can be discerned not simply the material proliferation of codices that was the precondition for Erasmus' and then Evangelicals' call for every Christian to read the Bible.[34] According to Bruns, Luther sought the materialization of a conception of Scripture as a thing apart from commentary, gloss, textual aids, and liturgy.[35] In that beginning, we can also glimpse, in hindsight, a sense of "the Bible" as an object, bounded, that could be held in the hand, a locus for divine revelation no longer mediated through clerical voices.

Two years after *A Sermon*, Luther published his translation of the New Testament into the German spoken around him. In the Preface to it, he wrote:

> In the first place, then, we must grasp the importance of getting rid of the vain idea that there are four gospels, and only four evangelists; and we must dismiss once for all the view that some of the New Testament writings should be classed as books of law or history or prophecy or wisdom, as the case may be. The purpose of this classification is to make the New Testament similar to the Old (though I myself fail to see the similarity). Rather we must be clear and definite in our minds, on the one hand, that the Old Testament is a volume containing God's laws and commandments. It also preserves the records of men who kept them, and of others who did not. On the other hand, the New Testament is a volume containing God's promised evangel, as well as records of those who believed or disbelieved it. We can therefore take if for certain that there is only one gospel, just as the New Testament is only one book. So, too, there is only one faith and only one God: the God who makes promises.[36]

[31] Bruns 1992, 139.
[32] Pelikan 1996, 28–29. On the study of the Bible in medieval schools, see Smalley 1983; Courtenay 2012.
[33] Bruns 1992, 139. Benzing and Claus 1994, no. 68a., p. 26.
[34] On Luther's understanding of "book," see Flachmann 1996.
[35] In addition to Smalley and Courtenay, see Smith 2009.
[36] Luther, Preface to the New Testament, 14. "Darumb ist auffs erste zu wissen, das abtzuthun ist der wahn, das vier Evangelia und vier Evangelisten sind, und gantz zuverwerffen, das etlich des newen testaments bucher teyllen, ynn legales, historiales, Prophetales, unnd sapientiales, vermeynen damit (weyß nicht wie)

Luther rejected the medieval sense of "the Bible" as materially divisible into psalter, evangeliary, lectionary. Equally important for his reconceptualization of worship was the sense he set forth in his Prefaces, of the Old and New Testaments as each one *book*, *in which* (*darynnen*) one found either law or promise. For Luther, the New Testament was a codex.

PRINTING PANDECT BIBLES

> I have not seen complete Bibles, but several quires of different books, exceedingly clean and correct in their script, and without error, which your Grace could read effortlessly, even without glasses. I learned from numerous witnesses that 158 copies have been completed, although some others say the figure is 180.
>
> Aeneas Silvius Piccolimini, letter, March 12, 1455[37]

The earliest printing with moveable type in Europe belongs to our story in one particular way, caught in the letter Piccolimini, later to be Pope Pius II, wrote to Cardinal Juan de Carvajal, who was in Rome: the printing of Bibles.[38] There also in Piccolimini's letter was the perception of the Bible's materiality: those "quires," or the segments that would have been printed together; the clean lettering; the legible type; and the number of copies. There in Piccolimini's letter was the intimation of two intertwined changes printed Bibles made possible: more readers; and of a shared text of uniform spelling, punctuation, divisions, and canon.

At least one nearly contemporary source held that the first book produced with moveable type was the Latin Bible.[39] Those first copies were materially akin to missals: They were printed with the same letterform. They were also, like missals, large and far too heavy to be held in the hands while reading: "made with Royal folio leaves measuring about 16 × 12 inches," bound, paper copies could weigh thirty pounds.[40] These Bibles were intended for a lectern or, perhaps, a Pulträger.

For two decades, Bibles were printed in this large format. In 1475, in Venice, Bibles were printed on sheets half the size, and in Piacenza, in quarto format, that is, the paper was folded again – both producing Bibles "intended for private ownership, a function that the large-formatted Gutenberg Bible rarely fulfilled."[41] In 1491, Johannes Froben –

das newe, dem alten testament zuvergleycchen. Sondern festiglich zu halten, das gleych wie das allte testament ist eyn buch, darynnen Gottis gesetz und gepot, da neben die geschichte beyde dere die selben gehallten und nicht gehallten haben, geschrieben sind. Also ist das newe testament, eyn buch, darynnen das Evangelion und Gottis verheyssung, danebe auch geschichte beyde, dere die dran glewben und nit glewben, geschrieben sind. Also, das man gewisß sey, das nur eyn Evangelion sey, gleych wie nur eyn buch des newen testaments, und nur eyn glawb, und nur eyn Gott, der do verheysset," WA DB 6, 2.

[37] Quoted in White 2017, 23.

[38] White has set forth what can – and cannot – be known about the earliest printing with moveable type, White 2017. Other technologies were also involved. On paper-making, see Hunter 1970/1974. On the dating of paper production in Europe, see Burns 1996. On paper in early modern Europe, see, most recently, Fowler 2019.

[39] Johann Koelhoff, "In the year of our Lord which one wrote as MCCCCL – that was a golden year – printing began. And the first book to be printed was the Bible in Latin which was printed in a large type of the kind only used nowadays for printing missals," quoted in Füssel 2005, 19.

[40] White 2017, 66, 48.

[41] The Venetian Bibles were printed on Chancery folio-sized paper, White 2017, 66.

who would later print Erasmus's Greek New Testament – in Basel printed a Latin Bible in octavo, producing an object roughly the same size as Parisian manuscript Bibles for students, roughly the size of the modern cheap paperback. In 1466, a Strasbourg printer, Mentelin, printed the first Bible in a vernacular language, High German; it was a compilation of discrete translations of different parts of the Bible which had existed previously, such as the psalter.[42] There had been earlier manuscript Bibles in vernacular languages, but this opened a new market and the potential for new sorts of readers. Other printed vernacular Bibles followed: Italian (1471), French (c. 1473–1476), Czech (c. 1475–1476), Dutch (1477), and Catalan (1478).[43]

Printing, as Erasmus demonstrated in his editions of the Greek New Testament, facilitated corrections and the approximation of a single, stable version of a text – that, say, a hundred or then a thousand readers were reading the same words, the same punctuation, the same paragraph, the same chapter structure.[44] The desire for a single authoritative text was not new to Erasmus: Thirteenth-century scholastics in Paris had sought uniformity in the chapter divisions in the smaller-format Bibles that were produced by local professional scribes.[45] Printed Bibles, however, offered the possibility of uniformity at more levels, from punctuation through chapter and, ultimately, verse divisions.

Before the sixteenth century, lay Christians had had – and read – manuscript and printed psalters and Gospels, in Latin and in vernacular languages. Pandect Bibles were to be found in religious houses, on altars, and in the hands of students of theology; they were not the most popular form for lay readers. And all those codices, Latin and vernacular, vellum and paper, were read within the cadences of the medieval Christian year and by persons whom their Church called to take communion in a Mass at least once a year. Luther, Zwingli and other Evangelicals produced printed pandect Bibles – complete Bibles – for lay Christians.[46] It was not that they were intended for the laity that distinguished these printed pandect bibles, but that they were to be read as objects autonomous of liturgical time.

A SERMON ON THE NEW TESTAMENT, THAT IS, THE MASS

> 5. If we desire to observe mass properly and to understand it, then we must surrender everything that the eyes behold and that the senses suggest – be it vestments, bells, songs, ornaments, prayers, processions, elevations, prostrations, or whatever happens in the mass – until we first grasp and thoroughly ponder the words of Christ, by which he performed and instituted the mass and commanded us to perform it. For therein lies the whole mass, its nature, work, profit, and benefit. Without the words nothing is derived from the mass.
>
> Now the words are these: Take and eat, this is my body, which is given for you. Take and drink of it, all of you, this is the cup of the new and eternal testament in my blood, which is

[42] Doumit 1997.
[43] White 2017, 68.
[44] On Erasmus and the editions of the Greek New Testament, see Boyle 1977; Sider 2019.
[45] "The uniformity of the format of the thirteenth-century Paris Bible belied its textual pluriformity," Van Liere 2012, 104. For an introduction to the Paris Bible, see Light 2012.
[46] For a close study of the production of one of the Evangelical Bibles, see Himmighöfer 1995.

> poured out for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins. These words every Christian must have before him in the mass. He must hold fast to them as the chief part of the mass.[47]

A Sermon on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass was not Luther's earliest publication on worship.[48] Ernst Bizer, for example, located the beginning of Luther's rethinking of the Eucharist in his lectures on Hebrews.[49] It was not the fullest. His *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper* ran to more than 230 pages when it was printed in 1528.[50] It was not the most famous. *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, printed the same summer as *A Sermon*, remains far better known. Petri's title page for the pamphlet, however, declares perhaps the single most important shift that Evangelicals effected in thinking about the Mass: to define "the Mass" as the words the synoptic Gospels and Paul record Christ as having spoken at the Seder.[51]

As its original title indicates, *A Sermon* had first been preached. It was probably written, then delivered orally, and then published.[52] The pamphlet, then, is an artifact of the complex materiality of words in the sixteenth century: written, voiced, printed.[53] Its title evoked the spoken voice – not the voices of the liturgy, subdeacon, deacon, and priest, which Luther explicitly rejected, but the Evangelical practice of reading aloud the words on the page of a (printed) Bible. The multiple copies are evidence not only of a numerical proliferation of material words but also of the market for the equation on the

[47] Luther, "A Treatise on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass," LW 35, 82. "Czum funfften. Woellen wir recht meß halten und vorstahn, ßo mussen wir alles faren lassen, was die augen und alle synn in dißem handel mugen zeygen und antragen, es sey kleyd, klang, gesang, tzierd, gepett, tragen, heben, legen, odder was da geschehen mag yn der meß, biß das wir zuvor die wort Christi fassen und wol bedencken, damit er die meß volnbracht und eyngesetzt und uns zuvolnbringen bevohlen hatt, dan darynnen ligt die meß gantz mit all yhrem weßen, werck, nutz und frucht, on wilche nichts von der meß empfangen wirt. Das sein aber die wort: Nemet hyn und esset, das ist mein leychnam, der fur euch geben wirt. Nemet hyn und trinckt darauß allesampt, das ist der kilch des newen und ewigen Testaments yn meynem bluet, das fur euch und fur viele vorgossen wirt zuvorgebung der sund. Diße wort muß ein yglicher Christen in der meß fur augen haben und fest dran hangen, als an dem haubtstueck der meß," "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heiligen Messe, 1520," WA 6, 355.

[48] Figure 23 is held by the Staatsbibliothek Bamberg. The digital form is accessible through the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV012554465, accessed August 18, 2024. The American edition of *Luther's Works*, which has organized his writings thematically, divides his work between four volumes on *Word and Sacrament* (vols. 35–38) and one volume on *Liturgy and Hymns* (vol. 53). The first volume of *Word and Sacrament* contains Luther's Prefaces to the Old and New Testaments, acknowledging in the very organization of his work the centrality of the Bible to his conception of the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist. The third volume of *Word and Sacrament* contains Luther's fullest articulation of his understanding of the Mass, *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper*, published in 1528.

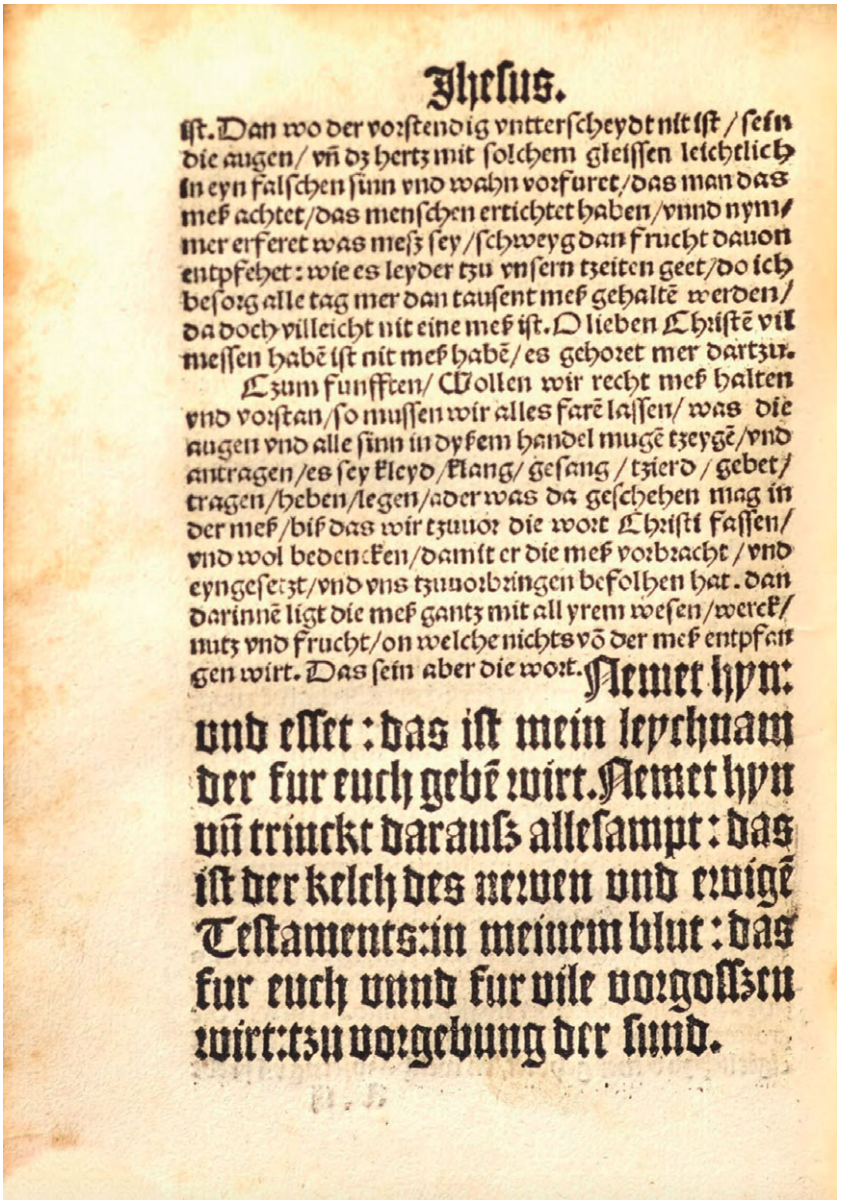
[49] Bizer 1957.

[50] See, for example, Luther, *Vom abendmal Christ, Bekenntnis* (Wittenberg: Michael Lotther, 1528).

[51] "Luther renders the Words of Institution generally after the manner of the canon of the mass (see the text in LW 366, 319), thus incorporating features from the several scriptural accounts: Matt. 26:26–28; Mark 14:22–24; Luke 22:19–20; and I Cor. 11:24–25. Cf. LW 36, 37, n. 84," Luther, "A Treatise on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass," LW 35, 82, note 5.

[52] This was not the first of Luther's sermons to be printed. His 1517 sermon on indulgences and grace had been printed in High German in fourteen editions in 1518, five in 1519, and four in 1520; and in two editions in 1518 in Low German, Benzing 1966, numbers 90–114, pp. 16–19.

[53] Luther's sermons were first collected and published in 1521, *Etliche Sermones neülich ausgegangen*, Benzing 1966, no. 28, p. 7. For an excellent introduction to the complex play of print, speech, and hand, see Crick and Walsham 2004.



Jhesus.

ist. Dan wo der vorstendig vnterscheydt nit ist / sein die augen / vñ dz hertz mit solchem gleissen leichtlich in eyn falschen sinn vnd wahn vorfuret / das man das meß achtet / das menschen ertichtet haben / vnnd nym mer erferet was meß sey / schweyg dan frucht dauon entpfehet: wie es leyder tzu vnsern tzeiten geet / do ich besorg alle tag mer dan tausent meß gehaltē werden / da doch villeicht nit eine meß ist. O lieben Christē vil messen habē ist nit meß habē / es gehoret mer dartzu.

Tzum funfften / Wollen wir recht meß halten vnd vorstan / so mussen wir alles farē lassen / was die augen vnd alle sinn in dyßem handel mugē tzeygē / vnd antragen / es sey kleyd / klang / gesang / tzierd / gebet / tragen / heben / legen / oder was da geschehen mag in der meß / bis das wir tzuuor die wort Christi fassen / vnd wol bedencken / damit er die meß vorbracht / vnd eyngesetzt / vnd vns tzuuorbringen befolhen hat. dan darinnē ligt die meß gantz mit all yrem wesen / werck / nutz vnd frucht / on welche nichts vō der meß entpfan gen wirt. Das sein aber die wort. Nemet hyn: vnd esset: das ist mein leychnam der fur euch gebē wirt. Nemet hyn vñ trinckt darauß allesampt: das ist der kelch des newen vnd ewigē Testaments: in meinem blut: das fur euch vnnd fur vile vorgossen wirt: tzu vorgebung der sund.

FIGURE 23 Martin Luther, *Eyn Sermon vo*[n] *dem newen Testame*[n]*t* (Wittenberg: Melchior Lotter, 1520), Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, 11 F 16#3, aiii^{v} *Source*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

title page. "Evangelicals" might thus also be understood to be those for whom "the Mass" *was* Christ's words at the Supper.

Figure 23, the page (quoted earlier), from Melchior Lotter's edition of *A Sermon*, may reflect something of the skill, the fonts, and the eye that this son of a Leipzig printer

had brought when he set up shop in Wittenberg by December of 1519.[54] It also reflects, when we compare it with the *Rationale*, a different sensibility about the words of Scripture. In some ways, it looks like a page from a missal in which the words of institution had been printed in larger letters, according them visual distinction on the page. But *A Sermon* was one of many of Luther's attacks on the Canon, in that pamphlet, in particular on the practice of reading precisely these words silently and thereby keeping the laity from hearing them, let alone reading them.[55] These printed words, then, serve to give the laity access, as readers and listeners, to Christ's words.

As Luther, and all other Evangelicals, declared again and again, the words were Christ's. Christ had spoken them. For Evangelicals, all faithful were to know the words Christ spoke at the Seder. They taught them in catechesis.[56] For Luther, as he wrote in *A Sermon*, those words were Christ's promise. They were, the term to which *A Sermon* gave particular meaning, Christ's "testament":[57]

> What then is this testament, or what is bequeathed to us in it by Christ? Truly a great, eternal, and unspeakable treasure, namely, the forgiveness of all sins, as the words plainly state, "This is the cup of a new eternal testament in my blood, which is poured out for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins." It is as if Christ were saying, "See here, man, in these words I promise and bequeath to you forgiveness of all your sins and life eternal. In order that you may be certain and know that such a promise remains irrevocably yours, I will die for it, and will give my body and blood for it, and will leave them both to you as a sign and seal, that by them you remember me."[58] . . .
>
> Now we see how many parts there are in this testament or mass. There is, first, the testator who makes the testament, Christ. Second, the heirs to whom the testament is bequeathed, we Christians. Third, the testament itself, the words of Christ – when he says, "This is my body which is given for you. This is my blood which is poured out for you, a new eternal testament," etc.[59]

[54] Pettegree 2015, 110–114, 147–148.

[55] See Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heiligen Messe. 1520," WA 6, 362.

[56] Wandel 2016, 262–273.

[57] "For the young Luther up to 1517–18, only one Word comes forth from God. That Word is constant and the same. It is variously called testament, promise, law, gospel. In this context the designation of old and new testament does not refer to two different testaments of God; rather during the time covered by the books of both the Old and New Testaments the one testament of God is the *testamentum Christi*," Hagen 2016a, 79. On "testament" in Luther's understanding of the Abendmahl, see Hilgenfeld 1971, 86–97. On Luther's understanding of "testament," see Hagen 1974; Hagen 2016b. That sense of testament changed over time, Hilgenfeld 1971, 96–97.

[58] Luther, "A Treatise on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass, 1520," LW 35, 85. "Czum zehenden. Was ist den nu diß testament oder das wirt uns drynnen bescheyden von Christo? furtwar ein grosser, ewiger, unaussprechlicher Schatz, nemlich vorgebung aller sund, wie die wort klar lautten 'diß ist der kilch eyns newen, ewigen testaments yn meynen bluet, das fur euch und fur viele vorgossen wirt zur vorgebung der sund', als solt er sagen 'Sihe da, mensch, ich sag dir zu und bescheyde dir mit dißen worten vorgebung aller deyner sund und das ewig leben, und das du gewiß seyest und wisest, das solch gelubd dir unwidderruefflich bleyb, ßo wil ich drauff sterben und meyn leyb und bluet dafur geben, und beydes dir zum zeychen und sigell hinder mir lassen, da bey du meyn gedencken solt, wie er sagt 'ßo offt yhr das thut, ßo gedenckt an mich'," "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heiligen Messe, 1520," WA 6, 358.

[59] Luther, "A Treatise on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass, 1520," 86. "Czum zwoelfften. Nu sehen wir, wie vil stueck yn dißem testament odder messe sein. Est ist zum ersten der testator, der das testament macht, Christus, zum andernn die erben, den das testament bescheyden wirt, das sein wir Christen, zum dritten das testament an ym selbs, das sein die wort Christi, da er sagt 'das ist meyn leyb, der fur euch geben

For Luther that "testament" was verbal.[60] The Mass was verbal – even words naming actions were *words*. They were not prompts for an enactment; they did not call for human beings to enter the place or the role of Christ.

Those words were Christ's promise, his testament, his will, "bequeathed" to the faithful.[61] For Evangelicals, the relationship of the faithful to the words differed – from that of the laity in the medieval Church who could not hear them and from that of medieval priests and deacons. The words were a promise: spoken to those present and those not yet born, who, in turn, would form "the faithful" by their very relationship to the words.[62]

THE PRIESTHOOD OF ALL FAITHFUL

A Sermon did not seek to bring the laity within hearing of the Canon. It did not simply seek to place materially the words Christ had spoken – the testament and the promise – in their hands. At its heart was the rethinking of what constituted worship and the relationship of the faithful to it:

> For all those who have faith that Christ is a priest for them in heaven before God, and who lay on him their prayers and praise, their need and their whole selves, presenting them through him, not doubting that he does this very thing, and offers himself for them – these people take the sacrament and testament, outwardly or spiritually, as a token of all this, and do not doubt that all sin is there forgiven, that God has become their gracious Father, and everlasting life is prepared for them.
>
> All such, then, wherever they may be, are true priests. ... Faith alone is the true priestly office. It permits no one else to take its place. Therefore all Christian men are priests, all women priestesses, be they young or old, master or servant, mistress or maid, learned or unlearned.[63]

It is difficult, if not impossible, to read these words as they might have resonated when they were printed. They have long since been swept up, foremost in phrases that excise key elements of Luther's formulation here, "the priesthood of all believers" or

wirt, das ist mein bluet, das fur euch vorgossen wirt, ein new, ewiges testament u'," "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heiligen Messe, 1520," WA 6, 359.

[60] "The main reformers believed in the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, though for them the phrase did not carry its modern connotations," Bainton 1963, 12.

[61] On the medieval conception of "testament," see, in addition to Hagen, Preus 1969.

[62] "As early as his commentary on Lombard's Sentences in 1509, Luther stressed the Word as the operative force in building the Church," Spitz 1983, 110.

[63] Luther, "A Treatise on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass," 101. "Denn alle die, ßo den glauben haben, das Christus fur sie ein pfarrer sey ym hymell fur gottis augen, und auff yhn legen, durch yhn furtragen, yhre gepett, lob, nod und sich selbs, nit dran zweyffeln, er thu das selb und opffer sich selb fur sie, nehmen drauff leyplich oder geystliche das sacrament und testament al sein zeychen allis desselbenn, unnd zweyffeln nit, es ist da alle sund vorgeben, gott gnediger vatter worden und ewiges leben bereyt, alle die, wo sie sein, das seyn rechte pfaffen, und halten warhafftig recht meß, Erlangen auch damit, was sie wollen. Dan der glaub muß allis thun. Er ist allein das recht priesterlich ampt, und lesset auch niemant anders seyn: darumb seyn all Christen man pfaffen, alle weyber pffeffyn, es sey junck oder alt, herr oder Knecht, fraw oder magd, geleret oder leye," "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heiligen Messe. 1520," WA 6, 370.

"universal priesthood."[64] Those phrases, in turn, have either been traced in a trajectory of the development of Luther's thought[65] or held as a continuum, a core principle of Lutheran theology, "a corollary of the doctrine of justification by faith."[66] As Brian Gerrish wrote, "the priesthood of all believers has come to be regarded, along with Biblical authority and salvation by faith, as one of the three main points of evangelical theology."[67]

But that summer, there was no "Lutheranism." There was no Lutheran Church. A member of the Order of the Hermits of Saint Augustine or Austin Friar,[68] himself an ordained priest since 1507, published a series of pamphlets that came to be seen, in hindsight, as foundational, as articulating principles from which a new Church would be built. That sense, there in so much of the scholarship, obscures what interests us in this particular passage. Let us begin by restoring Luther's words to the summer in which they appeared in print.

In June of 1520, Luther called the German nobility to reform the Church, rejecting the essential distinction Durand had articulated between clergy and laity – a rejection Evangelicals embraced and promulgated in sermon and print.[69] Some two months after *A Sermon*, in September of 1520, in *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, Luther rejected ordination as a sacrament.[70] In this, too, Evangelicals were united: There was no scriptural foundation for considering ordination a sacrament.[71] In the writings of that summer, he also rejected vows, celibacy, and any special status for clergy, again, rejections widely shared among Evangelicals.[72] If Luther later took up just what "ordination" might mean in a church that came to call those who administered the sacraments "ministers,"[73] in the summer of 1520, he asserted that there was no essential

[64] Goertz provided a detailed summary of the discussion of the term. He himself analyzed the phrase, "universal priesthood," as "metaphor," as a speech act calling his listeners to faith and self-sacrifice, as an ideal that, in turn, grounded how Luther reconceptualized the office as one of service and ministry, Goertz 1997.

[65] *A Sermon* "is widely considered to be his first attempt at articulating his understanding of the priesthood of all believers," Montover 2011, 39.

[66] Spitz 1952: 15.

[67] Gerrish 1965: 404. For an effort to trace "the priesthood of all believers" in relationship to Luther's R echtsfertigungslehre, see Lutz 1990, 180–245.

[68] On this, see MacCulloch 2016.

[69] See, for example, Johannes Eberlin von Günzburg, *Ein brief zu geschickt An den Pfarrer von hohen synne' betreffen Doctor Martini Luthers lere* [1520]; *Ain hübsch Gesprech biechlein / von aynem Pfaffen und ainem Weber / die zuosamen kum[m]en seind auff der straß was sy für red / frag / vn[d] antwort / gegen ainander gebraucht haben / des Euangeliums vnd anderer sachen halben*, Rychsner 1524. On the pamphlet's attack on the clergy, see Moeller 1993.

[70] On ordination, see Luther, "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium. 1520," WA 6, 560–567; on just two sacraments, 572.

[71] See, for example, Huldreich Zwingli, "De vera et falsa religione," nos. 15 and 20, Z 3, 757–762, 823–824. In the text, I use one conventional spelling of Zwingli's first name, Huldrych. The editors of the modern critical edition of Zwingli's writings use another, Huldreich. When referring to the modern edition of one of Zwingli's works, I preserve their spelling.

[72] See, for example, Articles 11, 26, and 61 of Huldreich Zwingli, "Auslegen und Gründe der Schlussreden," Z 2, 1–457, here at 68–70, 249–253, 438–440. On anticlericalism, a term for a range of criticisms of as well as physical violence against nuns, monks, and friars as well as priests, see Goertz 1987; Dykema and Oberman 1993; Goertz 1995; Dipple 1996.

[73] Lieberg 1962; Smith 1996; Goertz 1997.

difference between clergy and laity. Henceforth, those who "administered" the sacraments Luther recognized as such might be called to service, but they were neither a body separated through any sacred act nor in a lineage reaching back to Christ or Moses.

That summer, Luther redefined "priesthood" as "the faithful."[74] In so doing, he was rejecting the distinctions late medieval theologians had made between simple and learned, unformed and informed, implicit and explicit faith.[75] If, as the scholarship on "the priesthood of all believers" holds, priesthood was to encompass more of humankind, the faithful were no longer simply those who had been baptized, who could recite the Lord's Prayer or the Apostles' Creed.[76] The faithful were defined by what they understood "New Testament" to mean:

> It is as if Christ were saying, "See here, man, in these words I promise and bequeath to you forgiveness of all your sins and life eternal. In order that you may be certain and know that such a promise remains irrevocably yours, I will die for it, and will give my body and blood for it, and will leave them both to you as a sign and seal, that by them you remember me."[77]

That summer, Luther did not extend the medieval conception of priesthood to "all believers"; he rejected the medieval definitions of both priesthood and faithful and redefined both as those who read the New Testament as promise. Those who understood the Gospels, Epistles – all that modern biblical scholarship holds to be separate books of the New Testament – to be a unity proclaiming God's promise of salvation to those who believed in him, those were the faithful, those were the priesthood.

THE MASS REDEFINED

> Christ, in order to prepare for himself an acceptable and beloved people, which should be bound together in unity through love, abolished the whole law of Moses. And that he might not give further occasion for divisions and sects, he appointed in return but one law or order for his entire people, and that was the holy mass. . . . Henceforth, therefore, there is to be no other external order for the service of God except the mass. And where the mass is used, there is true worship; even though there be no other form, with singing, organ playing, bell ringing, vestments [clothing], ornaments, and gestures. For everything of this sort is an addition invented by men. When Christ himself first instituted this sacrament and held the first mass, there was no tonsure, no chasuble, no singing, no pageantry, but only thanksgiving to God and the use of the sacrament. According to this same simplicity the apostles and all Christians for a long time held mass, until there arose the various forms and additions, by which the Romans held mass one way, the Greeks another. And now it has

[74] Lieberg 1962, 40–68.

[75] On these distinctions, see Van Engen 1991.

[76] On medieval definitions of the faithful, see foremost Van Engen 1991.

[77] Luther, "A Treatise on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass, 1520," LW 35, 85. "als solt er sagen 'Sihe da, mensch, ich sag dir zu und bescheyde dir mit dißen worten vorgebung aller deyner sund und das ewig leben, und das du gewiß seyest und wisest, das solch gelubd dir unwidderruefflich bleyb, ßo wil ich drauff sterben und meyn leyb und bluet dafur geben, und beydes dir zum zeychen und sigell hinder mir lassen, da bey du meyn gedencken solt, wie er sagt 'ßo offt yhr das thut, ßo gedenckt an mich'," "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heiligen Messe. 1520," WA 6, 358. See Hagen 1974, 118–119.

finally come to this: the chief thing in the mass has been forgotten, and nothing is remembered except the additions of men!

A Sermon on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass[78]

In the first place, in order that we might safely and happily attain to a true and free knowledge of this sacrament, we must be particularly careful to put aside whatever has been added to its original institution by human zeal and devotion: such things as vestments, ornaments, chants, prayers, organs, candles, and the whole pageantry of outward things. We must turn our eyes and hearts simply to the institution of Christ and this alone and set nothing before us but the very word of Christ by which he instituted this sacrament, made it perfect, and committed it to us. For in that word, and in that word alone, reside the power, the nature, and the whole substance of the Mass. All the rest is the work of human beings, added to the word of Christ, and the Mass can be held and remain a Mass just as well without them. Now the words of Christ, in which he instituted this sacrament, are these: "Now as they were eating Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke it, and gave it to his disciples and said, 'Take, eat; this is my body, which is given for you.' And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks he gave it to them, saying, 'Drink of it, all of you; for this cup is the new testament of my blood, which is poured out for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins. Do this in remembrance of me.'"

The Babylonian Captivity of the Church, 1520[79]

[78] Luther, "A Treatise on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass, 1520," 80–81. "Auff das nu Christus yhm bereyttet eyn angenhem liebes volck, das eintrechtiglich yn ein ander gepunden were durch die liebe, hat er auff gehaben das gantz gesetz Mosi, und das er nit ursache den secten und zurteylungen hynfuerter gebe, hatt er widderumb nit mehr den eyne weyß odder gesetz eyngesetzt seynem gantzen volck, das ist die heylige Meß (Dan wie wol die tauff auch ein eußerliche weyße ist, ßo geschicht sie doch nu rein mall, und ist nit ein uebung des gantzen lebens, wie die meß), das nu hinfuertter keyn ander eußerliche weyß soll sein, got tzu dienen, den die meß, und wo die geuebt wirt, das ist der recht gottis dienst, ob schon kein andere weyß mit singen, orgellen, klingen, kleyden, tzierden, geperden da ist, den alliß, was des ist, ist ein zusatz von menschen erdacht. Dan do Christus selbst und am ersten diß sacrament einsetzt unnd die ersten meß hielt und uebet, da war keyn platten, kein casell, kein singen, kein prangen, ßondern allein dancksagung gottis und des sacraments prauch. Der selben einfeltickeit nach hielten die Apostel und alle Christen meß ein lang zeyt, biß das sich erhuben die mancherley weyßen und zusetze, das anders die Romischen, anders die Kriechen meß hielten, und nu endlich dahyn kummen, das das haeuebtstueck an der meß unbekannt worden ist, und nit mehr den die su setze der menschen yn der andacht seyn," "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heiligen Messe. 1520," WA 6, 354–355.

[79] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church 1520*, 38–39. "Principio, ut ad veram liberamque huius sacramenti scientiam tuto et foeliciter perveniamus, curandum est ante omnia, ut omnibus iis sepositis, quae ad institutionem huius sacramenti primitivam et simplicem humanis studiis et fervoribus sunt addita, qualia sunt vestes, ornamenta, cantus, preces, organa, lucernae et universa illa visibilium rerum pompa, ad ipsam solam et puram Christi institutionem oculos et animum vertamus, neautemc nobis aliud proponamus quam ipsum verbum Christi, quo instituit et perfecit ac nobis commendavit sacramentum. Nam in eo verbo et prosus nullo alio sita est vis, natura et tota substantia Missae. Caetera omnia sunt humana studia, verbo Christi accessoria, sine quibus missa optime potest haberi et subsistere. Verba autem Christi, quibus sacramentum hoc instituit, sunt haec:

Caenantibus autem eis, accepit Ihesus panem et benedixit ac fregit, deditque discipulis suis et ait 'Accipite et manducated, hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis tradetur'. Et accipiens calicem, gratias egit et dedit illis dicens 'Bibite ex hoc omnes, Hic est calix novum testamentum in meo sanguine qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem'," "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium. 1520," WA 6, 512–513.

In the summer of 1520, Luther redefined "the Mass."[80] For Durand, the Mass began with the Introit and concluded with the final blessing, as he set forth in Book IV of the *Rationale*. Images, altars, vestments, gestures, the place of worship, and the time all participated in the Mass, in a variety of ways. In *A Sermon*, the Mass was the promise Christ had spoken at the Seder.[81] In *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, "the Mass or the Sacrament of the Altar is Christ's testament, which he left behind him at his death to be distributed among his believers," and "a testament, as everyone knows, is a promise made by one about to die," "the most perfect promise of all, that of the new testament, in which, with plain words, life and salvation are freely promised and actually granted to those who believe the promise."[82] The Mass was "a testament," "God's word or promise, together with a sacred sign, the bread and the wine under which Christ's flesh and blood are truly present."[83]

All else were "additions" "invented by men." The Mass had been buried in accretions of human practice, some, such as the collects, tracing back to Old Testament practices.[84] In *A Sermon*, "singing, organ playing, bell ringing, vestments, ornaments, and gestures," tonsure, chasuble, "pageantry," and prayers were all additions;[85] in *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, "vestments, ornaments, chants, prayers, organs, candles, and the whole pageantry of outward things."[86] For Luther, none of these were scriptural *res*, none were scriptural *gestae*.

In 1523, in response to a request from his friend, Nicholas Hausmann of Zwickau, Luther offered a *Form of the Mass and Communion*.[87] In it he detailed what he understood "additions" to be and differentiated between those he thought could be retained and those, foremost the Canon, that were to be excised. He advised Hausmann to keep the additions of the early Church fathers, which he found "commendable": a psalm or two before blessing the wine and bread, the Kyrie eleison, reading the Epistles and Gospels in the language of the congregation. Equally unproblematic later additions were Introit, Gloria, Gradual, Alleluia, Nicene Creed, Sanctus, Agnus dei, and Communion.[88] He offered more details how Introits, Kyrie, prayer or collect,

[80] See Spinks 2021; Leaver 1983.

[81] WA 6, 357. Vajta 1958, 38–46.

[82] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church 1520*, 40, 42. ""Missam seu sacramentum altaris esse testamentum Christi, quod moriens post se reliquit distribuendum suis fidelibus. ... Testamentum absque dubio Est promissio morituri," "Sic ventum est ad promissionem omnium perfectissimam novi testament, in qua apertis verbis vita et salus gratuito promittuntur et credentibus promissioni donantur," "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium. 1520," WA 6, 513.

[83] Luther, "A Treatise on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass, 1520," LW 35, 94. Cf. Spinks 2021, 46–47.

[84] Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament," WA 6, 365–366.

[85] "Das ist wol war, die zugesetzten gepeet dienen wol eynes hietzu, das ander datzu, nach lautt yhrer wort, aber die seyn nit meß noch sacrament," Luther, "Ein Sermon von dem neuen Testament, das ist von der heiligen Messe. 1520," WA 6, 375. On prayers as additions, see Vajta 1958, 30–31.

[86] Luther also takes up prayers as additions in "De captivitate Babylonica," WA 6, 521–523.

[87] The American edition gives the work the title, "An Order of Mass and Communion," but Luther chose a word that echoed neither the sense of religious order nor the sacrament of ordination, "Formula," LW 53 (1965), 17–40. For the following, WA 12, 197–220.

[88] Luther, "Formula Missae et Communionis, 1523," WA 12, 207.

Gradual, Gospel lesson, and the Nicene Creed were to be done. All these were human additions. All these might be retained. But none was "the Mass."

In these early writings, Luther offered a definition of "the Mass" that he would ultimately abandon. He came to prefer "Abendmahl Christi" or Christ's Supper to name the collective worship of Christians. Before he took up a different name, he separated from the sacrament of the Eucharist the fabric of prayers, readings, and chant – all of which, by 1520, were ancient, as Luther himself acknowledged. It was not a question of simple materiality: The signs of the Eucharist were divinely indicated matter. The Mass was "God's word or promise, together with a sacred sign, the bread and the wine under which Christ's flesh and blood are truly present."[89] *Everything* else was an addition. *Everything* else was "human" and "inventions."

When, in 1526, Luther came to publish *German Mass and the Ordering of the Service of God* (*Deudsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts*), he preserved in the title the distinction he had been articulating between "the Mass," that is, the words of institution, and divine service (*Gottis diensts*).[90] In his Preface, he recognized the proliferation of forms of worship, which, in turn, offended and perplexed "the people." "As far as possible," he wrote, "we should observe the same baptism and the same sacrament and no one has received a special one of his own from God."[91] "That is not to say," he continued, "those who already have good orders" should discard theirs and take up Luther's.[92] The sacrament of the Eucharist was scriptural and fixed; the divine service was not.[93] The tension between a popular desire for uniformity of service and a diversity of "good orders," moreover, was but a stage in the long process of becoming truly Christian:

> In short, we prepare such orders not for those who already are Christians; for they need none of them. And we do not live for them; but they live for us who are not yet Christians so that they may make Christians out of us. Their worship is in the spirit. But such orders are needed for those who are still becoming Christians or need to be strengthened, since a Christian does not need baptism, the Word, and the sacrament as a Christian – for all things are his – but as a sinner. They are essential especially for the immature and the young who must be trained and educated in the Scripture and God's Word daily so that they may become familiar with the Bible, grounded, well versed, and skilled in it, ready to defend their faith and in due time to teach others and to increase the kingdom of Christ.[94]

[89] Luther, "A Treatise on the New Testament, that is, the Holy Mass, 1520," LW 35, 94.

[90] Luther, "Deudsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts," WA 19, 72–113. The American edition translates the title, "The German Mass and Order of Service," LW 53, 51–90. Spinks notes, "Luther allows the *lectio continua*, the reading of a Gospel in course from week to week rather than the selection of the traditional lectionary," Spinks 2016, 567.

[91] Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," LW 53, 61. "sollen wyr der liebe nach, wie S. Paulus leret, darnach trachten, das wyr eynerley gesynnet seyn und, auffs beste es seyn kan, gleycher weyse und geberden seyn, gleych wie alle Christen eynerley tauffe, eynerley sacrament haben und keynem eyn sonderlichs von Gott geben ist," "Deudsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts," WA 19, 72.

[92] Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," LW 53, 62. "Doch wil ich hiemit nicht begeren, das die ienigen, so bereyt yhre gute ordnunge haben oder durch Gottis gnaden besser machen konnen, die selbigen faren lassen und uns weychen." "Deudsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts," WA 19, 73.

[93] In the German Mass, Luther "not only reversed the order of Words of Institution and Lord's Prayer, but also employed a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer in the form of an exhortation," Pelikan 1958, 12.

[94] Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," LW 53, 62. "Denn summa, wyr stellen solche ordnunge gar nicht umb der willen, die bereyt Christen sind; den die bedurffen der dinge keyns, umb wilchere willen

For Luther, the faithful were small in number; many wished to be "Christian" but were not yet; and they therefore continued to need some sort of "external order" for worship.[95] But the telos of every form of divine service that was truly Christian was its own final externality to true worship, which was "spiritual."[96]

The *German Mass* was the second of three kinds of divine service. The first was the Latin Form of 1523. The third, "a truly evangelical order," would "center everything on the Word, prayer, and love."[97] That third order, for those who had become truly "Christian," was, at that moment, Luther wrote, not yet possible – but it was toward which this *German Mass* and then the catechisms, sketched in *German Mass* and published in 1529, were aiming.[98] When humankind became fully Christian, Luther suggested, the additions, the inventions, would all fall away. Not only would images, vestments, altars, bells, and incense fall away, then, but also vesting, genuflection, and chanting. Each Christian would live within faith and without need for any external form of worship. Each Christian would center on "the Word." There would remain "the Mass," no more and no less than the promise, the sacrament of the Eucharist, which Luther set forth in the *German Mass* and taught in his catechisms.

PROMISE, NOT SACRIFICE

In 1520, in *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, the third captivity, was the "opinion" "that the Mass is a good work and a sacrifice."[99] In 1523, in *An Order of Mass and Communion*, Luther excoriated

> that utter abomination . . . which forces all that precedes in the mass into its service and is, therefore, called the offertory. From here on almost everything smacks and savors of sacrifice. And the words of life and salvation are embedded in the midst of it all.[100]

man auch nicht lebt, sondern sie leben umb unser willen, die noch nicht Christen sind, das sie uns zu Christen machen; sie haben yhren Gottis dienst ym geyst. Aber umb der willen mus man solche ordnunge haben, die noch Christen sollen werden odder stercker werden. Gleych wie eyn Christen der tauffe, des worts und sacraments nicht darff als eyn Christen, denn er hats schon alles, sondern als eyn sunder. Aller meyst aber geschichts umb der eynfeltigen und des jungen volcks willen, wilchs sol und mus teglich ynn der schrifft und Gottis wort geubt und erzogen werden, das sie der schrifft gewonet, geschicht, leufftig und kuendig drynnen werden, yhren glauben zuvertretten und andere mit der zeyt zu leren und das reych Christi helffen mehren," "Deudsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts," WA 19, 73.

[95] Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," LW 53, 61. "diser eusserlichen ordnung," "Deudsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts," WA 19, 72.

[96] On the liturgy as education, see Pelikan 1958, 7–10.

[97] Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," LW 53, 63–64. "die rechte art der Euangelischen ordnunge . . . Hie kund man auch eyn kurtze feyne weyse mit der tauffe und sacrament halten und alles auffs wort und gebet und die liebe richten," "Deudsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts," WA 19, 75.

[98] Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," LW 53, 64–67. "Deudsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts," WA 19, 76–78.

[99] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church 1520*, 38. "Tertia captivitas eiusdem sacramenti Est longe impiissimus ille abusus, quo factum est, ut fere nihil sit hodie in Ecclesia receptus ac magis persasum, quam Missam esse opus bonum et sacrificium," "De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium. 1520," WA 6, 512.

[100] Luther, "An Order of Mass and Communion," LW 53, 25–26. "Octavo, sequitur tota illa abominatio, cui servire coactum est quicquid in missa praecessit, unde et offertorium vocatur. Et abhinc omnia fere sonant

Not unlike the priesthood of all faithful, Luther's condemnation of the Canon has come to be read through its consequences for worship both Evangelical and Catholic.[101] But in the summer of 1520, every church still had an altar – and thus, a way of thinking about sacrifice, time, and the human body. Luther's criticism of the Canon severed what he himself sometimes called the sacrament of the altar from the matter that had born the name for generations. It transformed the Canon into a text. For generations, altars and vestments had participated in a singular experience of time, marked for the celebrant by the crucifixion that often prefaced the Canon in missals.

That summer, Luther defined the priesthood as those who believed in the promise of Christ's "New Testament" – those who believed words spoken, in a particular moment, recorded in the Bible, which was also God's testament. That summer, he redefined the Mass as those words, the bread, and the wine – and all else, from singing and prayers to organs and bells, as human invention. In *A Sermon*, he used the word, "clothing" (*kleyden*), for vestments. All these, in turn, shaped what Luther considered "sacrifice" to be. Severing vestments and altars from the Canon silenced living and material evocations of Old Testament sacrifices, foremost Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son, Isaac. Luther's conceptualization of the Mass rejected any line of identification – altar, person, vestment – linking the present moment to specific moments, in the plural, in those Scriptures which had been voiced in a medieval Mass. It severed from the Mass just how *materia* continued to make present a complex, temporally layered understanding of time and human beings in worship. It contributed, centrally, to a sense of worship in the present moment physically separate from moments narrated in the codex Bible.

In the summer of 1520, Luther did not set out any form of worship. That summer, he did not simply call for the excision of the Canon from the Mass. He redefined "priesthood," "the faithful," and "the Mass."[102] He recast the relationship among faithful, priesthood, and the Mass.[103] At the center of each of these three redefinitions was promise or testament.[104] Each reoriented the faithful to the codex Bible as the locus of God's testament and promise.

If, in missals and in the *Rationale*, the Canon was the locus for the celebrant to "enter" the Passion, for Luther, it deformed the Mass, making it both a sacrifice and a work – those two together. His coupling of the two points toward the altered place of human beings in Luther's conception of worship. The relationship of the faithful to the Mass was to be grounded in consciousness of human fallenness – of the distance between humankind and God that no human being could traverse – and the promise

ac olent oblationem. In quorum medio verba illa vitae et salutis sic posita sunt," "Formula Missae et Communionis. 1523," WA 12, 211.

[101] Spinks reviews that literature, Spinks 2021, 1–22. "The Reformation hostility to the sacrifice of the altar is found to be connected, in a coherent pattern, with the basic Reformation doctrines of grace, justification, of the Church and the sacraments, and ultimately of Christology," Clark 1967, 103.

[102] "The new method, with Verba [the Words of Institution] as the only interpreter of the mass, leads to the rejection of the canon of the mass (*Canon missae*) too as a valid commentary on the mass. This is a full-scale revolution in the interpretation of the mass," Wisloff 1964, 24.

[103] See Wisloff 1964, ch. 7.

[104] Vajta 1958, ch. 2.

of salvation that no human being merited.[105] Human beings were "heirs," not actors; "in the mass we give nothing to Christ but receive from him."[106]

As we shall see more fully in Chapter 6, Evangelicals held apart from the codex of the Bible, and also from Creation, what human hands had made and what human minds had interpreted (or "invented," as some Evangelicals held). Nothing fashioned by human hands could be a scriptural *res*. So, too, no human movement could be a scriptural *gesta*. Luther's redefinitions of priesthood, the faithful, and the Mass recast the relationship of worship to time, of the human body to the Seder and Christ's words. Those words were to be found in the New Testament – recorded there in that materiality of ink and paper. Those who believed "that Christ is a priest for them in heaven before God" lived in a twofold sense of time: The promise of salvation had been spoken at the supper as Luther would call it, recorded there in the codex of the New Testament; and it had been spoken for all time, to all those who understood it to be spoken to them – including those not yet born.[107] The Bible was physically discrete from those who might read it, whether aloud or silently.

EVANGELICAL MASSES

A Sermon is one of our earliest traces of the reconceptualization of the liturgy in the sixteenth century. But Luther was not alone. In Wittenberg, on Christmas 1521, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt celebrated an Evangelical service from which the Canon had been excised.[108] Evangelicals divided not only on the form and the question of real presence but on the relationship between worship and the congregation. Some, such as Karlstadt, moved to institute Evangelical worship, holding the necessity of bringing communal worship into immediate conformity with the Bible. Luther did not. He argued for a longer process and called for a praxis of preaching and teaching God's Word, which was to inform congregations, before they might participate in the sacrament.[109] And indeed, as we have seen, he held his own *German Mass* to be a step toward true Christian worship – not the final form.

Many Evangelical preachers, however, shared Karlstadt's conviction, foremost of the immediate need for a truly Evangelical form of worship.[110] The early 1520s witnessed a proliferation of forms of worship, what the Carmelite prior, Caspar Kantz of

[105] On this, see, for example, Spinks 2021, 23–34.

[106] Vajta quoting WA 6, 364, Vatja 1958, 44.

[107] "The eucharist is a sign of the primacy of God's promise, that God is always there first, that he is already doing his work in the world ... We are invited to join something already underway, which will happen whether we believe it or not, whether we participate in it or not, whether we enjoy it or not," Steinmetz 1986, 83.

[108] Drömann 1983, 7. Scholars disagree, which constitutes the first "Evangelical" service. Jenny, for instance, argues, "Der eigentliche Beginn der Strassburger Gottesdienst-Erneuerung fällt auf den 16. Februar 1524. An diesem Dienstag nach Invocavit wurde in der Johanneskapelle des Münsters der erste ganz deutsche und wesentlich evangelische Abendmahlgottesdienst in deutschen Landen gefeiert," Jenny 1968, 13.

[109] WA 19, 78–80.

[110] "Im Unterschied zu Luther drängte Müntzer jedoch auf die sofortige Einführung der deutschen Liturgiesprache," Herbst, Introduction to "Thomas Müntzer und der deutsche Gottesdienst 1523–24," *Evangelischer Gottesdienst* 1992, 50.

Nördlingen, for instance, called the Evangelical Mass or Thomas Müntzer called the German Evangelical Mass.[111] A few, such as Kantz and Müntzer, published their liturgies as printed pamphlets. In so doing, they have left us material traces not only of the proliferation of local forms of worship Luther noted in his own *German Mass* but of the shattering of a common definition of just what a "Mass" was. For some, such as Kantz, "the Mass" was exclusively the Eucharist. Some preserved what we now call "parts" of a medieval Mass. The Strasbourg liturgy, for example, preserved an Introit, Collect, Epistle, Gospel, Credo, Benediction, Agnus dei – though not any alteration with liturgical season and, therefore, not the intertwining of text and liturgical season.[112] Müntzer kept an Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Collect, Epistle, Alleluia, Credo, Offertory, Sanctus, Benedictus, Pridie, Lord's Prayer, Peace, Agnus dei, and Benediction, although he altered the sequence and the wording.[113] If they agreed that medieval worship was not Evangelical, they did not agree on what, exactly, an Evangelical "Mass" encompassed, or whether it was the same as "Gottesdienst" or worship.

Materially, Evangelical pamphlets offered a striking contrast to missals. Most missals were folio-sized; no Evangelical pamphlets were. Evangelical pamphlets were printed on paper – never velum – in quarto or octavo format. They contained no Calendar, no Temporale, no Sanctorale, no Masses for the Dead or Marian Masses. They were a fraction of the thickness of missals: Kantz's *Evangelical Mass*, printed in multiple editions, was around fifteen pages in length; Müntzer's, some fifty. They are our preeminent material trace of Evangelicals' radical reconceptualization of the praxis of worship. Müntzer seems to have been the only Evangelical to preserve different services for different dates – Christ's Birth, Passion, and Resurrection and a service for Pentecost.[114] His seems to have been the only Evangelical codex that was designed to be used similarly to missals: with prayers for specific days and parts to be sung regularly. Even his, the most like a medieval missal of those early pamphlets, did not materialize either as an object or in its use the complex time of medieval Christian worship – the distinction of sacred time and ordinary time, Christ's life and the lives of holy men and women.[115] In most surviving early Evangelical codices, the liturgy was to be read linearly, from the first page to the last.

Their difference was marked visually, on their title pages and on each page of each codex. Kantz's *Evangelical Mass* was printed with various title pages, two of which presented classical motifs such as putti; the one (Figure 24) made visually explicit

[111] Caspar Kantz, *Von der Evangelischen Messz. Mit schhoenen Christlichen Gebetten von vnd nach der empfahung des Sacraments* (n.p. n.d. [1524]). According to Julius Smend, Kantz's *Ordnung der Messe* of 1522 is "die älteste uns erhaltene Deutsch-evangelishe Messe," quoted in *Coena Domini I*, 8. For Müntzer's liturgical form, see *Coena Domini I*, 9–13; Thomas Müntzer, *Deutsche Evangelische Messe 1524*.

[112] *Teütsche Meß vnd Tauff, wie sye yetzund zuo Straßburg gehalte[n] werden* (Strasbourg, n.p. 1524).

[113] This sequence is drawn from his "Ampt von der menschwerdung Christi vnsers heylandts," Müntzer, *Deutsche Evangelische Messe 1524*, 22–28.

[114] See the facsimile contained in Müntzer, *Deutsche Evangelische Messe 1524*, 41–127.

[115] Müntzer's *Deutsche Evangelische Messe 1524* included specific texts for Christmas, Passion week, Easter, and Pentecost; they were placed at the end, as additions to, rather than integral parts of, worship, *Coena Domini I*, 23–24.

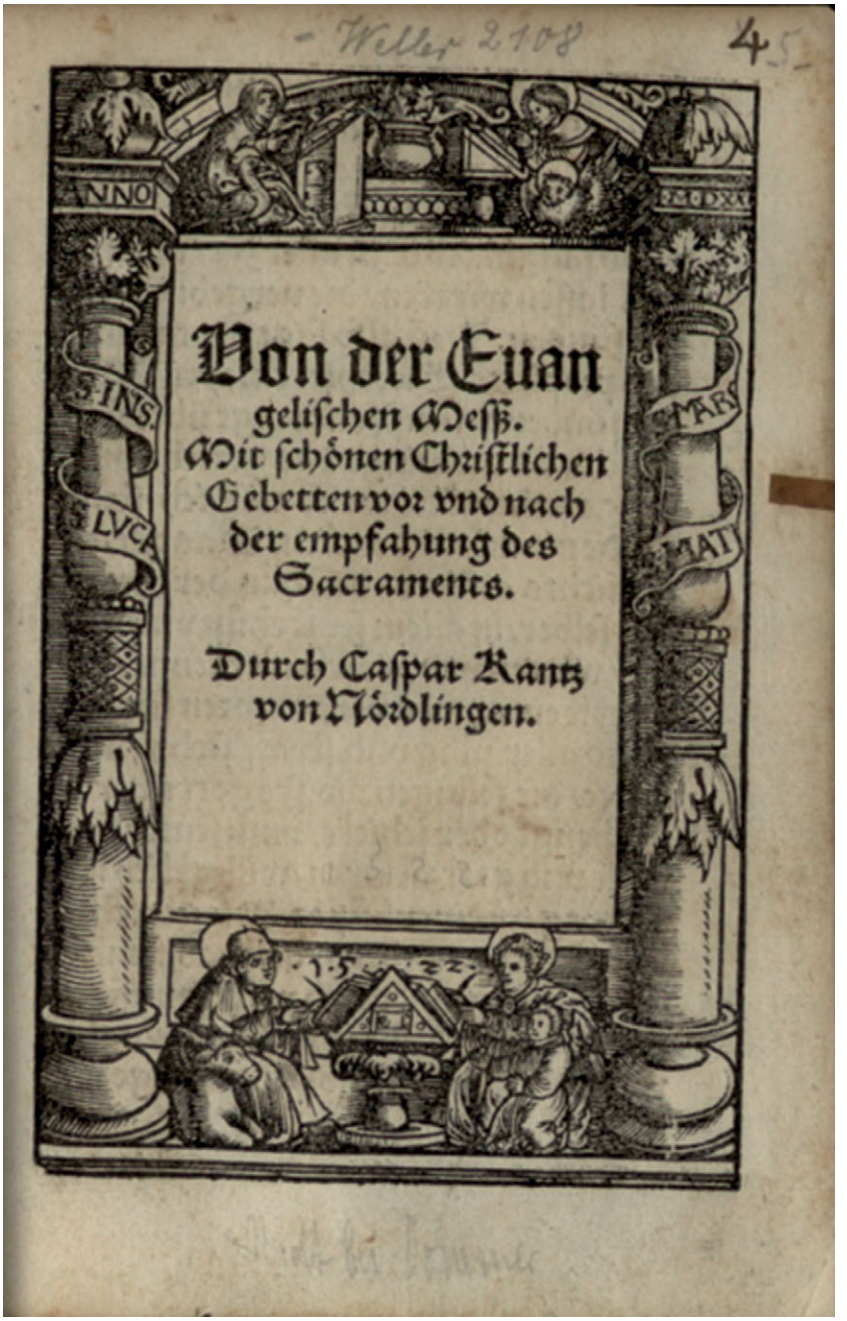


FIGURE 24 Caspar Kantz, *Von der Euangelischen Mesß*, [1524], Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 1646#Beibd.4, title page *Source*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

"Evangelical," containing both the names of and the symbols for the four Evangelists.[116] A Strasbourg liturgy printed anonymously in 1524 presented Christ preaching in the bottom panel and God in the top – no crucifixion but evangel.[117]

Opening an Evangelical pamphlet revealed pages that also contrasted with those of missals. Kantz's *Evangelical Mass* opened with a two-page summary of "Christian justification and the perfection of faith", exhorting his readers to acknowledge themselves "a poor damned sinner, worthy of all torment and punishment."[118] Kantz's and Müntzer's contained prayers chosen to underline human sinfulness or divine mercy (Figure 25). Each of these texts, immediately following the title page, were to precede – spatially and also temporally – the Mass itself, informing the participant in the Mass how each was to approach it, how each was to understand it.

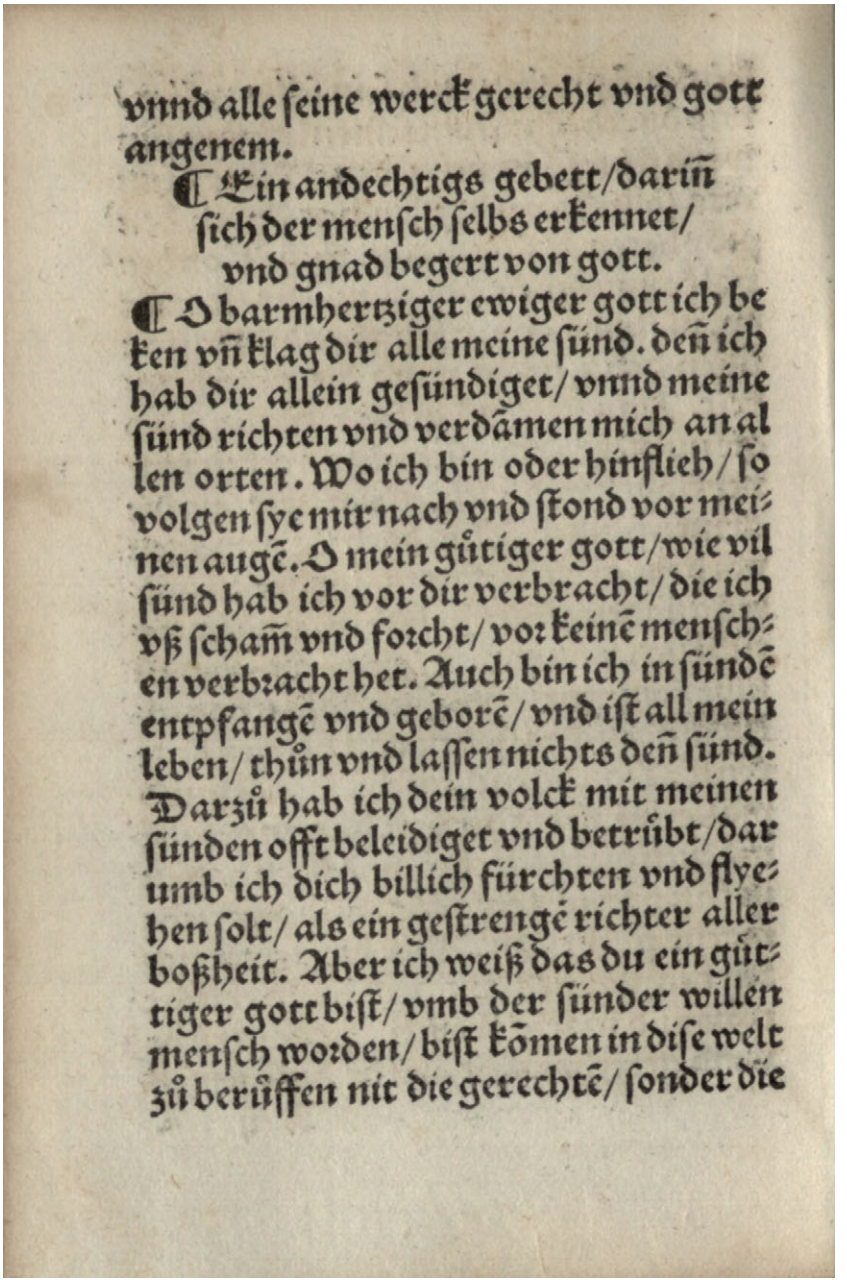
Evangelical pamphlets materialized a radical rethinking of liturgical time. The absence of Calendars was one marker: There was to be no differentiation of red feasts, black feasts, and unmarked days. The absence of Temporale and Sanctorale was another: There was to be no interwoven cycles of Christ's life and holy lives. Müntzer's explicitly acknowledged three feasts in the Temporale – Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost – but others did not. Evangelicals agreed on the elimination of the missal's structure of time but not on which days, which feasts, were to be retained.

More deeply, Evangelicals reconceived the relationship of worship to time. That reconceptualization is intimated in the differences between missals and surviving Evangelical pamphlets. It is there in the praxis that a liturgy would be read through, beginning to end, not structured by a feast, a season, or holy lives – in a linearity of reading which, in turn, correlates with the sense of history to which Luther gave voice at the end of his *German Mass*:

> Lent, Palm Sunday, and Holy Week shall be retained, not to force anyone to fast, but to preserve the Passion history and the Gospels appointed for that season. This, however, does not include the Lenten veil, throwing of palms, veiling of pictures, and whatever else there is of such tomfoolery – nor chanting the four Passions, nor preaching on the Passion for eight hours on Good Friday. Holy Week shall be like any other week save that the Passion history be explained every day for an hour throughout the week or on as many days as may be desirable, and that the sacrament be given to everyone who desires it. For among Christians the whole service should center in the Word and sacrament.[119]

Evangelicals agreed on a distinction between a living present and that history that was printed on paper in codex Bibles. They disagreed, however, on what that distinction meant for worship, and that, in turn, shaped what they understood worship to be and the place of matter in it.

[116] The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek has a copy: https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV001436025, accessed August 18, 2024.
[117] *Teütsche Meß und Tauff* (Strasbourg, 1524).
[118] Kantz, *Von der Evangelischen Messz*, Ai^{v}.
[119] Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," LW 53, 90. WA 19, 112–113.



vnnd alle ſeine werck gerecht vnd gott angenem.

¶ Ein andechtigs gebett/darin̄ ſich der menſch ſelbs erkennet/ vnd gnad begert von gott.

¶ O barmhertziger ewiger gott ich be ken vñ klag dir alle meine ſünd. deñ ich hab dir allein geſündiget/ vnnd meine ſünd richten vnd verdāmen mich an al len orten. Wo ich bin oder hinflieh/ ſo volgen ſye mir nach vnd ſtond vor mei nen augē. O mein gütiger gott/ wie vil ſünd hab ich vor dir verbracht/ die ich vß ſcham̄ vnd forcht/ vor keinē menſch en verbracht het. Auch bin ich in ſündē entpfangē vnd geborē/ vnd iſt all mein leben/ thůn vnd laſſen nichts deñ ſünd. Darzů hab ich dein volck mit meinen ſünden offt beleidiget vnd betrůbt/ dar umb ich dich billich fürchten vnd flye hen ſolt/ als ein geſtrengē richter aller boßheit. Aber ich weiß das du ein gůt tiger gott biſt/ vmb der ſünder willen menſch worden/ biſt kōmen in diſe welt zů berůffen nit die gerechtē/ ſonder die

FIGURE 25 Caspar Kantz, *Von der Euangelischen Mesß*, [1524], Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 1646#Beibd.4, Aiᵛ *Source*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

THE LORD'S SUPPER

On the Wednesday after Palm Sunday, 1525, the city council of Zurich, by a small majority, abolished all Masses in all churches under its jurisdiction.[120] The chronicler Bernhard Wyss recorded the council's decision: "one should completely remove the Mass in all churches and have no more."[121] Many of the sources for the legal abolition of the Mass used the same verb, *abtun*, as they also used for the removal of images: a physical taking away. On that same day, the council authorized "the Supper," to be held according to "the printed guide" (*der gedruckten Anleitung*) (Figure 26),[122] with one exception: The women and men were no longer to speak alternately; the deacon or "minister" (*Ministrant*) was to read aloud.[123]

Again, it is difficult in hindsight to see the full contours of this moment. Let me underline two ways in which it was exceptional. First, the magistrates of one of the Swiss cantons claimed complete authority over the Mass.[124] They claimed the authority not simply to reform the Mass, which was itself an expansion of civic authority, but to "remove" it. We are all of us heirs to that moment, when the Mass became a legally defined entity which a secular authority could stop.[125] And in the very choice of words, they at once defined the Mass as something which could be "removed" or "abolished" – no longer, in other words, inseparable from the rhythms of collective lives or a part of the fabric of the made world or Creation – and also something of clear boundaries: liturgy as we now understand it.

Second, the council also claimed the authority to set worship within its jurisdiction. In 1525, the city council of Zurich mandated that worship in Zurich was to conform to a single, fourteen-page pamphlet.[126] With its legislation on the Mass, the council turned the Mass into something which could be legally – in words inscribed on paper – stipulated. Ultimately many Evangelicals were to follow that model, of a local political authority mandating a single text which set forth communal worship. But the Zurich city council was the first temporal authority to abolish the Mass and to mandate a specific codex for the practice of worship.

[120] Introduction, "Aktion oder Brauch des Nachtmals," Z 4, 5.

[121] "daß man die maessen in allen kirchen solle ganz abthuen und keine mer haben," *Die Chronik des Bernhard Wyss 1519–1530*, 61.

[122] The images are drawn from the copy held by the Zentralbibliothek Zürich, sig. 18.1470, https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-682, accessed August 18, 2024.

[123] Egli, *Aktensammlung*, No. 684.

[124] Sehling blurred this distinction, opening the first volume of church ordinances with Luther's liturgical texts, Sehling, *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, I, 1–28.

[125] The Wittenberg Church Ordinance of 1522, which also called for the removal of images and altars from the churches, did not abolish the Mass. The Wittenberg Town Council did claim the authority to stipulate the parts of the Mass and to excise the Canon: "die messen söllen nit anderst gehalten werden, dann wie si Christus am abentessen hat eingesetzt, doch umb etlicher sachen umbs glauben willen lasset man singen de tempore, und nit de sanctis, und singet introitum, kyrieleison, gloria in excelsis, et in terra, collecta, oder preces, epistel, gradualia, ou sequens, evangelium, credo, offertorium, prefatio, sanctus, on canonen maior und minor, dieweil die geschrift nit gemess seind," Sehling, *Die Evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, I, 698.

[126] Jenny holds that this pamphlet was incomplete, lacking the sermon, Jenny 1968, 37. In the pamphlet, as Jenny acknowledges, Zwingli referred to a sermon but did not stipulate its content.

FIGURE 26 Huldrych Zwingli, *Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals/Gedechtnus* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1525), Zentralbibliothek Zurich 18.1470, title page *Source*: e-rara.

The following day, Maundy Thursday, the day of Holy or Passion Week that Christians held Christ to have spoken the words of institution, Huldrych Zwingli held the first Supper in the Great Minster in Zurich.[127] Again, Wyss recorded:

> On Holy Thursday the 13th day of April in the year 1525 the table of God was set up for the first time and unleavened bread eaten together and drunk in thanksgiving and *widergedechtnus* of the suffering of Christ, that he redeemed us with his suffering and

[127] On the development of Zwingli's thinking on the Supper, see most recently Voigtländer 2013.

> death and with his blood washed away all our sin. On the same Thursday, the young people, and Good Friday, the middle-aged, and on Easter day, the oldest were thus informed [*bericht*] and broke the bread together.[128]

Zwingli held the Supper in a place already transformed. The preceding summer, the city council had legislated the removal of "images and idols in all places where they are worshipped."[129] It had allowed those who had donated images to take them home, itself a framing of those images as property. In the crafting of its laws, it articulated the severance of images from the Mass. The place of the Supper was not simply empty of altarpieces, eternal lamps, crucifixes, reliquaries, candlesticks, and thuribles. It had been whitewashed, which scholars tend to read as an absence, but which Zwingli held to be that which allowed the congregation to hear.[130] The Great Minster had become a place where words no longer had visualizations. It had become a place to hear the Bible.

The pamphlet materialized in many ways Zwingli's reconceptualization of worship. It was designed to be held by the participants in the Supper, who were, following the pamphlet, to speak and to act, themselves to be active in worship. As Markus Jenny wrote, for Zwingli, the Supper was not the work of priests in front of the congregation and for the congregation; the Supper was an action, the work of the community, which gathered under the Word of God.[131] Its second preface set forth the use: who was to participate, when, and how, directing Zurich's faithful what they were themselves to do in this new worship[132] It referred to a sermon, after which the participants were to share the bread and wine, but that sermon was not a precondition of participation – nor, unlike Luther, did Zwingli call for participants to be learned in the Word of God before receiving Communion. For Zwingli, the Supper existed in different relationships to both the Bible and the present moment.

Zwingli called for the faithful to be divided along two lines, first in terms of age then in terms of sex. The youngest "who are now faithful and come in the recognition of God and His Word," were to participate in the Supper on Maundy Thursday; those of middle age, on Good Friday; the oldest, on Easter – as Wyss recorded having taken place. The second preface called for the Supper to be held four times each year: Easter,

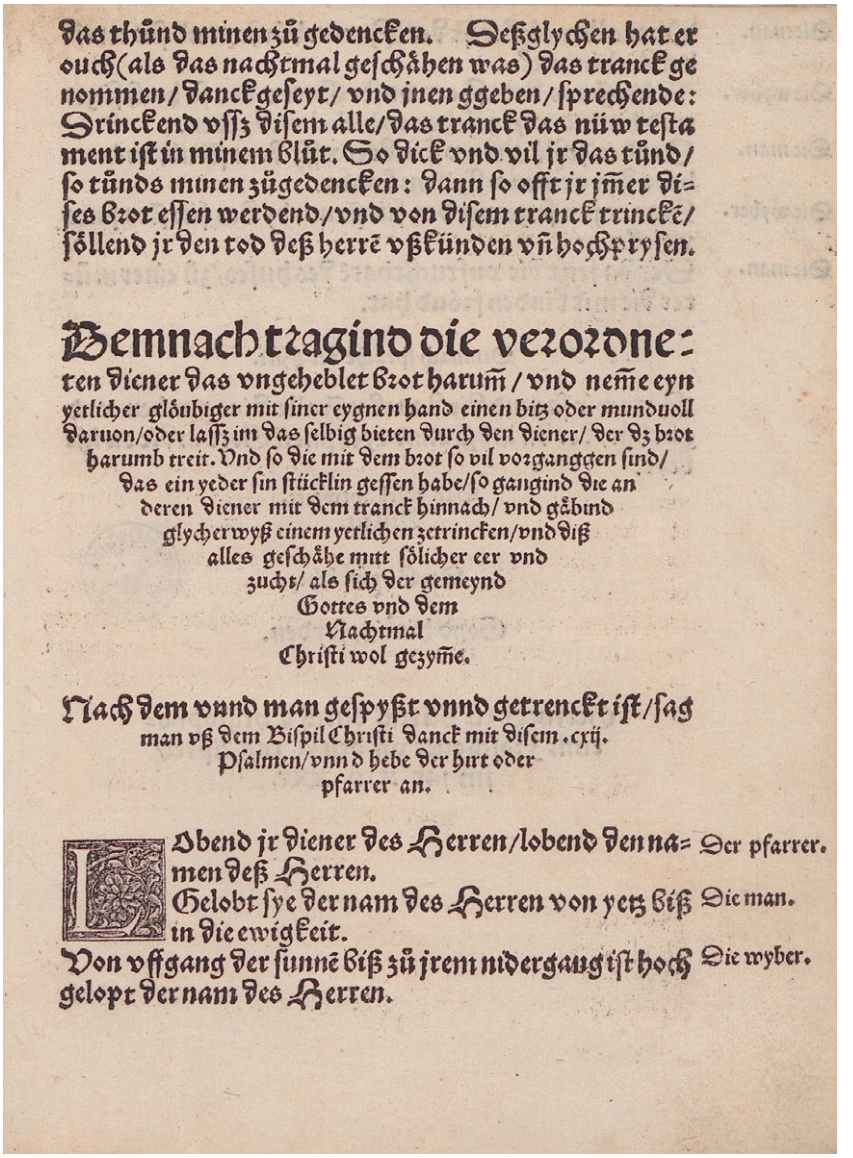
[128] "Uf den Hochen Donstag des 13 tags aprellen anno 1525 ward zum ersten der tisch Gottes ufgericht und das ungeheblet brot miteinandren gessen und getruncken in danksagung und widergedechtnus des lidens Christi, daß er un smit sinem liden und sterben erlöß und mit sinem bluot all unser sünd abgeweschen hat. Am selben donstag das jung volk, am Karfritag das mittelmäsig und am Ostertag die eltisten wurdend also bericht und das brot miteinanderen gebrochen," *Die Chronik des Bernhard Wyss*, 62. I have kept the word "widergedechtnus" in the text rather than offer any English word, in order to preserve Zwingli's distinctive conception of matter and cognition.

[129] Egli, *Aktensammlung*, no. 546. On iconoclasm in Zurich, see Garside 1966; Altendorf and Jezler 1984; Wandel 1995, ch. 2.

[130] On the whitewashing of the walls in the churches in Zurich and Geneva, and the various readings of those white walls, see George 2012.

[131] "Es ist nicht in erster Linie eine Einheit der liturgischen Struktur im einzelnen, sondern eine Einheit der theologischen Grundkonzeption, die das Abendmahl als *Action*, als Handlung der Gemeinde ansieht, die unter dem Worte versammelt ist, und nicht al seine Handlung des Priesters vor der Gemeinde and für die Gemeinde," Jenny 1968, 50.

[132] Huldreich Zwingli, "Aktion oder Brauch des Nachtmals," Z 4, 15–17.



das thünd minen zů gedencken. Deßglychen hat er ouch (als das nachtmal geschähen was) das tranck genommen/ danckgeseyt/ vnd jnen ggeben/ sprechende: Drinckend vssz disem alle/ das tranck das nüw testament ist in minem blůt. So dick vnd vil jr das tůnd/ so tůnds minen zůgedencken: dann so offt jr jmer dises brot essen werdend/ vnd von disem tranck trinckē/ söllend jr den tod deß herrē vßkünden vñ hochpryssen.

Demnach tragind die verordneten diener das vngeheblet brot harumm/ vnd neme eyn yetlicher glöubiger mit siner eygnen hand einen bitz oder mundvoll daruon/ oder lassz im das selbig bieten durch den diener/ der dz brot harumb treit. Vnd so die mit dem brot so vil vorgangen sind/ das ein yeder sin stücklin gessen habe/ so gangind die anderen diener mit dem tranck hinnach/ vnd gäbind glycherwyß einem yetlichen zetrincken/ vnd diß alles geschähe mit söllicher eer vnd zucht/ als sich der gemeynd Gottes vnd dem Nachtmal Christi wol gezymē.

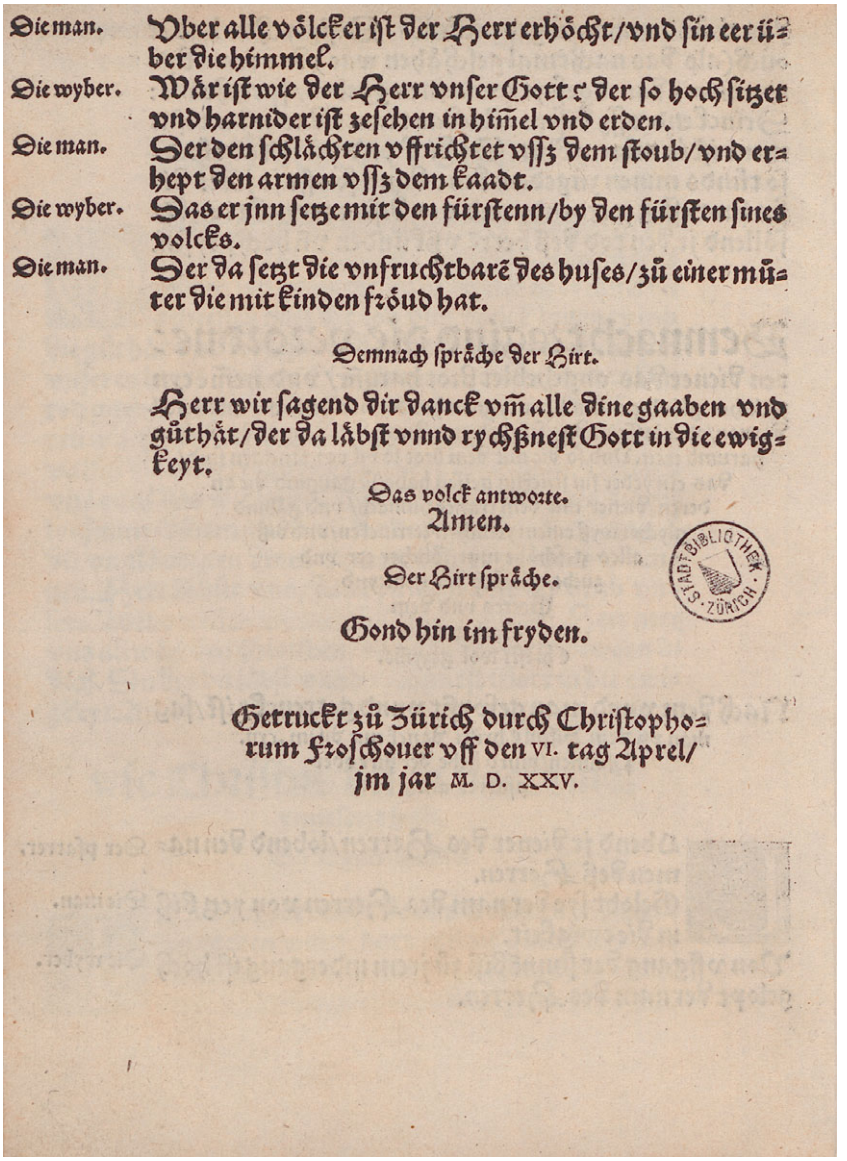
Nach dem vnd man gespyßt vnnd getrenckt ist/ sag man vß dem Bispil Christi danck mit disem .cxij. Psalmen/ vnnd hebe der hirt oder pfarrer an.

Lobend jr diener des Herren/ lobend den namen deß Herren. — Der pfarrer.
Gelobt sye der nam des Herren von yetz biß in die ewigkeit. — Die man.
Von vffgang der sunnē biß zů jrem nidergang ist hoch gelopt der nam des Herren. — Die wyber.

FIGURE 27A Huldrych Zwingli, *Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals/Gedechtnus* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1525), Zentralbibliothek Zurich 18.1470, biii *Source*: e-rara.

Pentecost, fall, and Christmas.[133] Each of these age groups was to be divided, male (*mansbild*) to the right side, female (*wybsbild*) to the left. In the text of the Supper, which follows the second preface, male and female participants were to alternate voicing a song of praise, the Credo, and Psalm 113 which closed the service [Figures 27a and

[133] The editors footnote "herbst," fall: "d.h. am Kirchweihtag von Zürich, 11. September, am Tage von Felix und Regula," Z 4, 17, note 5. Zwingli, however, called for "vier mal im jar bruchen," which argues simply for a fourth Supper during the time between Pentecost and Christmas.



Die man. Vber alle völcker iſt der Herr erhöcht/vnd ſin eer über die himmel.

Die wyber. Wär iſt wie der Herr vnſer Gott? der ſo hoch ſitzet vnd harnider iſt zeſehen in himel vnd erden.

Die man. Der den ſchlächten vffrichtet vſſz dem ſtoub/vnd erhept den armen vſſz dem kaadt.

Die wyber. Das er jnn ſetze mit den fürſtenn/by den fürſten ſines volcks.

Die man. Der da ſetzt die vnfruchtbarē des huſes/zů einer můter die mit kinden fröud hat.

Demnach ſpräche der Hirt.

Herr wir ſagend dir danck vm̃ alle dine gaaben vnd güthät/der da läbſt vnnd rychßneſt Gott in die ewigkeyt.

Das volck antwotte.
Amen.

Der Hirt ſpräche.

Gond hin im fryden.

Getruckt zů Zürich durch Chriſtophorum Froſchouer vff den VI. tag Aprel/ jm jar M. D. XXV.

FIGURE 27B Huldrych Zwingli, *Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals/Gedechtnus*, (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1525), Zentralbibliothek Zurich 18.1470, biii^{v} *Source*: e-rara.

27b].[134] In Zwingli's pamphlet, female voices, distinguished from male, were a part of the Supper; the city council silenced them, as well as their male counterparts, in mandating that the minister would be the sole voice of the Supper. The council, in this way, retained one defining element of a medieval Mass.

[134] Huldreich Zwingli, "Aktion oder Brauch des Nachtmals," Z 4, 19, 23–24. In the pamphlet, it is Psalm 112, which the editors correct to 113. Schweizer sees this as antiphonal singing, Schweizer 1963, 19.

The reconceptualization of worship was spatial as well as personal. The second preface stipulated where those not participating were to stand – in the aisles, balconies, and other places (*uff dem gewelb*, *borkilchenn unnd an anderen orten*) – and where participants were to stand: between the choir and the entrances (*in das gefletz*, *so zwüschend dem chor und dem durchgang ist*). In the floor plan of the medieval church, the nonparticipants were to circle the participants, who were to stand in the center of the church, between the choir in the east end and the two entrances on the south and north sides. The preface stipulated the location of the table, in that location where the participants were to gather – they were to surround the table, male on the right, female on the left. Nonparticipants might stand in that part of the church that had been reserved to clergy. The place of the Supper, however, was not the choir, not the easternmost end, but the center of the space of the building.

That first Supper was led by Zwingli, a man who had been a people's priest, who had been ordained sometime in 1506 and celebrated his first Mass on September 29 of that year, and had, presumably, vested for the celebration of his first Mass, then for Masses in the Great Minster, where he arrived in 1519.[135] Zurich vestments had all been given to the poor the preceding year, transformed in that gesture into mere clothing. When Zwingli led the Supper, he probably wore the black robe we see in his portraits. Neither apostle in white nor priest in vestments, the pastor was to "turn himself toward the people and with loud, understandable voice invite them to pray."[136]

The service opened with a collective prayer.[137] Then, "the servant or reader speaks with a loud voice" I Corinthians 11: 20–29, Paul's account of the Seder including his warning not to eat or drink unworthily.[138] The verb is speak (*spreche*), not read (*lese*). For J. Schweizer, "the apostle speaks."[139] There followed a song of praise, begun by the pastor, then spoken alternately by male and female voices. The pastor spoke John 6:47–63. Again, Schweizer: "the Lord speaks."[140] The pastor opened the Credo, which, in the pamphlet, the participants were then to voice, male and female alternating. He spoke of the Supper as a "widergedächtnus," praise, and thanksgiving, then all knelt and spoke the Lord's Prayer aloud. The pastor led another prayer and then said for a second time, I. Cor. 11:23–26. The pamphlet then directed:

> Thereafter the designated servant carries the unleavened bread around, each believer takes with his own hand a bite or mouthful from it, or he may ask the servant who is carrying the bread around to do so. And when those who are carrying the bread have gone so far, that each one has eaten his little piece, so the other servant goes after him with the drink, and in

[135] On Zwingli's ordination and first Mass, Gordon 2021, 27–29. On his office as Leutpriester, see also Jenny 1968, 33–34. On the office of Leutpriester, see Meyer 1986, 545–546; on Zwingli's clerical career, see Meyer 1986, 510–511.

[136] "Der wechter oder pfarrer keere sich gegen dem volck, unnd mit luter, verstentlicher stimm bätte er diß nachvolgend gebätt," Huldreich Zwingli, "Aktion oder Brauch des Nachtmals," Z 4, 17.

[137] On Zwingli's development of his liturgy, see Voigtländer 2013; on the final "Elementen," see 69.

[138] "Der diener oder leser spreche mit luter stimm also," Huldreich Zwingli, "Aktion oder Brauch des Nachtmals," Z 4, 17.

[139] "Der Apostel redet," Schweizer 1963, 95.

[140] "Der Herr redet," Schweizer 1963, 98.

like manner gives it to each one to drink. And all this is to occur with such honor and discipline as is proper to the Christian community and Christ's Supper.

After everyone has eaten and drunk, following the example of Christ, one gives thanks with Psalm 112.[141]

The pamphlet stipulated, "the little plate and cup are wooden, so that splendor does not return."[142] Seemingly a call for simplicity, Zwingli was seeking, I think, to prevent an ancient and familiar understanding of communal worship, the Mass, from being evoked by the vessels of the Supper. More telling, the pamphlet stipulated unleavened bread twice, in the second preface and in the directions for the practice of the Supper.[143] The use of wood was directly connected to the use of unleavened bread. Both contributed to a way of understanding the Supper that Zwingli came to argue in his debate with Luther.[144] Luther's sense of "empty symbolism" obscured Zwingli's conception. Given his own sense of matter, Luther missed both the importance and the significance of those wooden vessels and, even more, that unleavened bread.

Another clue to Zwingli's conception of the Supper is there in the woodcut on the title page (Figure 26), which bears so many similarities to Petri's choice for *A Sermon* (Figure 21). Both present Christ seated at a round table in a small space surrounded by his disciples, who circle the table. In Petri's image the window is placed above Christ, distinct from him; in the Zurich woodcut, Christ's head is framed by white, formed architecturally. In both, the disciples are bearded. In both, they wear long, plain robes. In both, Judas, designated by the pouch in his hand, is close to the front edge of the image; in the Petri image, he is seated; in the Zurich image, he appears to be rising. In both, John sleeps and Christ's hand rests on him. But there are also critical differences, pointing toward Zwingli's rethinking of the very nature of worship. The Petri image presents one large cup – simpler than a chalice, certainly, but large – and a single round loaf, close to the front edge of the table, toward which Judas' hand gestures. The Zurich woodcut presents multiple cups; multiple small, perhaps "bite"- or "mouthful"-sized loaves, one of which Christ holds in his hand and extends across the table toward Judas. In the center of the Petri woodcut is an empty dish. In the center of the Zurich woodcut is a similar dish, oval with a simple lip, containing a paschal lamb.[145]

[141] "Demnach tragind die verordneten diener das ungeheblet brot harumb, und nemme eyn yetlicher glöubiger mit siner eygnen hand einen bitz oder mundvoll darvon, oder lasß im dasselbig bieten durch den diener, der das brot harumb treit. Und so die mit dem brot so vil vorggangen sind, das ein yeder sin stücklin gessen habe, so gangind die anderen diener mit dem tranck hinnach, und gäbind glycherwyß einem yetlichen ze trincken. Und diß alles geschähe mitt sölicher eer und zucht, also sich der gemeynd gottes und dem nachtmal Christi wol gezymme. Nachdem unnd man gespyßt unnd getrenckt ist, sag man uß dem bispil Christi danck mit disem 112. psalmen," Huldreich Zwingli, "Aktion oder Brauch des Nachtmals," Z 4, 23.

[142] "Die schüsßlen unnd bächer sind höltzin, damit der bracht nit wider kömme," Huldreich Zwingli, "Aktion oder Brauch des Nachtmals," Z 4, 17. On the vessels as a rejection of luxury, see Schweizer 1963, 74–75.

[143] Huldreich Zwingli, "Aktion oder Brauch des Nachtmals," Z 4, 16, 23.

[144] See, especially, Gordon 2021, ch. 7.

[145] On the meaning of the Seder for Zwingli's Eucharist, see Voigtländer 2013; Gordon 2021, 137, 170–172.

Here is yet another conception of the relationship among time, worship, and matter, and with it another conception of "presence."[146] That paschal lamb links the Supper to the Seder explicitly, even as Christ looks at Judas, foreshadowing the coming arrest and crucifixion.[147] The lamb, the bread, and the wine are all there on the table, simultaneously, matter that at once evokes the moment in which their use acquired meaning and at the same time serves as a material link to that moment, in the eating of the mouthful of bread, in the drinking of the wine. The paschal lamb in the image is the key to it, there at the center, at once the evocation of Passover as it was commemorated in each Seder and that which connects the Seder to the circle of disciples and Christ in the present moment. So, too, the woodcut suggests, do bread and wine recall even as they are eaten and become a part of the recipient and a physical link to the moment depicted in the woodcut. Looked at from another angle, what divided Luther and Zwingli was the relationship among Old Testament, New Testament, and the living faithful.

In the Council of Trent's last session, on December 4, 1563, it took up the missal, one of just three books – the catechism, the breviary, and the missal – and the only book for the Mass it took up.[148] In 1570, Pope Pius V published the *Missale Romanum Ex Decreto Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum*.[149] The Tridentine Missal marks a watershed. With it, the Council and the pope sought to replace variable local practice with a single normative rite to be used in every church but the seven whose liturgies were more than 200 years old: Milan, Lyon, Toledo, Braga, Lièges, Trier, and Cologne.[150] This was new. As we shall see in Chapter 6, the Council took up images in the same session, in a separate decree, two dramatic measures of just how deeply Evangelical re conceptualizations sundered the made world and engendered a sense of worship as verbal, codified in a codex.

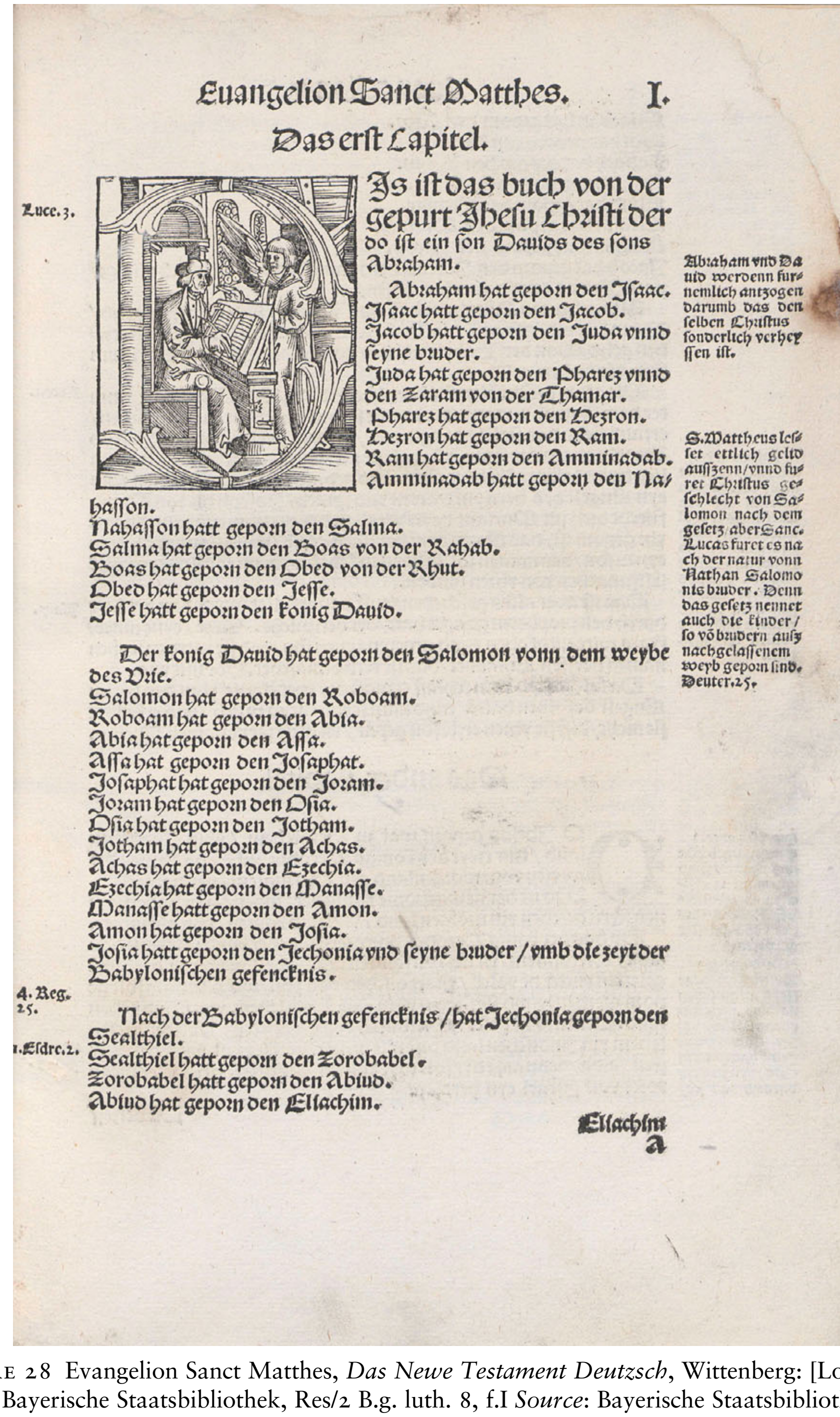
[146] "The real presence is to be understood from the Word," Wisloff 1964, 29. On Zwingli's eucharistic theology, see Bosshard 1978; Stephens 1986, ch. 11; Gordon 2021, chs. 5 and 7.

[147] "im Pessach ist sein Abendmahlsverständnis vorgebildet und angelegt," Voigtländer 2013, 91.

[148] "Sacrosancta synodus in secunda sessione sub sanctissimo domino nostro Pio IV celebrata delectis quibusdam patribus commisit, ut de variis censuris ac libris, vel suspectis vel perniciosis, quid facto opus esset, considerarent atque ad ipsam sanctam synodum referent; audiens nunc, huic opera ab eis extremam manum impositam esse, nec tamen ob librorum varietatem et multitudinem distincte et commode possit a sancta synodo diiudicari: praecipit, ut, quidquid ab illis praestitum est, sanctissimo Romano pontifici exhibeatur, ut eius iudicio atque auctoritate terminetur et evulgetur. Idemque de catechismo a patribus, quibus illud mandatum fuerat, et de missali et breviario fieri mandat" (The holy council, in the second session celebrated under our most holy lord Pius IV, entrusted to certain chosen fathers to consider what needed to be done about various censures and books that were either suspect or dangerous, and report back to it. Hearing from them now that they have exerted all their efforts in this matter, but that clear judgment cannot reasonably be passed by the council because of the number and variety of the books, the council orders that all they have prepared should be presented to the pope and so by his wisdom and authority be completed and published. It gives similar orders in the matter of the catechism prepared by those commissioned, and of the missal and the breviary), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, II, 797. On the Tridentine Missal, see Jungmann 2003, I, 168–186.

[149] *Missale Romanum // Ex Decreto Sacrosancti Concilij // Tridentini restitutum. // Pij v. Pont. Max. // iussu editum*. Rome: Apud Heredes Bartholomei Faletti, 1570. On the editions of 1570, see Sodi and Triacca's introduction to the modern edition, *Missale Romanum Editio Princeps (1570)*, esp. xxi–xxxiv.

[150] Maron 1995, 115. See also, Wandel 2006, 231.


Euangelion Sanct Matthes. I.

Das erst Capitel.

Luce. 3.

Js ist das buch von der gepurt Jhesu Christi der do ist ein son Dauids des sons Abraham.

Abraham hat geporn den Jsaac.
Jsaac hatt geporn den Jacob.
Jacob hatt geporn den Juda vnnd seyne bruder.
Juda hat geporn den Pharez vnnd den Zaram von der Thamar.
Pharez hat geporn den Hezron.
Hezron hat geporn den Ram.
Ram hat geporn den Amminadab.
Amminadab hatt geporn den Nahasson.
Nahasson hatt geporn den Salma.
Salma hat geporn den Boas von der Rahab.
Boas hat geporn den Obed von der Rhut.
Obed hat geporn den Jesse.
Jesse hatt geporn den konig Dauid.

Der konig Dauid hat geporn den Salomon vonn dem weybe des Urie.
Salomon hat geporn den Roboam.
Roboam hat geporn den Abia.
Abia hat geporn den Assa.
Assa hat geporn den Josaphat.
Josaphat hat geporn den Joram.
Joram hat geporn den Osia.
Osia hat geporn den Jotham.
Jotham hat geporn den Achas.
Achas hat geporn den Ezechia.
Ezechia hat geporn den Manasse.
Manasse hatt geporn den Amon.
Amon hat geporn den Josia.
Josia hatt geporn den Jechonia vnd seyne bruder / vmb die zeyt der Babylonischen gefencknis.

4. Reg. 25.

Nach der Babylonischen gefencknis / hat Jechonia geporn den Sealthiel.
1. Esdre. 2. Sealthiel hatt geporn den Zorobabel.
Zorobabel hatt geporn den Abiud.
Abiud hat geporn den Eliachim.

Eliachim
a

Abraham vnd Dauid werdenn furnemlich antzogen darumb das den selben Christus sonderlich verheyssen ist.

S. Mattheus leset etlich gelid aussenn / vnnd furet Christus geschlecht von Salomon nach dem gesetz / aber Sanc. Lucas furet es nach der natur vonn Nathan Salomonis bruder. Denn das gesetz nennet auch die kinder / so võ brudern auss nachgelassenem weyb geporn sind. Deuter. 25.

FIGURE 28 Evangelion Sanct Matthes, *Das Newe Testament Deutzsch*, Wittenberg: [Lotter], 1522, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 B.g. luth. 8, f.I *Source*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

6

Adiaphora, Idol, Idolatry

In September 1522, Martin Luther published his German translation of the New Testament.[1] Each of the four Gospels opened with a woodcut initial depicting its apostle seated with a codex.[2] Each apostle was identified by his symbol; otherwise, Matthew, Mark (lion), and Luke (ox) might have been taken for humanists in their studies, small cramped spaces with narrow windows. Lucas Cranach depicted Matthew (Figure 28), Mark, and Luke each holding a stylus, seated at a desk writing in the codex; Matthew and Mark are writing at the bottom of the right-hand page of a codex. John (Figure 29) was significantly different: seated not at a desk, not in a study, but outdoors in a landscape framed by a medieval town and mountains. He, too, held a stylus, but on a page already lined past his hand, a specific place in what was so visibly a complete text.[3] Alone among the four, John was depicted in apostolic robes.

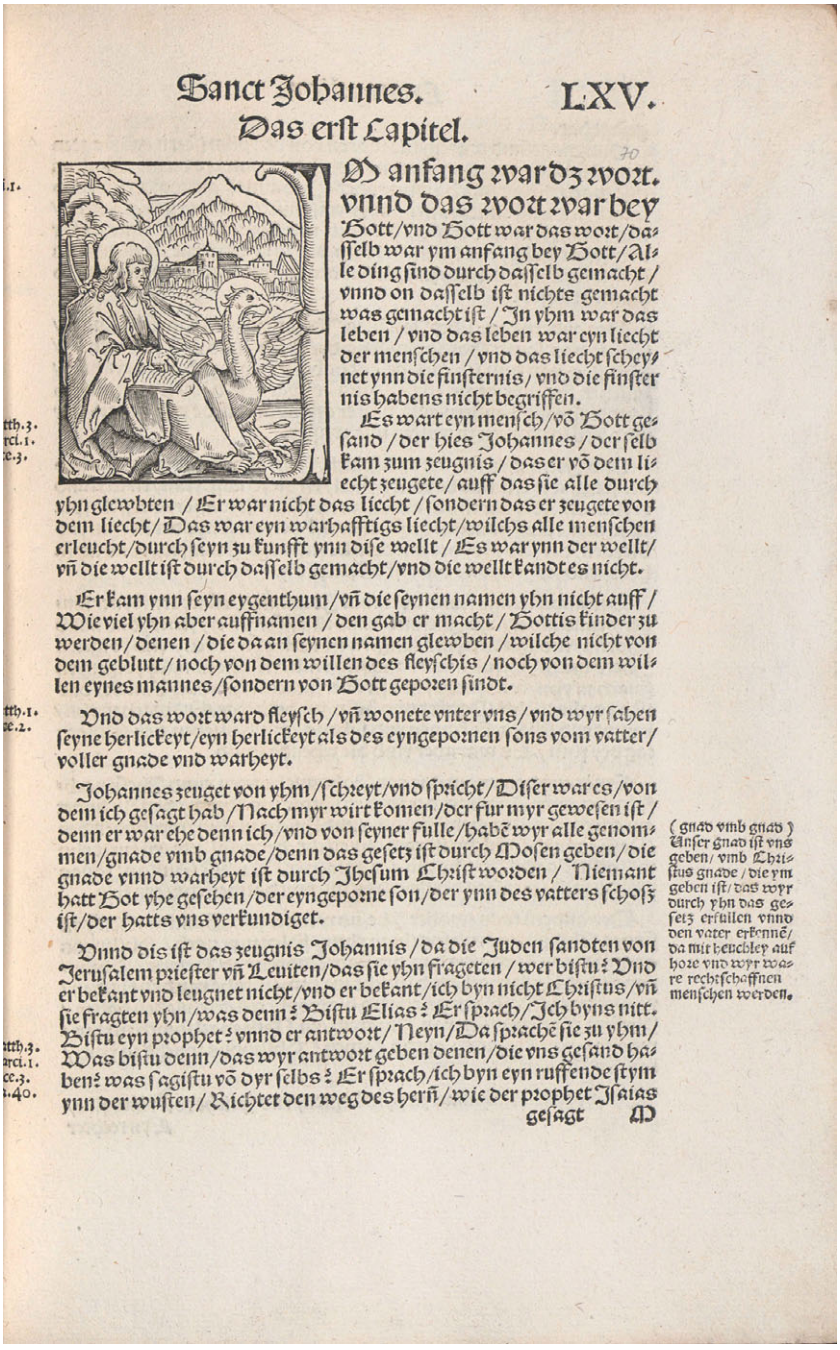
When Luther published the whole Bible in 1534, Cranach preserved the codices in the woodcuts, larger in relation to the page as well as more elaborate in their detail.[4] He made a number of significant changes. Matthew was no longer seated in a small cramped space but in a walled garden. He still held a stylus in his hand, but his desk had become a large table on which were to be found a number of instruments of the writer. All four apostles were depicted in the clothing of a prosperous bourgeois, including stockings and house slippers. The symbol of the Holy Spirit, the dove, was placed over

[1] For the pages I discuss here, I have relied on the copy in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV001882447, accessed August 18, 2024. On Luther's translations, see most recently Cameron 2016a, esp. 219–221.

[2] *Das newe Testament Deutzsch* (Wittenberg: [Melchior Lotter] [1522]), ff. I, XXV, XL, and LXV. On the woodcuts in Luther Bibles, see Strachan 1957, ch. 6. "Several of the pre-Lutheran printed German Bibles – the Cologne Bibles of 1478/79, as well as the Lübeck and Halberstadt Low German editions, and among the High German ones notably those by Koberger, Grüninger, Schönsperger, and Johann and Silvan Otmar – contained illustrations, in the Old rather than the New Testament," Flood 2001, 54. Price also discusses Cranach's woodcuts for Luther's Bibles and the Holbein Bible woodcuts, Price 2021, esp. chs. 5 and 6.

[3] In the Zurich Bible, in the woodcut at the beginning of the Gospel of John, Hans Holbein depicted the apostle, in apostolic robes, holding a stylus, the page below the point where it touches the paper is empty, *Die gantze Bibel der ursprünglichen ebraischen und griechischen Waarheyt nach auffs aller treüwlichest verteütschet* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1531), CCXXXVI.

[4] *Das Newe Testament* (Wittenberg, 1534), I, XXII^{v}, XXXVI, LIX. For a brief introduction to the 1534 Bible, see Füssel 2012.



Sanct Johannes. LXV.
Das erst Capitel.

Jm anfang war dz wort. vnnd das wort war bey Gott/vnd Gott war das wort/dasselb war ym anfang bey Gott/Alle ding sind durch dasselb gemacht/vnnd on dasselb ist nichts gemacht was gemacht ist/In yhm war das leben/vnd das leben war eyn liecht der menschen/vnd das liecht scheynet ynn die finsternis/vnd die finsternis habens nicht begriffen.

Es wart eyn mensch/vō Gott gesand/der hies Johannes/der selb kam zum zeugnis/das er vō dem liecht zeugete/auff das sie alle durch yhn glewbten/Er war nicht das liecht/sondern das er zeugete von dem liecht/Das war eyn warhafftigs liecht/welchs alle menschen erleucht/durch seyn zu kunfft ynn dise wellt/Es war ynn der wellt/vñ die wellt ist durch dasselb gemacht/vnd die wellt kandt es nicht.

Er kam ynn seyn eygenthum/vñ die seynen namen yhn nicht auff/Wie viel yhn aber auffnamen/den gab er macht/Gottis kinder zu werden/denen/die da an seynen namen glewben/welche nicht von dem geblutt/noch von dem willen des fleyschis/noch von dem willen eynes mannes/sondern von Gott geporen sind.

Vnd das wort ward fleysch/vñ wonete vnter vns/vnd wyr sahen seyne herlickeyt/eyn herlickeyt als des eyngeporne sons vom vatter/voller gnade vnd warheyt.

Johannes zeuget von yhm/schreyt/vnd spricht/Diser war es/von dem ich gesagt hab/Nach myr wirt komen/der fur myr gewesen ist/denn er war ehe denn ich/vnd von seyner fulle/habē wyr alle genommen/gnade vmb gnade/denn das gesetz ist durch Mosen geben/die gnade vnnd warheyt ist durch Jhesum Christ worden/Niemant hatt Got yhe gesehen/der eyngeporne son/der ynn des vatters schos ist/der hatts vns verkundiget.

Vnnd dis ist das zeugnis Johannis/da die Juden sandten von Jerusalem priester vñ Leviten/das sie yhn frageten/wer bistu? Vnd er bekant vnd leugnet nicht/vnd er bekant/ich byn nicht Christus/vñ sie fragten yhn/was denn? Bistu Elias? Er sprach/Ich byns nitt. Bistu eyn prophet? vnnd er antwort/Neyn/Da sprachē sie zu yhm/Was bistu denn/das wyr antwort geben denen/die vns gesand haben? was sagistu vō dyr selbs? Er sprach/ich byn eyn ruffende stym ynn der wusten/Richtet den weg des herñ/wie der prophet Jsaias gesagt

(gnad vmb gnad) Unser gnad ist vns geben/vmb Christus gnade/die ym geben ist/das wyr durch yhn das gesetz erfullen vnnd den vater erkennē/da mit beruhley auf hoze vnd wyr ware rechtschaffnen menschen werden.

FIGURE 29 Sanct Johannes, *Das Newe Testament Deutzsch*, Wittenberg: [Lotter], 1522, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 B.g. luth. 8, f. LXV *Source*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

the heads of Matthew and Mark; Luke contemplated a crucifixion outside his window; John looked at Christ enveloped in clouds and radiance. In 1534 as in 1522, all four were in the process of writing a text that was already written. In 1522, those woodcuts were the only images in the Gospels; in 1534, Cranach had added small decorative

initials. In neither were there any images of Christ beyond that one small crucifix outside the window of Luke's study. God's Word, divine revelation, was written – in ink, on a page, and in a codex.

Neither the image of an apostle seated at a desk nor that of an apostle with a stylus in hand distinguished Luther's German New Testament. The image of the apostle or the Church Father in his study writing was far older. It was the singularity of those images: the only activity depicted in the September Testament Gospels was writing. There were no images of Christ's childhood, preaching, healing, Passion, death – beyond that one crucifix – or resurrection in the texts of the Gospels or Epistles.

The pages of the September Testament also visualized that sense of the self-containment of Scripture that Gerald Bruns noted in the psalter Luther had printed for his first lessons.[5] In the left margin were references to other places within a codex Bible where the words resonated with those on the present page. In Figure 30, for example, Luther noted the other narratives of the Supper. Equally striking is the page itself, broken into discrete paragraphs separated by blank lines. No one word or sentence was differentiated; all, reflecting Luther's sense of testament, were rendered in the same type and size, equally legible. The page visualized a sense of "text" as something apart from the human voice, let alone human gesture or act.

The September Testament materialized a particular sense of "Scripture."[6] This codex bore no visible relation to the liturgy of the medieval Church. It was not marked for voicing in a Mass but as an integral text with internal connections for the devout reader to follow. The Zurich translation of the Bible that Christoph Froschauer published in 1531 presented a similar sense of an autonomous text, a site of study and reading unmarked by the temporal cadences of the Christian day, week, season, or year.[7] The sense of divine revelation as verbal, written, and located in a codex was widely shared, as evidenced by the rapid proliferation of copies of the September Testament in other centers of print, including Adam Petri's press in Basel.[8]

That sense of revelation, in turn, led Evangelicals to reconceive the relationship between worship and matter, the subject of this chapter. The September Testament helps us to reorient ourselves in relation to two long-standing readings of Evangelical words and acts: first, as anti-materialist;[9] and second, as hostile to images. Its own insistent materiality reminds us that Evangelical critiques, even those articulated in terms of "matter," did not reject matter per se. Its images emphasize the Word's specific materiality as well as its textuality.[10] Divine communication was located in an ancient

[5] "From the point of view of the History of the Book, too, Luther's New Testament is a milestone. It is the first Bible printed in a single column of text instead of the traditional two columns," Flood 2001, 53–54.

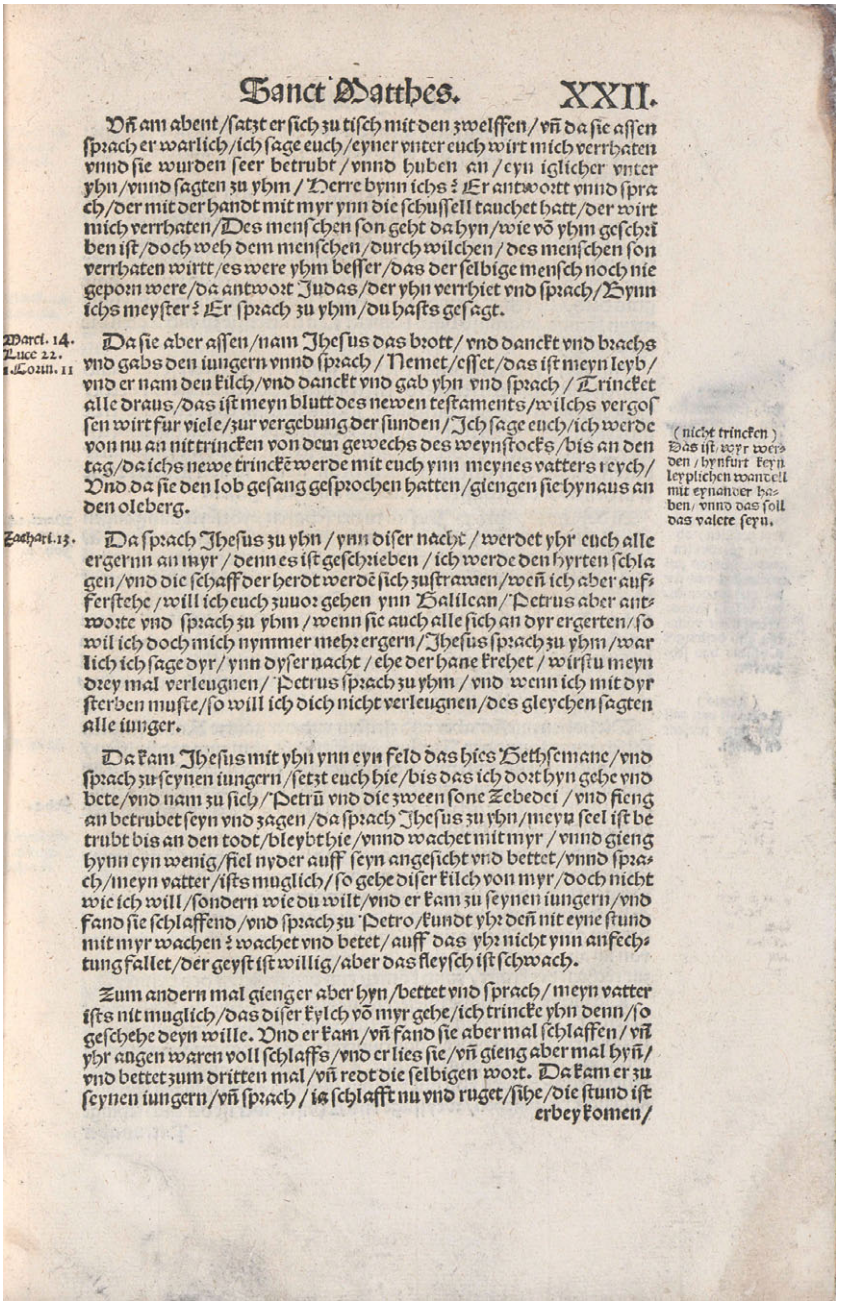
[6] For examples of earlier Bible pages, see Füssel 2012.

[7] Although the Zurich Bible, like Erasmus's Greek New Testament, preserved the traditional two columns of text.

[8] Flood 2001.

[9] The most famous and influential of this line of argument was Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. See also Eire 1989.

[10] "In Protestant culture words acquired the status of things by their aggressive material inscription," Koerner 2004, 282.



Sanct Matthes. XXII.

Vñ am abent/satzt er sich zu tisch mit den zwelffen/ vñ da sie assen sprach er warlich/ich sage euch/eyner vnter euch wirt mich verrhaten vnnd sie wurden seer betrubt/vnnd huben an/eyn iglicher vnter yhn/vnnd sagten zu yhm/Herre bynn ichs? Er antwortt vnnd sprach/der mit der handt mit myr ynn die schussell tauchet hatt/der wirt mich verrhaten/Des menschen son geht da hyn/wie vō yhm geschri ben ist/doch weh dem menschen/durch wilchen/des menschen son verrhaten wirtt/es were yhm besser/das der selbige mensch noch nie gepom were/da antwort Judas/der yhn verrhiet vnd sprach/Bynn ichs meyster? Er sprach zu yhm/du hasts gesagt.

Marci. 14. Luce 22. 1.Corin. 11 Da sie aber assen/nam Jhesus das brott/vnd danckt vnd brachs vnd gabs den iungern vnnd sprach/Nemet/esset/das ist meyn leyb/ vnd er nam den kilch/vnd danckt vnd gab yhn vnd sprach/Trincket alle draus/das ist meyn blutt des newen testaments/wilchs vergos sen wirt fur viele/zur vergebung der sunden/Ich sage euch/ich werde von nu an nit trincken von dem gewechs des weynstocks/bis an den tag/da ichs newe trinckē werde mit euch ynn meynes vatters reych/ Vnd da sie den lob gesang gesprochen hatten/giengen sie hynaus an den oleberg.

(nicht trincken) Das ist/myr werden/hynfurt keyn leyplichen wandell mit eynander haben/vnnd das soll das valete seyn.

Zacharī. 13. Da sprach Jhesus zu yhn/ynn diser nacht/werdet yhr euch alle ergernn an myr/denn es ist geschrieben/ich werde den hyrten schla gen/vnd die schaff der herdt werdē sich zustrawen/weñ ich aber auf erstehe/will ich euch zuuor gehen ynn Galilean/Petrus aber ant worte vnd sprach zu yhm/wenn sie auch alle sich an dyr ergerten/so wil ich doch mich nymmer mehr ergern/Jhesus sprach zu yhm/war lich ich sage dyr/ynn dyser nacht/ehe der hane krehet/wirstu meyn drey mal verleugnen/Petrus sprach zu yhm/vnd wenn ich mit dyr sterben muste/so will ich dich nicht verleugnen/des gleychen sagten alle iunger.

Da kam Jhesus mit yhn ynn eyn feld das hies Bethsemane/vnd sprach zu seynen iungern/setzt euch hie/bis das ich dort hyn gehe vnd bete/vnd nam zu sich/Petrū vnd die zween sone Zebedei/vnd fieng an betrubet seyn vnd zagen/da sprach Jhesus zu yhn/meyn seel ist be trubt bis an den todt/bleybt hie/vnnd wachet mit myr/vnnd gieng hynn eyn wenig/fiel nyder auff seyn angesicht vnd bettet/vnnd spra ch/meyn vatter/ists muglich/so gehe diser kilch von myr/doch nicht wie ich will/sondern wie du wilt/vnd er kam zu seynen iungern/vnd fand sie schlaffend/vnd sprach zu Petro/kundt yhr deñ nit eyne stund mit myr wachen? wachet vnd betet/auff das yhr nicht ynn anfech tung fallet/der geyst ist willig/aber das fleysch ist schwach.

Zum andern mal gienger aber hyn/bettet vnd sprach/meyn vatter ists nit muglich/das diser kylch vō myr gehe/ich trincke yhn denn/so geschehe deyn wille. Vnd er kam/vñ fand sie aber mal schlaffen/vñ yhr angen waren voll schlaffs/vnd er lies sie/vñ gieng aber mal hyñ/ vnd bettet zum dritten mal/vñ redt die selbigen wort. Da kam er zu seynen iungern/vñ sprach/ia schlafft nu vnd ruget/sihe/die stund ist erbey komen/

FIGURE 30 Matthes 26, *Das Newe Testament Deutzsch*, Wittenberg: [Lotter], 1522, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res/2 B.g. luth. 8, f. XXII *Source*: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

form, constituted of books and chapters, all in ink on pages bound together. Even those such as Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, who came to be labeled "Spiritualist," did not reject codex Bibles. For Karlstadt, as for Luther, Huldrych Zwingli, John Calvin, and dozens of other preachers and pamphleteers, the Word of God had a material form.

And within it, God designated specific matter – water, bread, and wine – as central to communal worship.

The September Testament's woodcuts also help us to set aside the reading of Evangelical words and acts in terms of "the image question."[11] At center in that reading are two intertwined claims. First, Evangelicals were hostile – or at best indifferent in the case of Luther – to images construed exclusively as representational or figurative paintings and sculpture.[12] As others have noted, the woodcuts in Luther's and Zwingli's Bibles confound any notion that either was an "iconophobe."[13] This construct also misses the sheer scope of the Evangelical rethinking of the place of worship. Second is the trajectory that "image" becomes "art."[14] The September Testament also challenges any simple equation of "image" with "art." Its woodcuts visualize the writing of revelation through graphic media and its pages visualize "the Word of God" spatially and typographically. They remind us just how multivalent the word "image" (*Bild*, *Bildniss*, *imago*, image) had become by the sixteenth century. In Christopher Nygren's evocation:

> The creation narrative in Genesis states that humankind was created in God's image, and to underline the importance of this point the phrase is repeated twice using slightly different linguistic inflections: "And God created man to his own image: to the image of God he created him." For theologians, the status of images takes on even more weight in the New Testament, where Paul described Christ as the image of the invisible God. However, within Pauline theology, the image was not simply a theological concept implicating Christ's union with God but also a form of spiritual praxis. In the pursuit of holiness, the faithful seek to conform themselves to the image of Christ. This speaks to a level of resemblance that is not physical but spiritual; Christians do not try physically to look like Christ but to imitate his holiness. As Paul notes in 2 Cor 3:18, "Beholding the glory of the lord with open face, [we] are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the spirit of the lord."[15]

In the sixteenth century, "image" encompassed words and acts, as well as paintings, sculpture, graphic arts, relics, and textiles. So, too, the word named mental phenomena as well as physical.[16] By the time Evangelicals were writing, "image" had become one of the densest words in Christian theology. It had become a node of ontological interdependencies – of Creation, Incarnation, matter, and human beings. When we turn to Evangelical words, we need to keep in mind, they were not talking about "art." They were talking about "images." To read that word – image, *Bild*, *Bildnis*, *imago* – as referring to "art" is to miss their sundering of *materia* from Incarnation and human

[11] Hubert Jedin provided an overview of sixteenth-century responses in terms of "the image question," Jedin 1966. Modern scholars who took up "the image question" include Campenhausen 1957; Phillips 1973; Stirm 1977; Christensen 1979; Michalski 1993; Blickle 2002; Koerner 2004; Litz 2007. An important exception is Garside 1966.

[12] For an excellent challenge to this line of reading Luther, see Bergmann 1981.

[13] See, for example, Christ-von Wedel 2013.

[14] See foremost, Belting 1990.

[15] Nygren 2017a, 272–273.

[16] "Christian images, clearly, offered more than mere transcription of scriptural sources or doctrines. This is precisely why they were so difficult to describe. Images by nature function both as conduits for an otherwise unavailable meaning (unavailable because forgotten or illegible) and as initiators of an immediate significance, through the physical presence and their formal qualities," Wood 1988, 43.

fashioning from Creation. It is to miss just how stunning it was, when, in 1563, the Council of Trent promulgated a "decree" on images, seeking to put in words what "images" were and did – implicitly accepting they were no longer a medium of divine *redundantia*.[17]

Although this chapter attends more to words and the next to acts, I do not wish to argue a simple causality, of pamphlets causing those acts. For some contemporaries, the texts we consider in this chapter did as much violence as any ax or hammer. And, as their testimonies suggest, individual Evangelicals may have taken up words to give to their acts a framework that might save their lives.[18] Nor do I wish to argue that these texts are the cause of changing conceptualizations of matter. They may reflect – without directly addressing it – changing conceptions of matter that were in circulation. Luther may have held a conception of *materia* close to Gregor Reisch's but Karlstadt did not.

Evangelicals turned to the codex Bible as the ultimate authority for determining what belonged to worship and what did not. The point of departure for each of the critiques was Scripture as codex. Just how and what that meant for the made world divided them. As we shall see, for Karlstadt, Ludwig Hätzer, and Zwingli, Old Testament prohibitions abided and were to be applied to a world that had grown long after those prohibitions had been recorded.[19] They applied Old Testament prohibition of images to living Christianity. Luther did not; his conceptualization of the relationship between the two Testaments differed from Karlstadt's, Hätzer's, and Zwingli's.[20] And all the Evangelicals considered in this chapter explicitly rejected that anything human hands had made or human minds had "invented" could in any way illumine the Word of God. Creation and human fashioning were, for them, severed. Worship was defined and directed by and oriented toward the codex Bible.

As this chapter charts, there was not one common critique of the made world in the sixteenth century but multiple conceptualizations – of the relationship of worship to Creation, of the relationship of Scripture to Creation, and of matter/*materia* itself. In the following, I have organized Evangelical words and acts under three broad conceptions: adiaphora, idols, and idolatry. As a number of scholars have recognized, Luther did not call for the removal or destruction of altars, altarcloths, altarpieces, images, lamps, vestments, or liturgical books – the dense made world of a late medieval Mass.[21] For Luther, they were all "adiaphora." Other Evangelicals, most famously Karlstadt, Zwingli, and Calvin, did call for their removal, characterizing some of that made world as "idols." Each word points toward the severing of the made world from divine communication. For Zwingli and for Calvin, albeit in different ways, idols invited

[17] On putting "image" into words, see Fabre 2013. On the decree more generally, see Jedin 1966, 473–498; O'Malley 2013; Fabre 2013; Boer 2022. For recent discussions of the historiography on the effect of the Council's decree on images, see Locker 2019, 5–11; Hall 2013.

[18] I make this argument more fully in Wandel 1995, esp. ch. 2.

[19] Simpson provides a list of "some especially forceful and influential loci," Simpson 2011, 161–162.

[20] Preus 1969; Bornkamm 1969.

[21] "Auch wo Bilder gleichermaßen al Adiaphora angesehen wurden, konnte dies zu sehr unterschiedlichen Problemlösungen führen – von einem weitgehenden Erhalt in Brandenburg bis zu einer jedenfalls auf normativer Ebene auf Bilderbeseitigung hinzielenden Politik in Württemberg," Leppin 2015, 155. On "survivals" in Lutheran lands, see, foremost, Fritz 1997a. On Lutheran devotional art, see Heal 2017.

"idolatry." These terms suggest different conceptualizations of the relationship between human-formed matter and human cognition.

ADIAPHORA

> Images, bells, eucharistic vestments, church ornaments, altar lights, and the like I regard as things indifferent. Anyone who wishes may omit them. Images or pictures taken from Scriptures and from good histories, however, I consider very useful yet indifferent and optional. I have no sympathy with the iconoclasts.
>
> Martin Luther, *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper*, 1528[22]

Adiaphora was an ancient term, long used in canon law to designate things and ceremonies neither prohibited nor stipulated.[23] Luther used the term specifically in reference to that made world Durand had explicated in such detail.[24] We shall turn to the effect of that use on that made world, but we begin with its foundation for Luther, in his particular conceptualization of the exclusivity of Scripture, here in his 1520 response to Leo X's formal excommunication of him:

> We must recognize that [Scripture] is in itself the most certain, most easily understood, most plain, is its own interpreter, approving, judging, and illuminating all statements of all men … Therefore nothing but the divine words are to be the first principles of all Christians; all human words are conclusions drawn from them and must be brought back to them and approved by them.[25]

For Luther, Scripture was not simply preeminent. It was self-contained.[26] And it taught its reader how to understand it – there was, for Luther, no external hermeneutic, whether Ohly's sense of *res* or the writing of a Church Father.[27] In the words of Gerald L. Bruns,

> when Luther speaks of the Spirit inscribing itself in the heart of one who reads, … he is getting at … this sort of condition of openness, intimacy, and vulnerability of the subject to the text. The text in this event is irreducible to its grammatical character; it is no longer intelligible purely in terms of the letter inscribed on the page. It is now a pneumatic text that enters into and inhabits (indicts and identifies) the one who reads.[28]

[22] Luther, "Confession Concerning Christ's Supper, 1528," LW 37, 371; Luther, "Vom abendmal Christi, Bekenntnis," WA 26, 509.

[23] Andrew Spicer has traced Luther's use of the term, Spicer 2020.

[24] For Sdzuj, Luther's conception of adiaphora involved an "Attitude" of "Indifferenz" towards the made world, rooted in otherworldliness, Sdzuj 2005, 91–126. In addition to the texts here, on "adiaphora" see also "Luther: Auszüge aus zwei Predigten über die Adiaphorie der Bilder."

[25] Luther, "Assertio Omnium Articulorum M. Lutheri per Bullam Leonis X. Novissimam Damnatorum, 1520," WA 7, 97–98, quoted in Bruns 1992, 145, Bruns' translation.

[26] On Luther's biblical hermeneutics, see Ebeling 1969; Preus 1969.

[27] "Die Bibel war für Luther das hinreichende, ja das vollständige Offenbarungswort Gottes. Insofern konnte er sogar zuspitzend sagen, die heilige Schrift sei Gott selbst (WA 50; 657,26f) und darum für den Glauben nicht nur die oberste, sondern die einzige Authorität: *sola scriptura*," Beutel 2005a, 367.

[28] Bruns 1992, 148. See also, Ebeling 1970, esp. 106–109.

The relationship of Scripture to each person of faith was ongoing, lifelong, and transforming.[29] While "intimate" points toward the living familiarity with one's own particular codex Bible, that immediacy was transformative, here again in Bruns' formulation:

> Here the text is not so much an object of understanding as a component of it; what one understands when one understands Scriptural texts is not anything conceptual and extractable as a meaning. Rather, what one understands (that is, enters into) is the mode of being or life of faith informed by the text in much the same way a plot informs a work as its soul or shaping spirit.[30]

For Luther, a life of faith was lived in ongoing and immediate – without mediation – dynamic with Scripture as text, as words.[31]

That immediacy, that ongoing dialectic of reading, meditation, and informing the individual Christian is the key to Luther's deployment of the word, adiaphora, or things indifferent, to all of human fabrications but the bread and wine. For Luther, God's Word gave meaning to bread and wine; without scriptural designation, anything else fashioned by human hands was without any significance whatsoever.[32] Without significance, it could not contribute to any understanding of God's Word. However Luther might have understood "allegory" to function as a mode of reading Scripture,[33] he did not share Durand's sense that the made world illumined and instantiated Scripture.[34] Quite the contrary, Luther's designation of adiaphora denied to the many different material presences in the place of worship any cognitive force at all. They were, following his reasoning, familiar and not unlike the parts of a medieval Mass he allowed to continue in his own German Mass, to continue until such time as the faithful had become truly Christian.[35]

Roughly two weeks after Karlstadt celebrated an "Evangelical Mass" in the parish church in Wittenberg, while Luther was still in the Wartburg, around January 10, 1522, members of Luther's order, the Augustinians, removed altars and images from their cloister chapel.[36] Two weeks later, on January 24, the Wittenberg city council issued an ordinance which included a brief paragraph calling for the removal of all images and all

[29] See also Appold 2016.

[30] Bruns 1992, 145.

[31] See, for example, Luther, "Auf das überchristlich, übergeistlich und überkunstlich Buch Bocks Emsers zu Leipzig Anwort. Darin auch Murnarrs seines Gesellen gedacht wird. 1521," WA 7, 650–654. Luther found in Creation cause for wonder, Strier 2007, 274–275.

[32] Cf. Harrison 1998, 4–5.

[33] On Luther's use of allegory in biblical exegesis, see Ebeling 1969; Steinmetz 1986b, 105–109. According to Scheper, "the traditional allegorization [of the Song of Songs] rested secure in the Reformation," Scheper 1974, 551.

[34] "Die Werke Gottes (opera Dei) in der Schöpfung wie übrigens auch in der Erlösung kann der Mensch einzig durch das Wort Gottes (verbum Dei) erkennen. Deshalb begnügt sich Gott nicht damit, nur sein Werk auszuführen, sondern er gibt dem Menschen auch sein Wort. Das allgemeine Kennzeichen von Gottes Wort ist es nämlich, dass es die Bedeutung (significatio) der Werke angibt, welche Gott ausführt," Olsson 1971, 437.

[35] "'Nun aber die Herzen noch daran hängen mit Unwissen und Fahr, so kann man sie nicht zerreißen, man zerreißt die Herzen auch mit,'" quoted in Campenhausen 1957, 153.

[36] On this and the ordinance, see Preus 1974, 33–35.

but three altars in the city church.[37] The final act was Karlstadt's publication of his famous – or infamous in the eyes of his critics – pamphlet, *On the doing away with Images and that there should be no Beggars among Christians* (*Von abtuhung der Bylder, Und das keyn Betdler unther den Christen sey soll*). We turn to it shortly, in our consideration of the category of idols. Here, let me simply note that this string of dramatic acts in Wittenberg drew Luther into discussing "images" (*Bilder*) as things apart from all else.[38] As the passage from *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper* suggests, however, Luther himself continued to treat human fabrications in the aggregate. For him, they all belonged to the same category, adiaphora. As he wrote, images were neither good nor evil, or, as Margarete Stirm wrote, "Luther considered the image as a religiously neutral thing."[39] All were both *things* and *indifferent*: inert and extraneous.

As the September Testament manifests, Luther allowed for the use of images. They could be "useful." They could accompany, as they did in the Wittenberg editions of his New Testament and whole Bible, the text of Scripture. They could be used, with words, as instruments of instruction, as aids to memory.[40] But they could not bring deeper understanding of the Word of God. They could never be a medium of divine revelation. They belonged, along with all the made world of late medieval Christianity, to "external things."[41]

The effect of Luther's sundering of human fabrication from divine communication is there in the scholarship on "survivals." Johann Michael Fritz's introduction to *Die bewahrende Kraft des Luthertums*, for example, noted that "the Lutheran churches in [Brandenburg, Franconia, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Lower Saxony, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Schleswig-Holstein, Thuringia, Westphalia, and Württemberg] are full with medieval artworks of every kind."[42] Churches had become containers for objects.[43] Even as modern scholars documented "survivals," they construed images as things apart from *ecclesia*, both place and people.

IDOL

In 1520, Uly Anders of Kennelbach was brought before the Zurich city council. His crime, for which he was executed, was blasphemy: He had broken up a small carved, possibly painted, crucifixion scene with Jesus, Mary, and John. As he threw it out the window of the inn where he had encountered it, he said, as he testified before his judges,

[37] "Item die bild und altarien in der kirchen söllen auch abgethan werden," 160. Kirchen-Ordnung für Wittenberg, 1522, Sehling I, 697.

[38] On this, see foremost, Stirm 1977, part 1. For a reading of Luther and Karlstadt on "images" as "media," see Sandl 2011, 130–142.

[39] "'die bilder seindt weder sonst noch so, sie seindt weder gut noch böse.' Luther betrachtet das Bild als eine religiös neutrale Sache," Stirm 1977, 41.

[40] "Bilder können verschiedenen Zwecken dienen: 'zum ansehen, zum zeugnis, zum gedechtnis, zum zeychen' und v.a. als Gedächtnisstütze," Strecker 2005, 247.

[41] Stirm 1977, 37.

[42] "Denn die evangelischen Kirchen in den genannten Ländern sind voll mit mittelalterlichen Kunstwerken aller Art," Fritz 1997b, 9.

[43] On the changed place of those objects in worship, see Heal 2017; Fritz 1997a.

"the idols are no use there and they don't want to help."[44] While such acts of physical violence have received far more attention, for Anders, as for so many others, the name idol called forth the destruction. Violence was the embodiment that the name demanded. Here we take up the word so many used to name the targets of their smashing, breaking, defacing, ridiculing, and burning – doing away.

Most of the thinking of ordinary Christians about the matter of the liturgy appears as testimony before adjudicating bodies, the person accused, in the early years, of the capital crime of blasphemy, and later of the lesser crime of property damage. Many of the accused drew on the name "idol" in their defense, the word implicitly or explicitly the reason for the violence. Anders' use of "idol" to designate a particular representation of the crucifixion offers us a glimpse into a deeper dynamic of "Reformation." "Idol" is the prevalent term ordinary Christians used to name specific parts of the made world, tearing that world apart both conceptually and physically. The name "idol" differed from "adiaphora," which severed all that human hands had fashioned from divine revelation. "Idol" designated *materia* that drew human beings *from* God. For all those who took up the word "idol," the made world was not indifferent nor were all things the same.

On Christmas 1521, Karlstadt celebrated a Mass "which they call Evangelical, in secular clothing, without all ornaments, as well as [without] special ceremony."[45] Roughly a month later, on January 24, 1522, the city council decreed that the images and altars were to be removed from the city church: "by which to avoid idolatry, for three altars without any image are enough."[46] Three days after that, Karlstadt published the pamphlet *On the doing away with Images and that there should be no Beggars among Christians*.[47]

Karlstadt's pamphlet is one of the earliest traces we have, not of the severing of the made world from worship – Luther had done that in the summer of 1520 – but of the fragmentation of the made world itself, severing "images" (*Bylder*) from buildings and other inert matter:

> God's houses are houses in which God alone should be honored, invoked, and worshipped. As Christ says: My house is a house of prayer and you make it a cave of murder. Deceitful images murder all those who worship and praise them, as it is written of them: They are strangers to God and completely covered with shame and have become as loathsome as the things they have loved, Hosea 9. We could never deny that it is out of love that we have placed the so-called saints in churches. If we had not loved them, we would not have set them up where God alone should dwell and rule. Had we been opposed to them, we would have fled them rather than taken them on. Our deeds convict us of loving images. Have we not shown them the honor which we show exclusively to great lords? And why have we let them be painted and colored with velvet, with damask, with silver, with gold clothes? Why

[44] "die götzen nützent nüdt da vnnd sy möchtind nüdt gehelffen," Wandel 1995, 53. On blasphemy as it was understood in early modern Zurich, see Loetz 2002.

[45] Barge 1901, 125. On the Evangelical Mass, see as well Kruse 2002, 349–357. Leppin locates the beginnings of a mood critical of images in Wittenberg in that moment, Leppin 2015, 139.

[46] "damit abgötterei zu vermeiden, dann drei altaria on bild genug seind," 160. Kirchen-Ordnung für Wittenberg, 1522, Sehling I, 697.

[47] For discussions of the pamphlet, see Preus 1974, 35–39; Stirm 1977, Part 1, section IV; Christensen 1979, 23–35.

> do we deck them out with golden crowns, with precious stones? ... Who can believe us when we say: We have not loved the oil-idols [*olgotzen*],[48] the carved and painted images, when our gestures defeat us? God hates and is jealous of images, as I will say, and considers them an abomination, and proclaims that all men in his eyes are like the things that they love. Images are horrible. It follows that we also become horrible when we love them.[49]

Karlstadt – along with other preachers in Wittenberg and elsewhere – seems to have been preaching against idols before putting it into print.[50] This was the first printed pamphlet to sunder God's house from "images." Karlstadt evoked a space empty of all but prayer. In that space, "God alone" was to be honored, called upon. All prayers should be directed to God alone. The space was to be emptied: of saints, their relics, their images, the dedications of altars to them, and with those, implicitly, their feast days. For Karlstadt, God was absolutely, ontologically separate from all that was "within" that house. If, for Luther, God was discernible in Creation,[51] for Karlstadt, God was "Spirit," essentially the opposite of matter.[52]

Karlstadt's second move in the pamphlet would seem, at first glance, to belong to a long tradition of unease in Western Christianity as to whom or what the laity were addressing in the prayers they spoke before carved and painted images of Christ, Mary, the apostles, and saints both universal and local.[53] We have, in fact, little testimony from those praying, just how they understood the relationship among *materia*, the persons of Christ, Mary, the saints, and God. At first glance, Karlstadt might seem to number among those theologians who held that ignorant laity confused the representation for the represented.

But Karlstadt allowed for only one possible relationship between the one praying and what he called images. The pamphlet designated a range of practices that, Karlstadt argued, had as their endpoint the made world *and not God*. He defined practices as directed toward images themselves and *in no way* directed toward God. In characterizing the many practices of late medieval Christians as *not* directed toward God, Karlstadt contributed directly to the sundering of *materia* from God – not simply from worship but from the persons of God the Creator and God the Son. Following Karlstadt, any person praying *before* a statue or an image or a relic was speaking *to* it alone. Following Karlstadt, *materia* could never be a medium, neither of divine communication nor of communication with God. There was no "seeing beyond,"[54] in any form for Karlstadt: each "image" was itself isolated, bounded, "material" now in a more modern sense.

[48] This word is usually translated simply as "idol," but it could designate either the eternal lamps which burned oil and did provoke Zurich iconoclasts or, less likely, paintings in oil. On eternal lights, see Wandel 1995, 67–72.

[49] Karlstadt, "Von Abtuung der Bilder," 106. I have consulted two translations for my own, Karlstadt, "On the Removal of Images," 1991, 19–20; "On the Removal of Images and That There Should Be No Beggars Among Christians (1522)," 1995, 102–103.

[50] "Scriptural in foundation Karlstadt's treatise may be; systematic in presentation it definitely is not," Christensen 1979, 28.

[51] Olsson 1971.

[52] On Karlstadt's theology, see Sider 1974; Preus 1974.

[53] See Robert A. Orsi's important work on this question, Orsi 1996 and 2005.

[54] Bynum 2006.

Karlstadt's pamphlet severed the made world from God ontologically: God could not possibly be reached through any "image." He argued throughout the treatise that what was done before images was directed to them as essentially as well as cognitively separate from God. Though he did not use the word, we might now begin to call images "objects." This was the critical thrust of naming the made world "idols": not only were they not God – which, as Zwingli would note, everyone understood – but they were apart from the entire project of divine communication, fully discrete from it. Karlstadt rejected Pope Gregory I's argument that images could serve as the books of the illiterate. He also set aside the argument that they were not identical with the saints they represented, because saints, too, were not media of divine communication, not conduits to God. One could not see or discern God in any way in what Karlstadt called "Bylder." For Karlstadt, "images" had more in common with the persons of saints than not.

Those practices, Karlstadt argued, expressed "love," not of God, not of a Creation which encompassed the images, but of "Bylder," in modern German, *Bilder*. I have chosen to use the single English word, image, for two different German words Karlstadt uses, *Bild* and *Bildnis*. This serves, in part, to restore some of the ambivalence in Karlstadt's critique: Was a relic, for example, an image? Relics, certainly, had received the kind of "love" he was describing – precious stones and metals – and were the locus as well of prayer.[55] His concern, ultimately, was not so much any specific object, as it was the attitude of a Christian to it:

> Now I want and shall say to all pious Christians that they all have idols [*abgotter*] in their hearts who revere [*sich forchten*] images [*bildnis*]. And I want to confess my secret thoughts to the whole world with sighs and acknowledge myself guilty, that I am faint-hearted, and know that I ought not to revere [*forchten*] any image [*bild*], and am certain that God requires of his own that they should not revere [*forchten*] oil-idols [*olgotzen*], as it is written: You should not revere [*forchten*] other gods, not worship, not honor and should not make sacrifice to them, but only to God.
>
> Judges 6, 2 Kings 17[56]

I have included Karlstadt's word choices in German, that we might see more precisely his step in the shift from the made world Durand delineated to a sense of things or objects within a building. "Idol" is the conventional translation for "Abgott," idols for the plural "Abgötter," and "idolatry" for "Abgötterei." In the German, however, is the movement, "ab," the sense of turning away or removal from God: the word, literally translated, is "from God." It is not clear, exactly, what Karlstadt encompassed in his notion of either "Bild" or "Bildnis." At points, he wrote of images on altars and altarpieces. At other points, he wrote of images of saints, which might have been free-standing sculptures or panels or reliquaries. He linked both words, *Bild* and *Bildnis*, to the verb, *forchten*. I have chosen to translate the verb as "revere"; most often it is translated, from the modern *fürchten*, as fear. I suspect it also held those resonances for Karlstadt's readers.

[55] See, for example, Karlstadt, "Von Abtuung der Bilder," 120.
[56] Karlstadt, "Von Abtuung der Bilder," 120.

This passage, then, suggested a complex interaction between an object – this word would reflect the thrust of Karlstadt's polemic – and its viewer. As with the first passage I quoted, Karlstadt both located the wrong attitude in the viewer and also accorded the image the power to command that attitude. Reverence and fear, for Karlstadt, were close, if not identical. As this personal statement suggested, the images' own power to command, to inspire fear, led human beings to revere images. Karlstadt did not elaborate or explain in just what that power lay, but his opening paragraph suggested a dialectic steps closer to modern studies of "things" and "objects."[57]

Most of the section on images marshaled Old Testament prohibitions, beginning with Deuteronomy 5:8:

> You shall not make for yourself an idol, whether in the form of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I the Lord your God am a jealous God[58]

Karlstadt returned again and again in the pamphlet to this passage.[59] For him, as well as for Hätzer and Leo Jud in Zurich, and Martin Bucer in Strasbourg, this was one of God's preeminent commands, the fully equal second half of the First Commandment, bound in a single commandment to the prohibition of other gods.[60] For Karlstadt, the making of images was less critical than the "love" that was directed toward them. For him, images were idols, the objects of false worship. Their made-ness in no way connected them to God, nor was it the source of their status as idols. That lay in the particular attitude of their human viewer toward them. In this, Karlstadt was like Hätzer. For Bucer, their made-ness was critical to their definition as idols – his reading of the Commandment underlined human fashioning – but he also shared Karlstadt's sense of love wrongly directed.

As Karlstadt was to learn when Luther returned to Wittenberg and addressed the question of images directly, Luther shared neither Karlstadt's specific understanding of that text nor his sense of the relationship between the Old Testament and living Christians.[61] As Margarete Stirm showed, when Luther published his catechisms in 1529, he left very little of the text of the First Commandment in his teaching of the Ten Commandments, shifting the emphasis to other gods and away from making.[62] So, too, was Luther's understanding of "law" fundamentally different from Karlstadt's.[63] And

[57] See the discussion of this literature in the Introduction.

[58] NOAB.

[59] See, for example, Karlstadt, "Von Abtuung der Bilder," 108–109.

[60] This was also true, for example, for Leo Jud in Zurich, who also brought to bear passages from the New Testament, Garside 1966, 131. Ludwig Hätzer published a pamphlet listing the loci in the Old Testament prohibiting the making and honoring of images, "Ein Urteil Gottes . . . , wie man es mit allen Götzen und Bildnissen halten soll," Bucer, *Grund und vrsach auß gottlicher schriftt d' neüwrungen an dem nachtmal des herren* (Strasbourg: Köpfel, 1524), Oij-Pij.

[61] On Luther on the First Commandment, see especially Bornkamm 1969, 165–179. On Luther's sense of history, see for example Wriedt 1996.

[62] Stirm 1977, part 1. On Karlstadt's sense of law and the Old Testament, see Sider 1974, 108–118.

[63] "Luther spricht im Großen Genesiskommentar von drei verschiedenen Gesetzen, einmal von dem Gesetz, das Gottes eigener guter Wille ist (mandatum Dei), zum anderen von dem Gesetz der Sünde und des Todes (lex peccati et mortis), das nach dem Fall aufkam, und schließlich von dem natürlichen Gesetz, der lex naturae. Im ersten und letzten Fall handelt es sich um die helle Seite Luthers Gesetzsbegriff, das Gesetz, das

Luther did not share Karlstadt's conviction that the Old Testament still governed piety. In his concluding exhortations in the section on images, Karlstadt affirmed that the law of Moses governed Christians:

> Some who kiss images say, the old law forbids images, and the new does not. But we follow the new, not the old law.
>
> Dear brothers, God protect you from this heretical sermon and word, and that you never say: we do not follow the old law or do not accept it. That belongs to Unchristians and breaks and belittles the teachings of Christ. For Christ proves his teaching from Moses and the prophets and spoke, that he had not come to break the law, but to fulfill it.[64]

For Karlstadt, as for Hätzer, Zwingli, and Bucer, the Old Testament prohibitions against images were still in force.[65] The Incarnation had not altered, for any of them, the potentialities of matter for divine communication. For Karlstadt and Hätzer, Old Testament prohibitions overrode Pope Gregory I's argument that images were the books of the illiterate. For both, they overrode the arguments that images were not themselves the object of devotion or that they moved humankind to devotion and improvement. For all four, God spoke in the Old Testament, God commanded in the Old Testament, and that speaking and those commands were binding on all Christians.

Although modern scholars have tended to separate the discussion of images from the discussion of begging,[66] Karlstadt linked images and begging on the title page and within a single codex form. This, too, belongs to a shift in conceptions of the made world. The opulence of images, which Karlstadt invoked in his opening paragraph – velvet, damask, precious stones and metals – was wrongly directed.[67] A chasuble was no materialization of *caritas*. Quite the contrary, vestments – and chalices – Karlstadt wrote, were to be sold so that the mendicants need no longer beg.[68] For Karlstadt, the made world was constituted of wealth that had been unethically directed away from *caritas* and toward opulence.

Karlstadt's pamphlet has largely been taken as an attack on images in a modern sense. Certainly, he was carving up the made world. Altars, for example, had images on them but were not themselves images.[69] Karlstadt separated the "carved and painted idols" from the altars on which they rested. Churches were spaces of worship, not themselves images. Vestments seem not to have been encompassed in his sense of image, nor were liturgical vessels, though they, too, were to be set aside. Like images, vestments and liturgical vessels materialized opulence, not *caritas*.

noch nichts von dem drohenden Klang des Falls in sich trägt, das zwar nicht identisch mit dem Evangelium ist, aber den Menschen doch in seine rechte Stellung im Zusammenhang mit Gott und der Schöpfung einsetzt und ihm Frieden, Ordnung, Gerechtigkeit und Leben anbietet," Löfgren 1960, 81.

[64] My translation, Karlstadt, "Von Abtuung der Bilder," 122.

[65] Ludwig Hätzer published a pamphlet listing the loci in the Old Testament prohibiting the making and honoring of images, "Ein Urteil Gottes … , wie man es mit allen Götzen und Bildnissen halten soll." On Zwingli's sense of history, see Locher 1969.

[66] E. J. Furcha did not, translating the entirety of the pamphlet.

[67] I have found most helpful on gifts Brown 2012.

[68] Karlstadt, "On the Removal of Images and That There Should Be No Beggars Among Christians (1522)," 125.

[69] Karlstadt, "Von Abtuung der Bilder," 110.

It is worth pausing for a moment over what was missing. Missing was a sense that "images" had any connection to Creation, either in the *materia* of which they had been made or in what they visualized. Missing, too, was any engagement with the word "image" in the first Book of Genesis. Also missing was a sense that God communicated through Creation – "images" had nothing to do with Creation for Karlstadt, either as constituted from the *materia* of Genesis or visualizing, as they might do for Luther, some aspect of the present world.[70] So, too, images were not a part of the fabric of the place of worship. Missing was any sense of a whole place, constituted, as we saw in Durand, of a range of different kinds of materiality, all of which were in interplay with one another and engendered complex thinking about each and the whole. Missing was any sense that images had a connection to Scripture, beyond those prohibitions. Looking at Karlstadt through the lens of Durand reveals just how much was cut away in Karlstadt's conception of image. The made world was sundered, the play of *materia* silenced in Karlstadt's simplified conception of matter. "Representation," for Karlstadt, was reduced to a question of person – Christ, Mary, apostle, saint – and object. For Karlstadt, images could never be scriptural *res*.

Karlstadt's conception of images as material rather than media – a sense of them as "objects" or "things" – severed them entirely from questions of divine communication. In equating them with the idols prohibited in the Old Testament, Karlstadt, along with Hätzer and other Evangelicals who made that same equation, were also conceiving of images as identical with things that had been made before the birth of Christ – again, as objects, but also as objects that were constant over time. The Incarnation did not change their status as things. For Karlstadt idols did not belong to a problem of idolatry encompassing more than those practices directed specifically at images. For Bucer and Zwingli, they did.

Bucer's approach to the matter of the liturgy was distinctive. He preached at length against images, which were the targets of violence in Strasbourg. In the first pamphlet in which he took up images, however, they were but one aspect of worship which was not "scriptural." In 1524, he published *The Reason and cause from holy scripture for the renewal of the lord's supper, which is called the Mass, Baptism, holy days, images, and song in the Christian community*.[71] Bucer did not offer a unified conception of "idolatry" so much as bring the Bible to bear on more aspects of late medieval worship than had Karlstadt. He took up at greater length than any other Evangelical "Papal clothes."[72] The name indicates one line of his repudiation: Vestments were "seltzame cleydung" (strange clothing).[73] They were "full of lies, presumptuous, deceptive inventions, used for much superstition and error," a "mummery." They were not, in other words, mere things, but worked in a way distinctive to them to deceive the faithful. As Bucer wrote in the same pamphlet, the Evangelical ministers in Strasbourg had set aside all vestments and used for the Lord's Supper "no special clothing other than the cassock [*Chorrock*]," which they also wore for preaching the Word.

[70] See Strier 2007.
[71] Bucer, *Grund und vrsach auß gotlicher schrifft*, 185–278.
[72] Bucer, *Grund und vrsach auß gotlicher schrifft*, 230–236.
[73] Bucer, *Grund und vrsach auß gotlicher schrifft*, 231–233.

Ultimately, as Robert Stupperich noted, the Evangelical preachers in Strasbourg adopted the practice Zwingli had instituted in Zurich: They wore the cloak of a scholar – utterly transforming, as Bucer recognized, the visual associations of the one leading worship.[74]

IDOLATRY

Uly Anders was known to the Zurich city council when he was brought before them for smashing the crucifixion scene in the inn. In 1520, he may have seemed simply disruptive as well as destructive and blasphemous. But within three years, on January 29, 1523, the Zurich city council called what would be the first of a series of four disputations to discuss theology and worship.[75] In preparation for it, Huldrych Zwingli drafted a list of sixty-seven articles. In the first article, Zwingli asserted, "All who say that the Gospel is invalid without the confirmation of the church err and slander God."[76] The autonomous authority of the Gospels was to be the point of departure for the entire disputation. The second set forth what Zwingli understood Gospel to be: "The sum and substance of the Gospel is that our Lord Jesus Christ Jesus, the true son of God, has made known to us the will of his heavenly Father, and has with his sinlessness released us from death and reconciled us to God." The third set forth the principle through which Zwingli approached the made world: "Hence Christ is the only way to salvation for all who ever were, are and shall be." Christ was the only mediator. In article 20, he applied that principle to what we now call the cult of saints. In explicating article 20, in a pamphlet published in July of that year, he defined idolatry:

> The Twentieth Article
>
> That God wants to give us all things in his name. It follows from this that we need no other mediator but him beyond the present time.
>
> ... Now I know that many a simple Christian has worshipped images before one could forbid this in so many words. Are they to have no comfort in images now? Indeed, it is idolatry if they put their trust in them.[77]

[74] Bucer, *Grund und vrsach auß gotlicher schrifft*, 232, note 105.

[75] "The idea that the magistrates, clergy and laity should be present for a debate on theological questions, carried out in German no less, was astonishing. There was no script," Gordon 2021, 89.

[76] Zwingli, "22 Zwingli's sixty-seven theses, 27 January 1523," 21–22. "1. Alle, so redend das euangelium sye nüt on die bewernus der kilchen, irrend und schmähend gott. 2. Summa des euangelions ist, das unser herr Christus Jhesus, warer gottes sun, uns den willen sines himmlischen vatters kundt gethon unnd mit siner unschuld von tod erlöst und gott versuont hat. 3. Dannenher der einig weg zur säligkeit Christus ist aller, die ie warend sind und werdend," Huldreich Zwingli, "Die 67 Artikel Zwinglis," Z1 458.

[77] Zwingli, "Exposition and Basis of the Conclusions or Articles Published by Huldrych Zwingli, Zurich, 29 January 1523," 135, 172. "Der zwentzgist artickel. Das uns Gott alle ding wil in sinem namen geben; daraus entspringt, das wir usserthalb diser zyt dheins mitlers bedöffend weder sin" ... "Ich weiß aber, das vil einvaltiger die bild habend angebettet, ee und man inen mit klaren worten das verboten hat. Söllend sy nun keynen trost zuo den bilden haben? Ja, es ist ein abgötery, so sy iren trost zuo inen habend"; Huldreich Zwingli, "Auslegen und Gründe der Schlußreden. 14. Juli 1523," Z 2, 166, 218.

And again, when he turned to penance:

The Fifty-First Article

> Whoever ascribes this [forgiveness of sins] to a creature, robs God of his honor and gives it to one who is not God. That is sheer idolatry.[78]

In *The Sixty-Seven Articles,* Zwingli mentioned images in passing, within his consideration of saints and their place in the lives of Christians. Within a very brief time, he was called to consider images directly.[79] As Zwingli himself acknowledged in his fullest consideration of "bilder," the pamphlet *An Answer to Valentin Compar*, published on April 27, 1525, he would have preferred to abolish the Mass first, "but God wished this [*bilder*] to come first."[80] For Zwingli, images were never the center.[81] The form of communal worship was.

In this way, too, Zurich offers us a glimpse of diverse perceptions of Durand's made world, as different voices in the town articulated different conceptualizations of just what images were and did. Uly Anders offered one. Ludwig Hätzer offered another. Leo Jud, whose sermons seem to have been the immediate provocation to acts of violence, preached not just once, but over years, that the First Commandment prohibited all images.[82] Jud was one of Zwingli's closest friends. Zwingli cited Hätzer with approval and also cited Old Testament prohibitions as he built a case against images.[83] But as articles 1–3 and 51 suggest, images in and of themselves were never a problem for Zwingli; Zwingli was no "iconophobe."[84] The problem was where one looked for God.

In 1525, Zwingli published two pamphlets articulating true religion and false religion, in March, the *Commentary on True and False Religion* and then the following month, *An Answer to Valentin Compar*. In the *Commentary*, he developed most fully his conception of true religion. True believers recognized God, as Creator, as generous, as offering his Son for human salvation, and with that recognition placed all faith in God alone.[85] They clove to the Word of God, which was autonomous of all human

[78] Zwingli, "Exposition and Basis of the Conclusions or Articles," 315. "Der ein und fünfftzigst artickel. Welcher das der Creatur zuogibt, zücht Gott sin eer ab und gibt sy dem, der nit Got. Ist ein ware Abgötery," Huldreich Zwingli, "Auslegen und Gründe der Schlußreden. 14. Juli 1523," Z 2, 391.

[79] Garside traced the evolving dialectic in Zurich, among the city council, Evangelical preachers including Zwingli and his close friend Leo Jud, iconoclasts, and the bishop of Constance and his representatives, which would lead Zwingli to take up "the visual arts" – the steps by which Zwingli came to feel compelled to articulate a position on images, Garside 1966, chs. 4–8.

[80] "Als aber das abtuon, anhuob, muoßten wir ye der warheit kuntschafft geben, wiewol wir alle, die predgetend, vil Lieber zur selben zyt die meß hettind umbgestossen weder die bilder. Aber Gott wolt dißvor haben," Huldreich Zwingli, "Eine Antwort, Valentin Compar gegeben," Z 4, 85. See also the transcript of the First Disputation, Z 1, 472–479. Cf. Campenhausen 1957, 141–144.

[81] On Zwingli's changing position on images, see Altendorf 1984.

[82] After Zwingli's death, Leo Jud published his own catechism, separating the prohibition of images into the Second Commandment, Stirm 1977, 154. On Jud, 154–155; Garside 1966, 102–106, 131–140.

[83] See, for example, Huldreich Zwingli, "Eine kurze christliche Einleitung," Z 2, 654–658. Cf. Stirm 1977, 138–153.

[84] Michalski 1993, ch. 2.

[85] Huldreich Zwingli, "De vera et falsa religione commentarius," Z 4, 590–912, here at 640–654.

interpretation or mediation.[86] Zwingli closed the *Commentary* with a brief consideration of "statues and images":

> But if it had nowhere in the Scriptures been commanded that statues and images if worshiped should be destroyed, love would be enough, which certainly admonishes every faithful heart to convert to the use of the needy that which is spent on the worship of images. . . . For when Christ in reply to the insulting words of Judas said to all the disciples, "the poor ye have with you always; but me ye have not always, and ye can do good to them," He turned aside all material service from Himself to the poor. . . .
>
> An image can rouse some trifling and fleeting emotion, but it cannot kindle love. An image of wood can kindle a fire and burn the victim, but naught can burn up the brutal affections upon the altar of the heart save the divine Spirit. . . .
>
> Teaching should come first, and the abolition of images follow without disturbance; and love will teach all things in all cases.[87]

In the *Commentary*, images were a failure of love of neighbor. In *An Answer*, Zwingli developed more fully the relationship between images and false religion.

True believers, he wrote in *An Answer*, "know truly in their hearts that they should go to God alone in all their affairs."[88] False religion began with failing to believe in God alone and that Christ was the sole mediator. The problem was not images in themselves but that they were the objects of human wealth and, most critically, human hope.[89] Charles A. Garside, Jr. described in detail the "pattern of estrangement," "the process of becoming-estranged-from-God" that Zwingli set out most fully in *An Answer* .[90] Practitioners of false religion looked away from God for help, for mediators other than Christ, such as Mary, the saints, or images. Idols were thus a materialization of looking away from God.

Images and saints belonged to Creation, but in turning toward them, human beings were turning away from God. As Zwingli defined it, idolatry was placing one's hope in the created. The antithesis of true worship was turning toward the made world. God did not communicate through it or in it. Quite the contrary, the proximity of the made world – its tactility and its visibility – was the danger, for Zwingli, the reason why images (and saints) could so easily become idols. [91] God was invisible, whether as God the Father, who had

[86] See also, Gordon 2016b, 467.

[87] Ulrich Zwingli, *Commentary on True and False Religion*, 331, 333, 337. "Quodsi statuas et imagines nusquam scripturarum praeceptum esset, dummodo coluntur, demoliendas esse, satis esset charitas, quae indubie monet, quamlibet fidelem mentem in usum egentium convertere, quod in cultum simulacrorum insumitur. . . . Cum enim Christus ad insultantis Iudae vocem discipulis omnibus diceret: 'Pauperes semper habetis vobiscum, me autem non semper habebitis, et istis potestis benefacere', omnem visibilem cultum a se in pauperes derivavit," "De vera et falsa religione commentarius," "Affectum quondam nugacem, ac mox periturum, potest movere imago; amorem incendere non potest. Focum incendere potest, ac vitimam lignea imago, sed in ara cordis pecuinos adfectus nemo potest adolere quam divinus spiritus." "Debet doctrina praecedeere, imaginum autem abolitio cum tranquillitate sequi; docebit autem omnia in omnibus charitas." Huldreich Zwingli, "De vera et falsa religione commentarius," Z 4, 900, 902, 906.

[88] *An Answer to Valentin Compar*, quoted in Garside 1966, 163. The following relies on Garside's reading of *An Answer*.

[89] As Christ-von Wedel takes up, Zwingli allowed images to be published with the Zurich Bible, Christ-von Wedel 2013, 299–320.

[90] Garside 1966, 164. The following is drawn from Garside 1966, 164–166. On Zwingli's discussion of images, see Garside 1966, 166–175; Stirm 1977, 138–153.

[91] See, for example, Huldreich Zwingli, "Eine Antwort, Valentin Compar gegeben," Z 4, 136, 140–143.

always been invisible, or as Christ, who, at the right hand of the Father, was no longer visible. Images were things, objects, toward which human beings directed hopes that ought to be directed toward God and actions that ought to be directed toward other human beings. They were not "media" at all but objects to which human beings wrongly gave value.

For Zwingli, God's communication was verbal and it was located in the codex Bible.[92] Although Zwingli accorded images far more consideration than the rest of the made world of the liturgy, no matter of the liturgy – whether images, relics and reliquaries, chalices, patens, vestments, tapestries, veils, bells, organs, glass, precious metals, carved or painted figures, forms, or vessels – could communicate divine revelation.[93] The made world could not be a thing indifferent, adiaphora, precisely because attending to it, in any way, estranged humankind from God, reorienting away from the Creator to created things and persons.

Within this context churches in Zurich were fundamentally reconceived. In *An Answer*, Zwingli held churches, as they had been before iconoclasm, to be the physical setting within which images became most vulnerable to idolatry – they were a kind of frame conducive to idolatry. When the images were removed in Zurich – when churches had been "cleansed" of their "idols"[94] – those commissioned with their removal painted the walls white. That white, now so familiar to us in so many different churches, would have been startlingly new. Color, form, gesture, texture – all had been erased and in the stead of, say, a monumental Saint Christopher figure on the wall, one encountered a surface with no line, no color to engage human imagination. A blank surface and no more. Each church was no longer a place, densely and complexly woven, but a space as devoid of "distraction" as possible.[95]

Zwingli's conception of idolatry implicated all of the made world. His rejection of images had little to do with beauty or sensuality and far more to do with visibility and tactility – the false sense that God could be physically proximate. Of all the early places of Reformation, Zurich enacted the most complete rethinking of the dense made world of Durand's liturgy. The legislated removal of all altarpieces, choir screens, sculpted figures, relics, reliquaries, altars, liturgical books, vestments, altar cloths, and other tapestries was but one part of a fundamental reconceptualization of worship and its relationship to both space and time. Another was the change of liturgical vessels, from

[92] "Zu behaupten, Christusdarstellungen seien lehrreich, sei falsch, das sei eine 'erdachte' Lehre, und sie sei darüber hinaus widergöttlich, denn Gott habe uns nicht befohlen von den Bildern zu lernen, sondern aus seinem Wort und vom Vater, der uns zu sich ziehe. Darum spreche er : Selig sind, die das Wort Gottes hören und bewahren (Lk 11,28). Wenn Bilder etwas zur Erkenntnis Gottes beitragen könnten, so hätte Christus zweifellos gelehrt, Bilder zumalen, damit wir es einfacher hätten. Er aber habe sie mit keinem Wort erwähnt," Christ-von Wedel 2013, 305.

[93] "Music, vestments, incense, ritual gestures, and images – all were of no avail to man precisely because his faith, the only reality, the invisible action of the Holy Spirit in men's hearts, had nothing whatsoever to do with the senses," Garside 1966, 178. The efficacy of Reformation severances is evident here, too. *Der Liber Ordinarius des Konrad von Mure* 1995 offers us a glimpse of the liturgical life in one church in Zurich that was utterly silenced when the city council "abolished the Mass."

[94] On June 8, 1524, the Zurich city council mandated that donors were to remove their images from the churches; on June 15, it legislated iconoclasm; on July 2, it commissioned a committee to remove the "Götzen," Egli, *Aktensammlung*, numbers 543, 544, 552. See Wandel 1995, 94–98. For a chronology, see Altendorf and Jezler 1984, 149–159.

[95] Cf. Sack 1997.

precious metal to simple wood, linking the moment to the Seder, not the history of the place.[96] As Zwingli's writings against images suggested, each building was to become a place in which no distractions would lead the faithful away from an invisible God. There was to be nothing their eyes might fasten upon, nothing to touch that would deceive them into a false understanding of God's presence.

Each church was also to be materially discrete from the faithful. When the Zurich city council took up the images in churches, they invited donors to remove the images they had donated, but the images could not remain. They were to be removed or destroyed. Within each building, ancient material connections between the living faithful and their place of worship – whether altars containing the relics of patron saints or donated images or vestments – were dismantled, removed, erased. The churches in Zurich became buildings, separate from the faithful both living and dead. Their relationship to time changed: they stood, but they did not materialize the living history of the faithful.

So, too, did *Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals* reorient the faithful toward the codex Bible and away from the walls, the high altar, the choir stalls, and all images. Moving the celebration of the Eucharist to the center of the church recast the relationship of the faithful to the church. It erased the ancient distinction of clerical space from lay: There was no approaching an altar, no facing the apse and its carved stalls for the choir distinguished by their habits. Vestments, too, had been removed from the space; no human body was clothed in textiles evoking Old Testament priests or scenes from the Passion; no body belonged more proximate to the action of the Eucharist. The *Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals* altered fundamentally the relationship between worship and place. A "church" became a building *within which* the faithful gathered, undifferentiated whether according to clerical status or by degree of sanctity, undifferentiated by patronage whether familial or holy.[97]

In Zurich, God's communication was verbal, but it was never mere sound. In 1519, in his initial sermon in the Grossmünster, Zwingli had instituted the practice of reading the Bible sequentially; he began with the Gospel of Matthew.[98] The practice was ancient; for the people of Zurich, however, it was a dramatic introduction to a different conception of a sermon and just what its primary function was. Zwingli intended his sermons to be an education, not the voicing of a text. An early sign of his ultimate rejection of the interweaving of Scripture and action in a medieval Mass, that first sermon also intimated the altered relationship between place and the Bible that was fully realized in 1525, with the institution of first an Evangelical Eucharist and then what would come to be called, after Zwingli's death, the *Prophezei*.[99]

The *Prophezei* offers key insights into the altered relationship of worship and the Bible in Reformation Zurich. The word came to name a group, primarily of biblical

[96] For examples of the new form of cup, see cat. 202–203, Dupeux, Jezler, and Wirth 2000, 374.

[97] Cf. cat. 200, Dupeux, Jezler, and Wirth 2000, 371.

[98] "Zwingli had informed the canons of his plan to abandon the set readings of the lectionary and to preach from the beginning of the gospel to its conclusion," Gordon 2021, 50.

[99] "With the creation of the *Prophezei*, Zwingli had placed prophecy at the heart of the new Church," Gordon 2021, 144. On the *Prophezei*, see Timmerman 2015, ch. 3. On Luther's understanding of prophecy, see Preuss 1969, 176–191.

scholars, who gathered daily in the Grossmünster to study the Old Testament. Daniel Timmerman has reconstructed its practice from Heinrich Bullinger's *History of the Reformation*:

> The participants assembled early in the morning, at seven or eight o'clock. Usually they were seated in the choir of the Grossmiinster. Active participants had a Bible placed in front of them. After the opening prayer, one of the students was to read the passage under consideration from the Vulgate version. Afterwards, Ceporin declaimed and interpreted the same passage from the Old Testament original text. Consecutively, Zwingli read and expounded the pericope at hand from the Septuagint. Finally, Leo Jud, or one of the other civic preachers, delivered a sermon in the vernacular. The lectures in the minster were exclusively devoted to a *lectio continua* treatment of the Old Testament.[100]

Oswald Myconius, who wrote a biography of Zwingli after his death, had already begun exegetical study of the New Testament in the Fraumünster in 1524.[101] In 1526, the New Testament study was moved to afternoons, so that each day began with an Old Testament text and continued to a New Testament text. Each day's study ended with a sermon; Zwingli normally delivered the sermon in the Fraumünster. The space of the two largest churches in Zurich, then, was used each day for the study of the Old Testament in one, the New in the other. This praxis was the exact antithesis of "idolatry" as Zwingli had defined it.

If churches were spaces for the study of the Bible, priests had become prophets in Zurich.[102] In 1525, Zwingli set forth his particular understanding of the prophet in his pamphlet, *Von dem Predigtamt* (*On the Preaching Office*):

> what had been the office of the prophet in the Old Testament is now the office of Evangelist [evangelisten], bishop or pastor. . . .That is briefly the foremost office of the prophet, that he roots out, breaks up, and destroys everything that is raised against God and again builds and plants what God wants to have.[103]

In Zurich, the focus of the study of the Prophezei was "what God wants to have." That study produced the Zurich Bible, the first Bible in Swiss German. But that Bible was not the point of the *Prophezei*, not its goal. The gathering of prophets every day in the two churches was the ongoing praxis of seeking to understand what God wills. The sole place that the Zurich prophets looked for divine will was the codex Bible.

Luther and Zwingli posed two quite different conceptualizations of the matter of the liturgy. Wittenberg and Zurich modeled two different ways of living those conceptualizations. *Die bewahrende Kraft des Luthertums* traced the attitude of adiaphora to Lutheran churches in Brandenburg, Franconia, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Lower Saxony, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Schleswig-Holstein, Thuringia, Westphalia, and Württemberg.[104] Danish churches also offer eloquent evidence of a policy of adiaphora.

[100] Timmerman 2015, 114–115.
[101] Timmerman 2015, 115.
[102] On Zwingli's understanding of prophet, see Büsser 1969; Pak 2018; Gordon 2021.
[103] "Das ist nun das ampt der propheten im alten testament gewäsen, das yetz der euangelisten, bischoffen oder pfarreren ampt ist. . . . Das ist kurtzlich das fürnemmist ampt des propheten, das er ußrüte, abbreche und zerstöre alles, das wider gott ufgericht ist, und widerumb buwe und pflantze, das gott haben wil," Huldreich Zwingli, "Von dem Predigtamt," Z 4, 394.
[104] Fritz 1997b, 9.

The churches in Bern and Basel offer evidence of the Zurich model: As with Zurich, the interiors were "cleansed" to create spaces of no distractions.[105]

Luther and Zwingli both reconceptualized the matter of the liturgy in a single place, Luther in Wittenberg and Zwingli in Zurich. Each had lived Christianity in a specific place – though neither had been born or raised in the place where he enacted Reformation. For each, the matter of the liturgy could be familiar, intimate, and personal. Luther lived long enough to see the human effects of fragmentation: the thousands of exiles who fled false Christianity in the places of their childhoods to seek a "Church" in places geographically and linguistically alien to them. Zwingli did not. He died violently, in a war that was a different embodiment of that fragmentation.

By the time John Calvin began writing the *Institutio christianae religionis* (*Institutes of the Christian Religion*) in 1536, Zwingli was dead.[106] By the time Calvin published the final Latin edition of the *Institutio* in 1559, both Karlstadt and Luther were dead, and thousands upon thousands of Christians had fled their homes and sought refuge in places such as Strasbourg and Geneva, as Calvin himself had done. He, too, was an exile; he, too, lived most of his life in a place geographically remote and linguistically different from the place of his birth and adolescence. In the *Institutio*, he set forth a conceptualization of idolatry detached from any one place, a sense of idolatry not toward familiar images, statues, or altars – as had predicated Luther's, Karlstadt's, and Zwingli's conceptualizations – but as a way of viewing the world, as inhering in human perception.[107]

> Just as old or bleary-eyed men and those with weak vision, if you thrust before them a most beautiful volume, even if they recognize it to be some sort of writing, yet can scarcely construe two words, but with the aid of spectacles will begin to read distinctly; so scripture, gathering up the otherwise confused knowledge of God in our minds, having dispersed our dullness, clearly shows us the true God.[108]

The *Institutio* was intended to function in isolation both of place – exiles in Les Baux or Edinburgh – and from texts other than the codex Bible.[109] It was designed to teach its

[105] For an introduction to Reformation in Bern, see Sallmann 2016. On Basel, see Wandel 1995, ch. 4.

[106] On the publishing history of the *Institutes*, see Gordon 2016a; on editions published during Calvin's lifetime, chs. 1 and 2.

[107] "In this climate of persecution – and this applies to the whole decade that saw Calvin grow from puberty to adulthood, from 16 to 26 years of age – the themes developed that were to become cornerstones in Calvin's biblical theology: the glory of God, the secret operation of the Holy Spirit, the growth of the Kingdom, the danger of idolatry, and the strategy of Satan," Oberman 1994, 152.

[108] All quotations from the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, unless otherwise noted, are from *Institutes* 2006, and citations follow Calvin's own system of organization, hence, *Institutes* I, VI, 1.

[109] A number of scholars have called for the *Institutes* to be read within the context of Calvin's commentaries and sermons, but the *Institutes*, for our purposes, circulated quite autonomously of Calvin's other works, and he himself intended for it to travel alone, "Siquidem religionis summam omnibus partibus sic mihi complexus esse videor, et eo quoque ordine digessisse, ut si quis earn recte tenuerit, ei non sit difficile statuere et quid potissimum quaerere in scriptura, et quem in scopum quidquid in ea continetur referre debeat. Itaque, hac veluti strata via, si quas posthac scripturae enarrationes edidero, quia non necesse habebo de dogmatibus longas disputationes instituere, et in locos communes evagari, eas compendio semper astringam. Ea ratione magna molestia et fastidio pius lector sublevabitur: modo praesentis operis cognitione, quasi necessario instrumento, praemunitus accedat. Sed quia huius instituti ratio in tot meis commentariis quasi in speculis clare apparet, re ipsa malo declararo quale sit, quam verbis praedicare," *Institutio*, CO 2, cols. 1–4.

readers to "read" the world through the "spectacles" of the codex Bible.[110] In it, Calvin recast relationships among worship, Creation, the Bible, what human hands had fashioned, what humankind "invented."[111]

Calvin's reordering of relations can be discerned in the final structure of the *Institutio*, its "order" (*ordo*) or, as Michelle Chaplin Sanchez suggested, its itinerary.[112] Calvin's reader was to follow a "path," which began with Book I, "On the Knowledge of God the Creator."[113] Creation preceded "On the Knowledge of God the Redeemer" (Book II), "On the Mode of Perceiving the Grace of Christ" (Book III), and the book that took up the sacraments, two in number, "On the External Media and Aids by Which Christ Invites Us into the Society of Christ and Keeps Us in It" (Book IV). Creation, for Calvin, was the point of departure in an itinerary whose destination was the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper.

In the final ordering of the *Institutio*, Calvin took up idolatry in Book I.[114] Calvin's frame of reference for idolatry was first God as Creator and then the problem that runs through the *Institutes*, how humankind might "know" God. Within the frame of God as Creator, Calvin articulated a direct antithesis between God's ongoing activity in Creation and what human hands fashioned. Human hands could in no way participate in Creation, which was God's alone. Human beings took up "dead matter"; human-made images were "dead and insensible things."[115] As for Karlstadt and Zwingli, so for Calvin, what human hands fashioned were objects, inert matter, "dead," "corruptible." But for Calvin, neither their materiality nor their visibility made them idols. Nor was it the fashioning itself. For Calvin, "sculpture and painting are gifts from God."[116]

What made anything an idol was not the object itself but what human beings claimed it did:

> Of the prophets it is enough to cite only Isaiah, who is most emphatic in presenting this. He teaches that God's majesty is sullied by an unfitting and absurd fiction, when the incorporeal is made to resemble corporeal matter, the invisible a visible likeness, the spirit an inanimate object, the immeasurable a puny bit of wood, stone, or gold. . . . From this it is clear that every statue man erects, or every image he paints to represent God, simply displeases God as something dishonorable to his majesty.[117]

[110] On spectacles and weak vision, see foremost Bridges 2020.

[111] On the reform of worship in Geneva, see Grosse 2008; Wandel 2006, ch. 4.

[112] "Calvin's final preface states that he was 'never satisfied until the work had been arranged in the order [*ordo*] now set forth.' That order refers to the new arrangement of the *Institutio* into four books, leading the reader through the *duplex cognitio* of God the Creator (book one) and Redeemer (book two), and then back to the life of the believer as an individual (book three) and *in societate* (book four). With this bird's eye view, it is apparent that Calvin wants to move his reader through different domains of participation: from the natural world conceived as providence to the precise way God addresses and redeems human life; and then from the human being considered under the sign of Christ and the adoption of the Spirit, to the question of the substance and role of human institutions," Sanchez 2019, 63.

[113] "Calvin argues repeatedly that this created world is the deliberately chosen site of primary divine revelation," Sanchez 2019, 56.

[114] On Calvin and "images," see Scavizzi 1992, 9–29.

[115] *Institutes* I, XI, 4; "mortua qualibet materia," *Institutio*, CO2, col. 77.

[116] *Institutes* I, XI, 12; "sculptura et pictura Dei dona sunt," *Institutio*, CO2, col. 83.

[117] *Institutes* I, XI, 2; "ex prophetis sufficiet unus Iesaias qui in hac demonstratione plurimus est, ut doceat indecora et absurda fictione foedari Dei maiestatem, dum incorporeus materia corporea, invisibilis visibili simulacro, spiritus re inanimata, immensus exigui ligni, lapidus, vel auri frusto assimilatur . . .Unde

At the center of idolatry, for Calvin, was the human impulse to define, delimit, and circumscribe God and divine revelation. "God's glory is corrupted by an impious falsehood whenever any form is attached to him."[118] "For surely there is nothing less fitting than to wish to reduce God, who is immeasurable and incomprehensible, to a five-foot measure!"[119] Idolatry was the materialization of the human desire to give God "form," to circumscribe divine immeasurability within the limitations of human imagination, to "comprehend" God in both senses of the word.

This desire to reduce and delimit God, Calvin argued, was natural to humankind. Human nature was "a perpetual factory of idols."[120] Idols were the expression of the kind of God humankind held "inwardly," that is, they were not God at all but arising from human imagination of what a human being wanted God to be. "The mind begets an idol; the hand gives it birth."[121] As Calvin came to define it in the final edition of the *Institutes*, idolatry was the human impulse to make God in terms human beings could grasp. It was a kind of containment, the manifestation of the need to reduce God to human scale. Bounded, fashioned with human hands according to human imagination, from "dead" and decaying matter – stone, wood, precious metals – idols were the exact antithesis of divine self-disclosure. Idolatry thus made absolutely impossible true knowledge of God.[122]

Idols materialized a way of thinking about God and divine communication which precluded human perception of God's true revelation and communication.[123] God's self-disclosure in Creation was of a scale beyond human imagining, both temporal and spatial.[124]

> Meanwhile let us not be ashamed to take pious delight in the works of God open, and manifest in this most beautiful theater. For, as I have elsewhere said, although it is not the

constat, quidquid statuarum erigitur vel imaginum pingitur ad Deum figurandum, simpliciter ei displicere ceu quaedam maiestatia suae dedecora," *Institutio*, CO2, col. 75.

[118] *Institutes* I, XI, 1; "impio mendacio corrumpi Dei gloriam quoties ei forma ulla affingitur," *Institutio*, CO2, col. 74.

[119] *Institutes* I, XI, 4; "quando scilicet nihil minus consentaneum, quam velle Deum, qui immensus est ac incomprehensibilis, redigere ad quinque pedum mensuram," *Institutio*, CO2, col. 77.

[120] *Institutes* I, XI, 8; "Unde colligere licet, hominis ingenium perpetuam, ut ita loquar, esse idolorum fabricam," *Institutio*, CO2, col. 80.

[121] *Institutes* I, XI, 8; "Mens igitur idolum gignit, manus parit," *Institutio*, CO2, col. 80.

[122] "The fundamental human problem, according to Calvin, appears to be not misdirected trust but rather false knowledge of God and self. Hence faith is not essentially *fiducia* but rather proper knowledge. However, it should be clear that, in defining faith as knowledge and distinguishing it from trust, Calvin is not adopting a purely intellectualistic notion of faith. Rather, he rejects such a view, which he equates with the scholastic implicit faith. Instead, he is expanding the definition of knowledge and working within, as Olivier Millet has shown, the rhetorical tradition of Lorenzo Valla and Guillaume Bude, mediated by Bucer and Melanchthon," Pitkin 1999, 31.

[123] On "knowledge" of God in Book I, see foremost Dowey 1994; Pitkin 1999; Adams 2001; Sanchez 2019. On the problem of perception, see Bridges 2020.

[124] "The physical universe conveys to those who observe it two divine qualities in particular: God's 'wisdom' and 'artistry'. Those who engage in astronomy, medicine, and natural science are able to penetrate deeply into the divine wisdom. But even the most untutored are able to see the excellence of God's wisdom and craftsmanship as they survey the distinct and well-ordered variety of the heavenly realm," Adams 2001, 286–287. See also Randall Zachman, *Image and Word in the Theology of John Calvin*, which assumes modern optics and modern physics in its reading of Calvin, Zachman 2007.

> chief evidence for faith, yet it is the first evidence in the order of nature, to be mindful that wherever we cast our eyes, all things they meet are works of God, and at the same time to ponder with pious meditation to what end God created them. Therefore, that we may apprehend with true faith what it profits us to know of God, it is important for us to grasp first the history of the creation of the universe, as it has been set forth briefly by Moses, and then has been more fully illustrated by saintly men, especially by Basil and Ambrose. From this history we shall learn that God by the power of his Word and Spirit created heaven and earth out of nothing; that thereupon he brought forth living beings and inanimate things of every kind, that in a wonderful series he distinguished an innumerable variety of things, that he endowed each kind with its own nature, assigned functions, appointed places and stations; and that, although all were subject to corruption, he nevertheless provided for the preservation of each species until the Last Day.[125]

Divine self-disclosure taught the faithful to view time as itself providential.[126] It also provided humankind with the manifestation of the scale and the complexity of just what providence encompassed:

> Therefore, to be brief, let all readers know that they have with true faith apprehended what it is for God to be Creator of heaven and earth, if they first of all follow the universal rule, not to pass over in ungrateful thoughtlessness or forgetfulness those conspicuous powers which God shows forth in his creatures, and then to learn so to apply it to themselves that their very hearts are touched. The first part of the rule is exemplified when we reflect upon the greatness of the Artificer who stationed, arranged, and fitted together the starry host of heaven in such wonderful order that nothing more beautiful in appearance can be imagined; who so set and fixed some in their stations that they cannot move; who granted to others a freer course, but so as not to wander outside their appointed course; who so adjusted the motion of all that days and nights, months, years, and seasons of the year are measured off; who so proportioned the inequality of days, which we daily observe, that no confusion occurs. It is so too when we observe his power in sustaining so great a mass, in governing the swiftly revolving heavenly system, and the like. For these few examples make sufficiently clear what it is to recognize God's powers in the creation of the universe.[127]

[125] *Institutes* I, XIV, 20. "Interea ne pigeat in hoc pulcherrimo theatro piam oblectationem capere ex manifestis et obviis Dei operibus. Est enim hoc (ut alibi diximus) etsi non praecipium, naturae tamen ordine primum fidei documentum, quaquaversum oculos circumferamus, omnia quae occurunt, meminisse Dei esse opera, et simul quem in finem a Deo condita sint, pia cogitatione reputare. Ergo, ut vera fide apprehendamus quod de Deo scire refert, historiam creationis mundi operae pretium est in primis tenere, qualiter a Mose breviter exposita, et a sanctis deinde viris, Basilio praesertim et Ambrosio, copiosius illustrata est. Ex ea discemus, Deum verbi ac spiritus sui potential ex nihilo crease coelum et terram; hinc omne genus animalia resque inanimatas produxisse, mirabilia serie distinxisse innumeram rerum varietatem, suam unicuique generi naturam indidisse, assignasse official, loca attribuisse et stationes; et, quum omnia sint corruptioni obnoxia, providisse tame nut singulae species ad diem extremum salvae conserventur," *Institutio*, CO2, cols. 131–132.

[126] "One of his recurring cosmological themes was that only a great and divine power could be responsible for the order found in nature. In passages reminiscent of Cicero, Seneca, and Chrysostom, Calvin called attention to the orderly course of the stars and heavens in order to demonstrate the presence of divine power, ... For our purpose, however, the important point is how Calvin used the traditional cosmology that he inherited to prove the necessity of providence in a dangerous universe," Schreiner 2001, 22.

[127] *Institutes* I, XIV, 21. "Ergo ut compendio studeam, tunc sciant lectores se vera fide apprehendisse quid sit Deum coeli et terrae esse creatorem, si illam primum universalem regulam sequantur, ut quas in suis creaturis Deus exhibet conspicuas virtutes, non ingrata vel incogitantia vel oblivione transeant; deinde sic ad se applicare discant quo penitus afficiantur in suis cordibus. Prioris exemplum est, dum reputamus quanti fuerit artificis, hanc stellarum multitudinem, quae in coelo est, tam disposita serie ordinare et aptare ut nihil excogitari possit aspectu speciosius; alias ita inserere et affigere suis stationibus ut moveri

Even as God was incomprehensible for Calvin, God communicated through the "theater" of the universe, visualizing for humankind a scale human imagination could not comprehend, a complexity human ingenuity could not mirror, and a temporality unknowable within the limits of any single human life.[128] All this, Calvin wrote, was evidence of divine providence.[129]

That sense, as Sanchez argued, spoke to Christians living in exile.[130] God's providential care of humankind was visible in the natural world as well as the sky – one needed nothing human made to see God's communication with humankind. Elsewhere in the *Institutio*, Calvin spoke of church buildings, but "the Church" need only look to the heavens. No one place, and no constellation of human made, now objects, served as media of divine revelation. That was to be read in the universe using the spectacles of Scripture.[131]

The 1559 *Institutio* was the fullest articulation of Calvin's conception of idolatry and of the correct relationship between worship and Creation. In 1543, between the first edition of the *Institutes* and the last, Calvin published a small *Treatise on Relics*, which offered further insight into his understanding of the matter of the liturgy.[132] There, too, he repudiated human "invention," human "devising," which were human-centered, human-oriented.[133] In the *Treatise*, Calvin articulated the twin standards by which one could determine human invention: the Bible and the Church when it was both

nequeant; aliis liberiorem cursum concedere, sed ita ut errando non ultra spatium vagentur; omnium motum ita temperare, ut dies et noctes, menses, annos et anni tempora metiatur; et hanc quoque, quam quotidie cernimus, inaequalitatem dierum ad tale temperamentum redigere ut nihil confusionis habeat. Sic quoque dum potentiam observamus, in sustinenda tanta mole, in tam celeri coelestis machinae volutatione gubernanda, et similibus. Haec enim paucula exempla saits declarant quid sit Dei virtutes in mundi creatione recognoscere," *Institutio*, CO2, cols. 132–133.

[128] "The continual wonder he expressed about the beauties of nature was rooted in his belief that God's presence was seen there, upholding, restraining, ordering, and directing creation. The joy Calvin took in the wonders of nature has been well documented by Calvin scholars, but it is necessary to remember that this joy presupposed the inherent fragility of creation; nature does not, in Calvin's view, remain ordered in and of itself," Schreiner 2001, 28.

[129] *Institutes* I, XIV, 22; *Institutio*, CO2, cols. 133–134.

[130] Sanchez 2019.

[131] "Second, Calvin extols creation's witness to all that is needful for humans to know about God and then condemns humanity's failure to comprehend this testimony. As with the internal witness, the knowledge of God 'engraved on each of his works' is a revelation accommodated to finite human capacity. Once again, the language of perception is prominent: 'First of all, wherever one casts the eyes, there is no spot in the universe wherein one cannot discern some sparks of his glory.' Similarly, with reference to what is said by 'the author of the letter to the Hebrews,' Calvin says that the universe is a mirror in which one contemplates the invisible God. By contemplating the manifestations of divine power in nature, human beings ought to be led to knowledge of God's eternity, God's goodness in preserving creation, and God's love, shown in God's bestowing mercy on every creature. God's power is also abundantly displayed in the course of events, especially in the administration of human society, which points to God's wisdom. And yet, just like the internal witness to God, this external testimony, so clear in itself, is in vain. Humans contemplate the works of creation without considering their author; they consider the course of events and conclude that all is driven by blind fortune. The fault of this dullness is within us, Calvin claims. And so the witness of creation, like the inner testimony, cannot lead to true knowledge of God but serves only to render humans inexcusable. Third, having asserted the inability of fallen human beings to gain proper knowledge of God through creation, the arts and sciences, or God's providential governance of affairs, Calvin turns to the only effective remedy for humans blinded by sin: the word," Pitkin 1999, 24.

[132] Calvin, *Traité des Reliques*.

[133] Calvin, *Traité des Reliques*, 20.

small and persecuted. If a practice had neither scriptural foundation nor any record in the early years of the Church, then it was a human invention and to be excised for that reason. Calvin drew upon these standards to construct a very different history and a different temporality of liturgical vestments, vessels, and imagery than Durand had posited. For Durand, as we saw, vestments and vessels could connect present and past through their materiality. Calvin articulated a sense of time as linear, consisting in moments separate from one another and discrete. He contrasted the lives of the first bishops – teaching, consoling, exhorting, and modeling lives of humility and piety – with St. Peter's chair and chasuble in Rome. Neither the chair nor the chasuble could belong to a time of humility. Chasubles, to the contrary, were "disguises" worn for "farces."[134] They did not and could not serve to connect a biblical past with present worship. Sketching a history of liturgical vessels, Calvin suggested images had led to the use of precious metals and stones for chalices and patens – images which themselves postdated the early Church. Chasubles, chalices, patens, rich vestments, and expensive vessels were not to be found anywhere either in the Bible or in histories of the early Church. As such, they were human invention – that is, conceptually and materially discrete from Creation, biblical history, or early Christianity. They were not *materia*. They did not connect but were themselves dead objects.

The *Treatise* was by no means the first attack on relics. As we have seen, both Karlstadt and Zwingli targeted relics. In its insistence on the numericity of relics, the *Treatise* articulated a sense of matter we might call modern. Calvin *counted* relics. To modern eyes, this seems unremarkable. He counted the relics of the true cross, locating individual pieces in specific places, such as the Sainte Chapelle in Paris and Rome. And certainly, others had counted relics before him. But the *Treatise* was insistent: relics could be *conceptualized* in terms of numbers – finite objects, discrete from one another – and those numbers constituted for Calvin, as indeed they had for Erasmus, a mass far in excess of a single cross. Multiples – of the cup of the Evangelist John, and of the bodies of Saints Anne, Geravise, Sebastian, Anthony, Honorarius, Giles, the apostles, and others – for Calvin, were evidence of "superstition": a false perception of the world, an inability to count and see. The matter of relics was fixed, bounded, finite, as well as "dead." Their form was inseparable from their substance: Bones were bones that could be counted. Relics could never be *materia* through which God communicated to Christians in different places; they could never be signs or mysteries. Durand's understandings of *materia* and *res* have no place in the *Treatise*.

Relics and the images of their saints were "dead." All were "insensible." In the *Institutio*, Calvin called explicitly for the faithful to look outward, to the theater of Creation. All human efforts at making meaning – whether according the material remains of martyrs and apostles sanctity or painting images of Luke depicting Mary

[134] "Il y a aussi bien à Rome la chaire épiscopale de saint Pierre avec sa chasuble, comme si de ce temps-là les évêques eussent eu des trônes pour s'asseoir. Mais leur office était d'enseigneur, de consoler, d'exhorter en public et en particulier, et montrer exemple de vraie humilité à leur troupeau, non point de faire des idoles, comme font ceux de maintenant. Quant est de la chasuble, la façon n'était point encore venue de se déguiser, car on ne jouait point des farces en l'Église, comme on fait à present," Calvin, *Traité des Reliques*, 59.

in oil – resulted in dead matter. Humankind could not make meaning. Humankind could invent, devise, but neither create nor even render other modes of access to divine communication. The faithful could discern divine communication, albeit imperfectly, in Creation, using the spectacles of the Bible. Vestments, altars, altarcloths, chalices, patens, bells, images, or even buildings were all invention, human in origin, authorized neither by the Bible nor by the first Church. For Calvin, the faithful could stand in a field and see more clearly divine communication than if they stood in any cathedral, any minster, any parish church, any chapel.[135]

CONCLUSION

By way of closing this chapter, I wish to take up an absence. At the center of Durand's presentation of the matter of the liturgy was a sense of scriptural *res*: that *materia*, which God had created, existed in a living, ongoing dialectic with Scripture. That sense of a living dialectic disappeared in the sixteenth century, first among Evangelicals but ultimately also at the Council of Trent. We have seen some of the smaller shifts that might be said to culminate in the sixteenth-century severances: the emergence of the Bible as codex and locus; the changing understanding of human cognition and human perception; a sense of "artifice" as attaching to human hands. We have also seen concepts that severed. Luther's and Calvin's conceptions of human "invention" set human minds at odds with Creation and divine communication. Karlstadt's, Zwingli's, and Calvin's conceptions of "matter" as "dead" severed it from ongoing divine Creation and communication. All of these, and more, end in a silence on scriptural *res*.

Scripture became the Bible, a materially specific locus, from which the faithful read. Evangelical churches eliminated the multiple voices that embodied Scripture as sound differentiated within the liturgy. The Bible was read, by the minister or even a "priest," but no longer a person who had been altered through a sacrament. The body of the minister was also no longer a scriptural *res*. A minister could read aloud, but he read a text, words, that were in an object apart from the place of worship. Altar, vestment, stained glass, bell, image – none served to connect place and the Word of God. There was no longer any interplay of stone and wood and silk and linen with the words of worship. Those words were in ink on a page, less spoken than read, their relationship to worship also reconceived. Worship was oriented to the codex, defined by it, and the words in that codex had been written long before the present faithful had been born.

Evangelicals realigned Creation and Scripture. If, for Luther, God's Creation was ongoing, it was also quite apart from human hands and human minds. For Calvin,

[135] "Hinc nascitur nobis et emergit conspicua oculis nostris ecclesiae facies. Ubi enim cunque Dei verbum sincere praedicari atque audir, ubi sacramenta ex Christi institutio administrari videmus, illic aliquam esse Dei ecclesiam," *Institutio* IV, 1, 9, CO2, cols. 753–754. "When the synods of the Reformed Churches in Scotland or the Dutch Republic, for example, talked about church building, they were not referring to the erection to the erection of new buildings but to the establishment of Reformed congregations and the preaching of the Word of God. In so doing they reflected the teachings of Jean Calvin, who regarded the church as a body of people rather than a physical structure," Spicer 2007, 2.

Creation was visible all around, but it was best "read" through the lens of the codex Bible. Wood, linen, and stone could serve as an example for the word in the text, but none brought meaning to that text through its own specific materiality.[136]

The depth and completeness of that sundering is perhaps best demonstrated in the decrees of the Council of Trent.[137] Its first decree established the canon: which books were encompassed in "the Bible." Its second set the Vulgate as the authoritative text. While Trent rejected the intimate personal relationship with the codex Bible Luther modeled, it affirmed a sense of the Bible as a codex containing specific books and that that codex was a text to be read. In these early decrees, the Council did not speak of the liturgy – it had become something apart from the Bible. By the time the Council turned to saints and their images in its last session, it had long left behind any sense of scriptural *res*.

Setting aside "the image question" as well as Max Weber's confessional history, we can discern the shared absence of a sense of scriptural *res* – that dialogic dynamic among liturgy, Creation, and Scripture Durand had articulated. Put another way, Evangelicals were not the only ones for whom God spoke in words that could be printed in ink on paper. The Council implicitly accepted that the center of debate was words, from its acceptance of the Credo to the very last day of the Council, when it passed to the Pope the responsibility of publishing the index of "suspect or dangerous" books, the breviary, the missal, and the catechism – the last three each a specific text authorized by the Church. As Pierre Antoine Fabre asked of the twenty-fifth session, what does it mean, to decree "the image"?[138] Fabre pointed toward the aporia, the very notion that words could name what an "image" could be, could do, or define "the legitimate use" of images.[139] It was not simply a triumph of "the Word." Stone, marble, wood, precious metals, color or texture, line or form, silk, linen, pearls, or lapis were no longer media of divine communication. Divine *redundantia* was no more.

[136] For a Lutheran reframing of "stone," see Wegmann 2007, 14–19.

[137] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, II, 655–799. For the decree on the canon of Scripture, Session 4, 663–664; for the decree on the Vulgate, 664–665; for the decree, "On invocation, veneration and relics of saints, and on sacred images," 774–776; for the decree, "Index of books, the catechism, breviary and missal," 797.

[138] Fabre 2013.

[139] See also, Gaston 2013, 74–90.

PLATE 13 "Gesichter ohne Augen – eine Gemälde gibt Ratsel auf," Stadtmuseum Münster

7

Removal and Revelation

The image in Plate 13 is now housed in the City Museum of Münster.[1] The museum dates it to 1491. On the back, their website informs us, is the name of an otherwise unknown painter, Seewald. The museum lists it as "Faces without Eyes," in which the eyes of all but Christ and two others have been "carefully removed such that one can often see the wood beneath."[2] The online description glosses the removal of the paint designating eyes as "destructions," evoking "the immediate association" of "iconoclasts of the Reformation period." As the Museum's website suggests, there is a long tradition of using the word "iconoclasm" to name a part of what happened in the sixteenth century and a rich and dense body of scholarship on "the destruction of art."[3] But, as the painting materializes, the word has never fit as a name for what Evangelicals did.[4]

[1] "Kabinett 4: Gesichter ohne Augen – ein Gemälde gibt Rätsel auf. Ein wenig sonderbar wirkt das Gemälde mit der Darstellung der Messe des Hl. Papstes Gregor. Bei genauer Betrachtung erkennt man: Die Augen der Heiligen- und Stifterfiguren, mit Ausnahme derer von Christus und von zwei Laien sind sorgfältig entfernt worden, so dass oft das Holz des Bildträgers darunter zu erkennen ist. Diese Zerstörungen rufen die spontane Assoziation hervor, dass sie von Bildstürmern der Reformationszeit herrühren. Doch das Fehlen von Spuren impulsiver Zerstörungswut könnte darauf hinweisen, dass die planmäßigen Beschädigungen andere Ursachen hatten, die wir heute nicht mehr kennen. Die sogenannte Gregorsmesse stellt eine Vision des Papstes Gregor (540–604) dar, dem anlässlich einer Messfeier Christus selbst auf dem Altar erschienen sein soll. Datiert wird das Gemälde in das Jahr 1491 und ein unbekannter Maler Seewald wird auf der Rückseite genannt," Stadtmuseum Münster: Stadt Muenster Museum Gesichter ohne Augen. Wirth offers another reading of the painting, "Christus wird als einziger verschont – aus Angst vor Bestrafung?" Wirth 2000.

[2] For other examples, see Dupeux, Jezler, and Wirth 2000, 316–369.

[3] For studies of "iconoclasm" in the sixteenth century, see Crew 1973; Phillips 1973; Christensen 1979; Deyon and Lottin 1981; Altendorf and Jezler 1984; Aston 1988 and 2016; Christin 1991; Michalski 1993; Wandel 1995; Schnitzler 1996; Blickle 2002; Litz 2007; Freedberg 2023. On the geographic extent of Evangelical acts, see Michalski 2000; Christin 2000.

[4] "'Iconoclasm' is a relatively late term, both in its application to the Byzantine *Querelle des images* and to its more general meaning. Gibbon, the leading historian of Byzantium during the Enlightenment, when the iconoclastic period drew much attention, did not yet know the term and consequently did not study the eighth and ninth centuries of Byzantine history from an iconoclastic perspective. That we do so today is a fairly recent development, which seems to have started in the Anglophone world only in the 1950s with the well-known papers of Francis Dvornik and Ernst Kitzinger," Bremmer 2008, 13–15. For thoughtful discussions of the term and its difficulties, see Burg 2002, 137–141; Boldrick and Clay 2007; Aston 2016,

The painting, after all, remains fully legible as a rendering of the Mass of Saint Gregory. The papal tiara, the mark of his office, remains untouched; the chasuble with its image of the crucified Christ also remains unaltered; the vestments of all those attending are equally untouched, all legible as a manifestation of the hierarchy of clergy present at a papal Mass. Vested figures surrounding the altar have been stripped, literally, of the paint that represented eyes – and that is, as far as we can see, all that was done to the painting. The museum construes what remains as marred by absences, "faces without eyes." But are we looking only at absence? Removal also revealed. We can now see what had been painted: wood. In a painting originally concerned with seeing and not seeing, someone has invited us to pause and ask, what exactly are we seeing? We *might* read what was done as calling attention to the making of an image: the visibility of both paint and foundation render "image" as something made. The museum identifies the figures whose eyes remain intact paint as Christ and two lay people. If that identification is correct, then the removal also asks, who sees? And what does each figure in the painting, designated by the presence or absence of vestments, see? Read this way, removal raises questions of the very notion of "image" and of seeing.[5]

"Iconoclasm," as a way of naming what Evangelicals did, attends to an "object" and to violence against that object, usually construed as "destruction." It occludes other ways of thinking about matter. If we recall Gregor Reisch's physics, for example, in which substance abides even as form changes, then Evangelicals' acts – scraping paint, decapitating sculpture, melting chalices, breaking altars into cobblestones, handing vestments over to the poor – did not, indeed could not, destroy.[6] Many, many Evangelical acts, like that directed against the Münster Mass of Saint Gregory, made or left visible that which God had created: the wood of the painting, the marble of an altar, the gold or silver of a liturgical vessel – even as they also "de-faced," ridiculed, broke apart, melted, and removed paintings, altars, and vessels from the place of worship. Each of these acts called attention to or removed the form human hands and human imagination had given matter. The broken fragments of marble altars remain marble, even as they were converted to use as cobblestones. The Münster Mass of Saint Gregory shows us the wood; it now calls attention to the artifice, the human making, of the painting and raises questions about what we see – and what we do not see.

The verb of choice of so many Evangelicals as well as their witnesses was *abtun*.[7] Analogous to Abgott, the word combines a preposition for away, *ab*, with do, *tun*. In this chapter, I translate it as "remove."[8] Karlstadt's pamphlet called for removal. The

1–14. On the multiple applications of the term, see Spicer 2017. For efforts to expand the term to encompass more than "images," see the collection of essays, Boldrick, Brubaker, and Clay 2013.

[5] In this way, this painting might belong to the genealogy of the images Stoichita analyzes in Stoichita 2015.

[6] On decapitating sculptures, see Phillips 1973, 96. Missfelder offers a reading of the "conversion" of liturgical vessels into "chalice pennies," Missfelder 2021. Kaufman writes of "the large-scale parochial liquidation of chalices, candlesticks, communion plate," Kaufman 2023, 109. On the sale of liturgical vessels for a clock, see Jakob Messerli and Peter Jezler's entry for cat. 199 in Dupeux, Jezler, and Wirth 2000, 370.

[7] In addition to the texts in Chapter 6, see, for example, *Johannes Kesslers Sabbata*, 116–117; "75. Inn gemelten Jar den ersten Apprilis hatt man das Mergenbild so vff vnser frauwen altar gestandenn hienweg gethann," PCC, 19.

[8] The modern online Langenscheidt translations for a transitive verb include get rid of, do away with, and dismiss.

city council of Zurich removed altars, vestments, choir screens and stalls, liturgical vessels and books, lamps and candlesticks, crucifixes and crosses, Palmesel, relics, reliquaries, and bells, as well as paintings, altarpieces, and sculptures, from the places of worship over which they claimed jurisdiction. For Evangelicals, nothing in a medieval church could contribute to an understanding of the Bible.[9] All was either adiaphora or idolatrous, distracting from the codex Bible.

Museums are the physical and conceptual endpoint of *abtun*.[10] Each – vestment, painting, sculpture, liturgical vessel, censer, candlestick, missal, arch, column, window – has become an "object," the word of choice in so many museums, bounded by its own materiality, human in origin, receiving its meaning from human beings.[11] Each can be "collected," gathered with objects similar in form but often from very different places of lived Christianity.[12] Removal was no mere extraction of a chasuble, a reliquary, a figure, from the place where each did its work. Each museum object was sundered from the particular lived Christianity of its locus: the patron saint(s) of a particular altar, the liturgical calendar of a particular church, the devotional practices in which it participated over generations. In a museum, none is a scriptural *res*, interacting with the words of the liturgy. In removing, Evangelicals sundered Durand's made world, severed its complex web of interreferentiality, and reduced it to no more than scattered and isolated pieces. This is the violence of *abtun* that the construct of "iconoclasm" occludes.[13] Evangelicals dismantled an understanding of the nature of divine revelation.

RES GESTA

In its stead, Evangelicals enacted understandings of matter and its relationship to worship that are with us to this day. To see what they did not in terms of the destruction of objects but as enactments of new understandings, in the plural, of worship and its relationship to time and place, we take up a notion we have already seen in Durand's discussion of *ecclesia*: *res gesta*.[14] That sense of acts surrounded Evangelicals in the churches of their childhoods: Gospel narratives of Christ's life, the Acts of the Apostles, biblical stories heard in the liturgy, images of moments in Mary's life, the *gestae* of saints. The Evangelicals who scraped paint or broke apart altars or chopped up wooden crosses had grown up learning of the lives of Christ, the apostles, Mary, and the saints through images, narratives, plays, sermons, and readings in the liturgy, all of which rendered those lives in terms of acts that defined them. *Res gesta* was a literary form.

[9] "Das *sola scriptura* ist ein hermeneutisches Prinzip: die Schrift hat sich an sich selbst zu messen, sie ist sui ipsius interpres, ihre eigene Auslegerin, weil sie in ihren Grundanliegen klar ist," Bühler 2000, 503.

[10] Cf. Simpson 2011, esp. ch. 4.

[11] On missals, see Mudrak 2015.

[12] On collecting, see, for example, Pearce 2010.

[13] I do not wish here to diminish the violence against persons but to suggest that the sixteenth century witnessed many forms of violence, some of which are more visible to modern eyes. For formative studies of violence against persons, see Davis 1973; Crouzet 1990. See also most recently, Murdock, Roberts, and Spicer 2021.

[14] Goetz 1989 and 1999. On the genres of medieval historical writing, see in addition to Goetz, Grundmann 1978; Ray 1970; Guenée 1973.

It was also a way of conceptualizing human action which was to be seen and heard and touched in places of worship.

The term underlines that Evangelicals taught their contemporaries through acts as well as words to see the made world as "things" apart from both Scripture and worship, made by human hands, and given their meaning by human beings. They did so increasingly over time through acts legal and authorized – such as those of the Zurich or Bern city councils or the English crown and Parliament. But they did so at first, as Uly Anders reminds us, through acts which were illegal, dozens of which remain, like that which altered the Münster painting, anonymous.[15] And the term links those acts of removal with the making of something new, which Evangelicals held to be "true" worship.

Evangelical chroniclers such as Bernard Wyss in Zurich or Johannes Kessler in Saint Gall framed those *gestae* in narratives of God's agency in the world.[16] *Res gestae*, for them, were themselves modes of divine revelation: coherent, unified in intent, cogent.[17] Others, such as the Imlin'schen family chronicler of Strasbourg or Gerold Edlibach in Zurich, did not share either a sense of witnessing God's agency in the world or a reading of Evangelical *gestae* as articulations of divine will.[18]

Heinrich von Pflummern of Biberach, a chaplain in the Spital there, offered the fullest single articulation of the dismantling of the made world, detailing with each removal a way of life that had been complexly interwoven.[19] He left a manuscript on the years 1523 to 1544, titled "Something, a little of the most gruesome, most dishonorable, most unevangelical, most godless, most heretical, most seductive Lutherey."[20] In it, he listed some 550 "Item." These included an entry on "the Peasants' War" and a couple of entries on his own acts of resistance, such as continuing to celebrate the Mass until it was forbidden and wearing his vestments whenever he went out. The majority listed what was lost. It was, to borrow the words of James Delbourgo and Staffan Müller-Wille, an "attempt to give finite expression to potentially limitless series" of losses.[21] His manuscript is itself a kind of watershed, in which embedded traditional and ancient praxes, such as the celebration of specific saints in that place, Item 21, or fasting times in the Temporale, Item 22, were "removed" and at their removal, Pflummern could list them one by one.

As Pflummern made so very clear, *abtun* was not directed exclusively toward images but encompassed far more than a single chapter might chart. Evangelicals "removed" medieval liturgical time and the practices by which medieval Christians lived within those cadences: processions, fasting, the celebration of the Mass for a particular saint, a particular day in the Temporale. Removal, in other words, encompassed the banning

[15] Pollman argued that identifying actors was itself freighted, Polman 2016. On laws, see foremost Aston 1988.

[16] *Die Chronik des Bernhard Wyss*; *Johannes Kesslers Sabbata*.

[17] See, for example, Johannes Kessler's opening to his chronicle, *Johannes Kesslers Sabbata*, 18.

[18] IFC; Gerold Edlibachs Aufzeichnungen.

[19] On Heinrich von Pflummern, see Schilling 1875; Angele 1962, 125–129. Wood drew on Pflummern's discussion of images, Wood 1988. On the Reformation in Biberach, see Litz 2007, ch. 7.

[20] Heinrich von Pflummern 1875, 146.

[21] "The term [listmania] recalls the long-standing association of collecting, and its concomitant technology of list making, with obsession and madness, involving as they do the attempt to give finite expression to potentially limitless series of things," Delbourgo and Müller-Wille 2012: 710. See also, Missfelder 2019.

FIGURE 31 Lucas Cranach the Younger, "Unterscheid zwischen der waren Religion Christi und falschen Abgoettischen lehr des Antichrists," 1546 *Source*: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett/Jörg P. Anders.

not simply of the cult of saints but of the very observance of time as differentiated in the ways the medieval liturgical calendar had done. Evangelicals ate meat: on Fridays; during Lent; on the evenings before the holy days of the twelve apostles, John the Baptist, those martyrs who were patrons of the local church, such as Saint Lawrence in Biberach; on Christmas Eve, Pentecost eve, the evening before All Saints, and the evening before Mary's Ascension Day.[22] The removal of fasting, while technically located outside the church, altered the relationship of the home to the church as well as the person attending communal worship – and with it, the very nature of *ecclesia*. Not only were dozens of holy days removed but those practices which wove them into the lives of the laity were removed as well. Pflummern reminds us that those changes were not always welcomed. For him, they were indeed destruction, experienced as unalloyed loss, of the world as he had known it. His "Item" were fragments of the shattered made world of Durand.

If for Pflummern, Evangelicals removed, made absent, what he understood Christianity to be; they offered in the same medium as their Bibles ways of visualizing, as this broadsheet puts it, "The Difference between the True Religion of Christ and the False Idolatrous Teaching of the Antichrist in the Most Elegant Pieces" (Figure 31).[23] This particular one appeared in 1546, the year of Luther's death. It was designed by Lucas Cranach the Younger, who had produced so many images that sought to teach

[22] Heinrich von Pflummern 1875, 166.
[23] On this image, see Hoffmann 1983, 194, cat. 67.

their viewers new ways of seeing Christianity, no longer the practices and matter of their childhoods but reconceived in terms of both time and matter.

Like others, this one rendered a polar opposition between "true" Christianity and "false" idolatry.[24] On the right side of the image, the "false idolatrous" religion of "the Antichrist," Cranach rendered so much of Durand's made world as clutter – its cumulative visual lesson. An angry God looks down on that side, encircled by flames, hand-colored red, and what Werner Hoffmann read as casting down hail.[25] Absent from that side are Christ as well as the codex Bible. All that is before God on the right side receives his scorn, according to Cranach. Evangelicals removed what the right side catalogued: saints such as Francis, pilgrimage, processions, private Masses, missals, habits, vestments, the consecration of churches and bells, the sacrament of last rites, the sale of indulgences. In removing them, they enacted new understandings of worship and its relationship to matter, and with it, to time, place, and *ecclesia*.

On the left side of the broadsheet, Cranach rendered "true" Christianity. It offers us a visualization of what Luther and other Evangelicals understood "Christianity" to encompass. "True Christianity" consisted in, reading left to right, the administration of the sacraments of Communion and baptism, and preaching. Communion is here offered in both kinds and in sight of Christ – on the true cross, mounted in stone, and not an image of the Crucifixion. The faithful receive Communion on their knees and listen attentively to Luther. Baptism is administered to infants and at center in true Christianity. Preaching looks toward the lamb of God and the crucified Christ as the only mediator for God and is materially linked through *words* to them. There is a table, a font, and a pulpit, but no church building at all. Cranach's Christianity required no walls, no windows, no portals, no veils – none of that machine Durand had articulated for thinking about the nature and modes of divine revelation. It encompassed no pilgrimage, no processions, no figurations of a process of growing discernment of revelation in all its complexity. It required no paten, no missal, no candlesticks, no matter of any kind – other than that codex before Luther and the signs Christ himself had designated, bread, wine, and water – to consider the nature of the Incarnation.

[24] On Evangelical visual education, see Scribner 1994. Scribner discusses this image in ch. 7.

[25] "Im Gegensatz zum Ernst und der Würde eines evangelischen Gottesdiensts, dessen ordentliche Gesittung noch selbst im geometrischen Fußbodenmuster sichtbar wird, im Gegensatz hierzu erscheint der katholische Gottesdienst höchst pittoresk und chaotisch auf der durch eine Säule abgetrennten rechten Seite der Darstellung. Der Mönch von stattlicher Leibesfülle auf der Kanzel predigt nich nach des Wort Gottes, sondern bekommt von einem Teufel mit dem Blasebalg eingeblasen. Seine Zuhörer sind keine gläubige Gemeinde von Laien, sondern aufwendig gekleidete katholische Kleriker, jeder vom anderen grotesk unterschieden. So trägt der Mönch mit der riesigen Votivkerze Narrenschellen an seiner Kutte, dem daneben fallen Würfel und Spielkarten aus der Ordenstracht. Ein dritter ist mit Geldsäcken und einem geschlachteten Hahn behängt. Wo bei den Evangelischen der Altar ist, sitzt bei den Katholischen der Papst und verkauft mit Hilfe einer Nonne Ablässe. Die von ihm hochgehaltene Inschrift erinnert an den Ausspruch von Tetzel: 'Sowie das Geld im Kasten klingt, die Seele aus dem Fegfeuer springt.' Außer dem damals bereits auch von katholischer Seite heftig kritisierten Ablaßwesen verspottet das Cranachblatt jedoch auch alle anderen katholischen Riten wie die Altarweihe mit Weihwasser unter Anführung eines Teufels mit Narrenkappe, die Meßhandlung, die letzte Ölung, die Glockenweihe und die Prozessionen. Der über all dies Treiben erzürnte Gottvater straft die Katholischen mit Hagel. Die Fürbitte des Hl. Franziskus kann Gottes Zorn nicht besänftigen, womit die Nutzlosigkeit des Heiligenkultes offenbar wird," Hoffmann 1983, 194.

Pflummern experienced Evangelical removals as absences. Evangelicals, however, understood removal to be recovering the Christianity that the codex Bible set forth: its sense of time, its sense of place, its sense of what worship was and what it was to do. We begin with their understanding of time.

TIME: BELLS

For medieval Europeans, bells were, in Jacques Le Goff's phrase, "the sound of time."[26] In the wake of Reformation, scholars have construed bells as "marking" time – a sense of them as instruments which conforms to Evangelical teaching on so many forms of the matter of the liturgy.[27] But for Durand, bells sounded, existed within, time God had made. In Book VI, the longest in the *Rationale*, Durand articulated in careful detail a sense of *every* kind of time as originating in God – a conception he shared with Jacobus de Voragine, among others.[28] For him, the stages of Creation, the four seasons, the life of Christ, pilgrimage, the Mass, and the liturgical year were complexly interreferential. Durand approached the four seasons not only through Genesis and the creation of the sun, the day, and the seasons.[29] For him, the seasons were one mode of divinely instituted temporal order that mirrored the history of divine revelation. Following that correlation, he divided the history of divine revelation into four ages: from Adam to Moses; from Moses to the birth of Christ; Christ's life; and "pilgrimage" (*peregrinatio*).[30] The annual cycle of seasons was as rooted in divine intent and divine communication as was divine revelation in human history. The sun and the measures of time it engendered were not, for Durand, secular time or agricultural time or natural time but, from "the beginning," inseparable from the rhythms of each Christian life – from baptism to last rites – each Mass, as well as the liturgical year. And that sense of time was sounded for all Europeans.

As we have seen, Durand took up bells in Book I of the *Rationale*, as a part of the sound of *ecclesia*. For him, their matter at once invited each of the faithful into the place of worship of which they were a part and formed complex connections, first to the preacher in that place, then to the Passion, and then to places in Scripture of specific kinds of sound. They connected place, preacher, Passion, and Scripture, sonically as well as materially.

Although Durand counted among bells both handbells and cymbals, his focus was those larger bells, in three sizes, that hung from wood and were rung by a rope. Those bells "beat" or "strike" (*pulsantur*) the hours of the Divine Office. They were to be

[26] Le Goff 1988: 8. "[Bells] were a major – actually *the* major – component of the larger sonic environment of medieval life, pealing out their temporal messages at seven, eight or more occasions in the day. Their contribution was not just to the organization of monastic prayer, but to all daily activities, offering rhythm and a substructure to life," Adler and Strohm 2023, 24.

[27] "Bells were the major markers of time through the period under discussion [1100–1300], nearly all located in churches," Thrift 1988, 66.

[28] Book VI, RDOL2, 120–583. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, I, 3–4. A sense of time as divine in origin abided well past Newton, Galison 2003.

[29] Cf. Adler and Strohm 2023, 9–28.

[30] RDOL2, 121.

struck for processions, to drive away demons, and for that reason, they were to be struck when a church saw a storm approaching.[31] They were struck for a death. Bells' sound was simplified during Lent, differentiating it. Only two times, one annual and one extraordinary, were differentiated by silence: the Easter Triduum and a time of interdict. Bells' sound unified the rhythms of the Divine Office, human death, threats both spiritual and physical, the liturgical seasons, the Sanctorale and Temporale, the Mass, and the Passion. They sounded a way of thinking about all time, as unified, as divinely intended, and as centered in the Passion.

Before the sixteenth century, bells had acquired "voices" as well as names.[32] Even in the seventeenth century, according to Katherine Hunt: "The casting process employed language and concepts that extended the widespread understanding of the bell as a subject: something profoundly person-like, with not just a name and a voice but a shoulder, a collar, a tongue, and a birth, too."[33] As Hunt and Margaret Aston showed, something of that sense of bells abided long after Reformation.[34]

> And if it would help matters along, I would have all the bells pealing, and all the organs playing, and have everything ring that can make a sound.
>
> Martin Luther, German Mass and the Ordering of the Service of God, (*Deudsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts)*[35]

The survival of bells – following the construct of iconoclasm – has obscured just how deeply Evangelicals altered what bells did.[36] Even as many, perhaps the majority, of the bells survived materially in many places of Reformation – which may well reflect a sense among those within their sounding that they were members of that community, even persons – Evangelicals altered the relationship among sound, time, and worship.

With bells, too, Evangelicals called attention both to human making and to the matter of which they were made, separating form from matter. In some cases, such as the great bell in the cathedral in Strasbourg, Evangelicals smashed bells.[37] Others melted them down.[38] In some cases, as in Zurich, Evangelicals silenced the bells and "rendered God's voice audible again."[39] But even in Wittenberg, where bells survived and were sounded, they no longer sounded the same understanding of the relationship between time and worship.

All Evangelicals silenced the liturgical temporal rhythms bells had sounded. In the Cranach woodcut, habits number among the clutter, within the frame of idolatry, a

[31] Book I, 4, 2–3, RDOL1, 52–53.
[32] On the voices of bells, see foremost Thrift 1988.
[33] Hunt 2021: 222.
[34] Hunt 2021; Aston 2016, ch. 5.
[35] Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," LW 53, 62; "und wo es hulfflich und fodderlich dazu were, wolt ich lassen mit allen glocken dazu leutten und mit allen orgeln pfeyffen und alles klingen lassen, was klingen kunde," WA 19, 73.
[36] On bells and Reformation, see foremost Aston 2016, ch. 5. See also Hahn 2015. Most of the work on time argues for the introduction of mechanical clocks as the beginning of the modern understanding of time. See Dohm-van Rossum 1996. North, however, posited bells sounded by mechanical clocks, North 1975: 393.
[37] "Chronique de Sébald Büheler," 75–76.
[38] Aston 2016, 451–463.
[39] Missfelder 2018, 138.

visual reminder that Evangelicals rejected religious vows and with it the separation from the rest of Christendom of one part of humankind dedicated to prayer.[40] With that rejection, they also called into question the sounding of the hours of the Divine Office. Even as many argued to preserve the praxis of prayer at center in the Divine Office, they rejected its formal temporal structure as human made and therefore false – there was no need for bells to sound matins, lauds, prime, terce, sext, nones, or compline, though some places retained a bell for vespers.[41] And with the silencing of the Divine Office, the Mass no longer existed within its rhythms. With that, the Mass became separated from the rising and the setting of the sun, separating what we have come to consider "liturgical time" from what we have come to consider "natural time."

> Bells should be used as a sign which signifies when people gather for singing and for hearing the word of God. They should not be used for the pomp of feast days.
>
> Wittenberg Church Ordinance, 1525[42]

Evangelicals' rejection of saints as mediators altered the relationship of worship to both time and place. Even in places such as Wittenberg that continued to accord the Apostles and Mary days in their liturgical year, that rejection had direct repercussions for the ringing of bells. Bells were no longer to sound any saint's day, whether in Wittenberg, Zurich, or Geneva. No longer were human actors a part of divine communication in time. The Sanctorale was stilled.

In Geneva, Calvin sought to institute new rhythms of worship rooted in Genesis, not the history of the Church: the seven-day week and the solar day.[43]

> Each Sunday, there is to be sermon at St. Peter and St. Gervais at break of day, and at the usual hour at the said St. Peter and St. Gervais.
>
> At midday, there is to be catechism, that is, instruction of little children in all the three churches, the Magdalene, St. Peter, and St. Gervais.
>
> At three o'clock second sermon in St. Peter and St. Gervais. . . .
>
> Besides the two preachings which take place, on working days there will be a sermon at St. Peter three times a week, on Monday, Tuesday and Friday one hour before beginning is made at the other places.

In Geneva, the Supper was temporally separate from the rhythm of preaching. While ultimately the city council of Geneva instituted a different pattern, Calvin called for communion to be offered in the temporal measurement of the month, the lunar cycle:

[40] For example, "76. Auff gemelte zeyt warden die horas canonicas abgethan: das man in allen stifften nicht mehr dann ein ampt singen solte," "La Petit Chronique de la Cathédral," 19.

[41] On changes to the liturgical calendar in England, see Cressy 1989, ch. 1.

[42] "Item campanis utantur ad signum quo significetur quando conveniendum sit ad cantum et quando ad audiendum verbum dei. Non vero utantur illis ad pompam illam festorum." "Wie es eiue zeit mit den ceremonien der kirchen gehalten wirt zu Wittemberg am tag Galli ubergeben 1525 (16. October 1525)," Sehling I, 699. See also, Hahn 2015, 529.

[43] "L'emergence des réformes protestantes à partir du XVI^{e} siècle représente dans ce contexte une contribution fondamentale à cette évolution puisque dans ses expressions les plus radicales sur ce plan, comme le protestantisme calviniste, l'ensemble des fêtes du calendrier liturgique traditionnel est supprimé et seul le dimanche est conservé comme jour dédié aux célébrations religieuses: les grandes scansions de ce calendrier, c'est-à-dire la commémoration des événements fondateurs pour l'histoire du salut (Noël, Pâques, Pentecôte) y est certes conservée, mais elle n'intervient plus que le dimanche; la célébration de la naissance du Christ n'a par exemple pas lieu le 25 décembre, mais le dimanche le plus proche," Grosse 2023, 63.

> Hence it will be proper that [the Supper] be always administered in the city once a month, in such a way that every three months it will take place in each parish. Besides, it should take place three times a year generally, that is to say at Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, in such a way that it not be repeated in the parish in the month when it should take place by turn.
>
> John Calvin, Draft Ecclesiastical Ordinances September and October 1541[44]

Worship in Geneva was reoriented to the times God had set forth in Genesis. During none of this were bells to sound. Bells were no longer to be the sound that linked all the kinds of divinely created time.

In Wittenberg, bells were, following Luther, a thing which made sound. That sound was apart from God's time. The ringing of bells was a thing apart from the rising or setting of the sun, as had been done in the Divine Office. It was a thing apart from the holy days and seasons of the Temporale. The sound of bells belonged, along with the celebration of saints' days, to human invention.

As with so much of medieval worship, Evangelicals found no scriptural authority for bells: not the Angelus bell that called people to pray to Mary, not the bell rung at the elevation of the host, not the bells rung to observe holy days in the Sanctorale or the Temporale. And in that, we glimpse the fundamental rethinking of the relationship between what had become the codex Bible and the made world: If the words on the page did not literally call for the use of bells, bells had no relationship – either as sound or as *materia* – to the Bible. None. Durand's interconnections were no more. Bells could have no connection to the Passion – either in the matter of which they were made or in sounding. The Passion had occurred, finite past. Neither matter nor sound linked it to the present moment. It was recorded, in ink, over pages, within the codex Bible. Bells were adiaphora, idols, things made by human hands that could make a sound. Nothing more.

No Evangelical bell was stilled for Easter alone; no Evangelical bell was in that way to call attention to silence. And in that, we glimpse perhaps most fully how Evangelicals altered the relationship between worship and time. For Evangelicals, Matthew 18:20 might also have been *whenever* "two or three are gathered in my name." Worship was not simply sundered from the rhythms of the Sanctorale and the Divine Office. It was no longer conceived as a praxis *within* multiple rhythms God had set in motion – and which bells had sounded for hundreds of years.

Evangelicals did not control bells in all places and, as Margaret Aston has shown, bells remained beloved even in places where Evangelicals sought to reform Christian life.[45] Monasteries and even churches within towns that, like Zurich and Strasbourg, had instituted radical new forms of worship, continued to ring their bells, thereby extending into spaces Evangelicals sought to define sound they rejected.[46] But those places also testify to Evangelical *res gestae*: There was neither local time, as had been the case with bells set to the rising and setting of the sun, nor universal time, as materialized in liturgical calendars, but fractured time. And in that environment, bells rang differing

[44] Calvin, "Draft Ecclesiastical Ordinances September and October 1541," 62, 66–67.
[45] Aston 2016, 446–488.
[46] See, for example, Missfelder's tantalizing conclusion, Missfelder 2018, 143.

conceptions of just what the relationship among worship, time, and matter was, sounding human divergence not divine communication.

TIME: VESTMENTS

> [1524] On Laetare Sunday the Franciscans in Strasbourg removed [*ungethan*] their habits and put on the long robes of pastors, let their hair grow and wore beards like secular priests. They also put on large capes over their shoulders such as masters wear; in the choir, they wore entirely white over the black robe and the cape over the shoulders.
>
> Imlin'schen Family Chronicle[47]

Cranach also rendered visually differences between Evangelical pastors – administering the sacraments of Communion and baptism and preaching – and the clergy of the Catholic Church.[48] Portraits of Evangelical pastors manifest their repudiation of tonsure and all that it signified. At times bearded, at times not, at times long haired, at times with hair cut in the manner of the laity, Evangelical pastors wore no sign that differentiated them from their congregations, linked them among themselves as a separate group, or linked their bodies to the Passion.

Those portraits also intimate the visual effect of their removal of vestments. There is the absence of multiple forms and their layering: albs, amices, tunics, dalmatics, stoles, and maniples.[49] As Cranach visualized, Luther preserved chasubles in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but not as signs of any kind and not as a part of the layers of the medieval celebrant – "eucharistic vestments," too, were adiaphora.[50] In the Churches of Zurich, Strasbourg, and Geneva, pastors wore simple black. Portraits of Evangelicals visualize the absence of those textures and forms that, following Durand, would have materially linked the person of the living pastor to priests of the Old and New Testaments. Evangelical pastors did not "use," Durand's term, matter that, in turn, placed them in that lineage Durand traced. Luther might have allowed for the continuation of vestments, but they did no work, they revealed nothing of Scripture, they did not link the person of the celebrant of the Eucharist to an ancient lineage or to the person of Christ. They were a material covering, made by human hands and invented by human imagination, that should not distract from the Word of God. Evangelicals stilled the time that vestments materialized.

[47] IFC, 397.

[48] For an introduction to the diverse understandings of "anticlericalism," which ranged from antipathy towards those who took religious vows to the full-throated rejection of a separate caste of persons, see Dykema and. Oberman 1993.

[49] "Vestments were defaced and turned to reformed purposes: albs into surplices or rochets, altar cloths into communion cloths, copes into pulpit covers," Kaufman 2023, 104.

[50] "Vestes praeterivimus. Sed de his ut de aliis ritibus sentimus. Permittamus illis uti libere, modo pompa et luxus absit. Neque enim magis a places, si in vestibus benedixeris. Nec minus places, si sine vestibus benedixeris. Neque enim vestes etiam nos deo commendant. Sed nec eas consecrari velim aut benedici, velut sacrum aliquod futurae sint prae aliis vestibus, nisi generali illa benedictione, qua per verbum et orationem omnis bona Creatura dei sanctificari docetur, alioqui mera superstitio et impietas est per abominationis pontifices introducta, sicut et alia," Luther, "Formula Missae et Communionis, 1523," 214–215. See also, Luther, "Vom abendmal Christi, Bekenntnis," 509. Luther, "Confession Concerning Christ's Supper, 1528," LW 37, 371.

So, too, the portraits speak of another silencing of time. Inventories of vestments, such as that of Heinrich Uttinger for the Grossmünster of Zurich, tell a story of individual vestments – of a red damask chasuble or a green velvet chasuble with white flowers, black velvet with a golden cross or blue velvet with a berlin cross – each unique, each worn by generation after generation of priests at specific altars, bound, perhaps, by color or pattern, to the altar cloth of a specific altar.[51] Some, such as a set of vestments given by a cardinal in 1520, were famous gifts. All of those colors – green, red, brown, blue, golden – and the different textures of silk and velvet, with their differing plays of light, each with its history, and so many forming material links between donors and living congregations, all had been removed in the portraits of Evangelical preachers.

The codex Bible contained God's Word, contained the history of God's agency among humankind. As Evangelical portraits visualized, neither office nor clothing linked the person who read that Bible aloud to his congregation either personally or materially to the text of Scripture. He read it, but it remained apart from him. He belonged to the present, living moment alone.

TIME AND PLACE: RELICS

> 73. In the previously recorded year [1524], the waggoners guild with the help of their pastor, Bucer, opened the said grave of Saint Aurelia in their parish church, and threw her legs into the charnel house with the other bones.
>
> "La Petit Chronique de la Cathédral"[52]

> On the tax day before Saint Catherine's day, the gardeners of the waggoners guild wantonly broke open Saint Aurelia's grave, wanting to see if Saint Aurelia was lying in it. They found real bones inside.
>
> Imlin'schen Family Chronicle[53]

At least two chroniclers thought that opening Saint Aurelia's grave inside the parish church dedicated to her in Strasbourg was noteworthy.[54] One noted Bucer's presence and influence. Both recorded that members of the waggoners' guild – craftspeople – acted. Both used the word "bones," not "relics," to name to what the gardeners found, echoing their enactment, that what had been held to be holy material traces of a holy life were no more than human bones.

If Karlstadt saw relics as "images" that God had prohibited and Calvin counted them, underlining their deadness – not mere inertness, but without life of any kind – Evangelical acts called attention to mere human bones. In so doing, they manifested that any devotion directed toward them was directed toward dead matter, "idolatry" for

[51] Uttinger's list, comprising some seventy entries, some encompassing multiples, is to be found in Weisz, "Quellen zur Reformationsgeschichte des Großmünsters in Zürich," 80–82. On vestments and altarcloths belonging to specific endowed altars, see Haas 1977, esp. 89.

[52] "La Petit Chronique de la Cathédral," 19. For a different account, IFC, 39.

[53] IFC, 39.

[54] Wandel 1995, 116–117.

some. They also sundered a range of ways that the matter of relics and of saints mediated both place and time in the liturgy.

Saint Aurelia had been the patron saint of Bucer's church and of the congregation there. According to legend, she had died on the spot where the church had been built. She was a local saint, all the more treasured for belonging to Strasbourg and its particular Christian history. She was buried beneath the church which came to bear her name. The grave that the gardeners opened was within the consecrated space of the church; until the sixteenth century, her material remains had been a part of the fabric of the place where those parishioners gathered to worship. Her feast day was October 15, which would have been marked by a Mass, and she would have been included among the saints named in the Canon of the Mass for that place, her name spoken, her life remembered with each Mass.

When they named her relics bones and, at least in one account, threw her leg bones out, the members of the waggoners' guild sundered multiple dimensions of medieval worship. They silenced temporal rhythms. The name "bones" denied her material remains precisely the ways they traversed time, mediating the moment of her death and the living present by themselves abiding as something very much other than dead matter. The service that Bucer would enact itself removed her from the Christian calendar; she no longer belonged to the rhythm of worship. No bell would sound her day, no pastor would commemorate her within worship on that day, the day itself no longer distinguished within the Christian year. They severed human connections. She was no longer a patron of that place, distinguishing it from every other place of worship by that immediate connection to this one church. She would no longer hear the prayers of the devout in that place, the material trace of her life now excluded from it. She was dead; all that remained of her was her bones, which were themselves dead matter. Her bones no longer confounded the finiteness of each human life; they materialized it. Evangelicals were redefining the relationship between the living and the dead, severing the dead from the place of worship, moving their "bones" outside. In so doing, they severed the dead from the fabric of the place of worship and distanced them from the community who gathered to worship.

TIME: ALTARS

> 78. On the sixteenth of December in the same year [1525] a wooden altar was built in the place of the city altar in the choir screen, and at that altar the Holy Supper of our Lord was offered and all vestments and albs were set aside and removed.
>
> "La Petit Chronique de la Cathédral"[55]

For Durand, altars became altars through the presence of relics or consecrated hosts. Each altar was intricately connected to the priest in his vestments who celebrated Mass at that particular altar, his vestments perhaps themselves the same fabrics, colors, and textures as the altar cloth. Evangelicals sundered all of this:

[55] "La Petit Chronique de la Cathédral," 19.

> Here we retain the vestments, altar, and candles until they are used up or we are pleased to make a change. But we do not oppose anyone who would do otherwise. In the true mass, however, of real Christians, the altar should not remain where it is, and the priest should always face the people as Christ undoubtedly did in the Last Supper. But let that await its own time.
>
> Martin Luther, *German Mass and the Ordering of the Service of God*, 1526[56]

Even when they left altars standing, Evangelicals silenced all that altars had brought to the medieval liturgy. Even if they did not physically remove "bones" from the marble or stone or wood of all altars, they rejected relics and all that relics had brought to their altars. In reframing relics as mere bones, dead matter, Evangelicals also removed from altars one of the ways they confounded linear time and biological death. Altars, too, became mere stone. Altars no longer linked that place to that life or to the places of that particular saint's life or to other places where that saint's relics were also to be found. Even though altars remained in many Lutheran churches, they had become merely a surface on which the elements of the sacrament of communion were to rest.

So, too, Evangelicals rejected private Masses – all the Masses families had endowed – stilling completely the altars on columns and in chapels where those Masses had been sung. Lutheran congregations may have preserved altars but not the celebration of Masses at them. Even they sundered altars from the lives altars had had in medieval Christianity. And Lutherans did remove altars when they impeded access to preaching.[57] The city council of Nuremberg, one of the earliest centers of Lutheran worship, ordered three altars be removed from the church of Saint Sebald in 1542, "because they 'get in the way of the people hearing the word of God and in front of them the preacher cannot be seen or heard well.'"[58]

> In and around Geislingen, no more Masses should be sung. After ten days, all altars, images, panels, and idols should be removed from all churches and chapels in and around Geislingen and no confession, vigils, papal baptism, chant and other papal ceremonies should be held.
>
> Ulm City Council to the Administrators of Geislingen, August 14, 1531[59]

In those congregations who looked to Zurich, Strasbourg, or Geneva for guidance, all altars were not simply emptied; they were removed. Even in cloisters such as those in Isny and Kaufbeuren who remained loyal to Rome, Evangelicals broke in and broke apart altars.[60] In England, the Queen's Injunctions of 1559 "acknowledged the appearance of the altar to be a matter of *adiaphora* – practices permitted but not mandated in the church – but still required, 'for observation of one uniformity through the whole Realm & for the better imitation of the law,' that the altars be replaced by

[56] Luther, "The German Mass and Order of Service," LW 53, 69. "Da lassen wyr die Messegewand, altar, liechter, noch bleyben, bis sie alle werden odder uns gefellet zu endern; wer aber hie anders wil baren, lassen wyr geschehen. Aber ynn der rechten Messeunter eyttel Christen muste der altar nicht so bleyben und der priester sich ymer zum volck keren, wie on zweyffel Christus ym abendmal gethan hat. Nu, das erharre seyner zeyt," Luther, "Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts, 1526," WA 19, 80.

[57] Heal 2005, 45.

[58] Heal 2005, 48.

[59] Translation mine, quoted in Litz 2007, 127.

[60] The accounts are in Litz 2007, 209 and 246.

communion tables."[61] As they were broken up, the altars became stones used for roads and bridges.[62]

As had happened in Zurich, so, too, in Strasbourg, Geneva, and all those places that took those Churches as models, the altars were replaced with tables.[63] The table introduced a fundamentally different conceptualization of the nature of time in worship. Here was no layering of multiple kinds of time, human and divine. Here was no form that was simultaneously a table and a tomb. Evangelical tables had no connection whatsoever to those human beings, saints, who mediated between human time and divine, whose holiness blurred and traversed the boundedness of human life. Nor were the tables of Evangelical Communion served by a priest – whose very identity had been bound up with the altar as a continuum from Moses through Christ to the present moment.

That sense of the codex containing divine revelation closed off the work altars had done for hundreds of years. For all Evangelicals, altars were mere matter. At worst, altars could – by their material properties of form and substance – evoke the association of sacrifice for those who did not properly understand the nature of Christ's sacrifice, once for all time. But that was only one danger. Another lay in altars' particular materialization of time, their layering of time that formed a living bridge between the time of Christ and the present moment. Altars participated in a sense of ongoing dynamism among the Old Testament, the New, human generations, and the present moment.

Tables were to do fundamentally different work. It was not simply that they were the form named in Gospel narratives of the Last Supper. As we saw, medieval altars, with their mensae, could also be read as tables. Time did not layer in or around Evangelical tables. They existed autonomously of their human congregations, physically present in the place of worship but neither linked through endowments to any human family nor containing a relic, a material trace of a holy life, abidingly present. Formed of matter God had created, wood or stone, which remained visible to all present, in form expressly a table, for Evangelicals they were the literal materializations of Luke's narrative of the Last Supper.

PLACE

> 83. In the Year of Our Lord 1530, one removed [hienweg gethan] all the painted panels, images and crucifix and also the altars in all endowed [stift] and parish churches, and the places where they stood were painted the color of stone so that one did not see where they had stood.
>
> "La Petit Chronique de la Cathédral"[64]

> Thus it is not the stones, the construction, and the gorgeous silver and gold that make a church beautiful and holy; it is the Word of God and sound preaching.
>
> Martin Luther, *Lectures on Genesis*, chapter 13[65]

[61] Kaufman 2023, 94.
[62] Kaufman 2023, 98, 100.
[63] Reymond 1996, 31–34.
[64] "La Petit Chronique de la Cathédral," 20.
[65] Luther, *Lectures on Genesis*, chapter 13, LW 2, 334.

Evangelicals reconceived the relationship of worship to place.[66] If medieval churches had been dense in what Durand had called signs and mysteries, portals and veils, for Luther, Zwingli, Bucer, Calvin, and other Evangelicals the place where the faithful gathered to hear the Bible and to do what it commanded them to do was literally of no significance.[67] A number of scholars have considered the question of "sacred space," but for no Evangelical was the building itself a medium of divine communication.[68] For no Evangelical was the building a scriptural *res*. For no Evangelical was place constitutive of worship. For no Evangelical could a building teach any Christian anything about the nature, the mode, or the content of divine revelation. What made any space – fields or domestic spaces or church buildings[69] – a place of worship was the presence of preaching the Word of God and the correct ministering of the sacraments.[70] What made any space a place of worship, in other words, were two activities that were to be done there. Nothing more. The place itself brought nothing to worship.[71]

Evangelicals did not, at first, build new churches but altered the interiors of medieval churches to accord with their reconception of the place of worship.[72] Removals not only cleansed spaces of "adiaphora" or "idolatry"; they created spaces for Evangelical worship. By the end of 1525, for example, Zurich had redefined "church," stripping each building of its role as a frame for idolatry. Zwingli preached from a pulpit set atop a choir screen he had called to be built, facing into the nave.[73] In Zurich, the churches became a place for worship of a God who could be neither seen nor touched, whose sole communication came through the printed – and in this way only, visible and tactile – words of the codex Bible. As a building, each provided the space within which the faithful listened to and sought to hear the Word of God. In Reformation Zurich, the church walls mutely marked where the living faithful gathered and where the leaders of those faithful studied the Bible. The space no longer consecrated, the walls marked a mere physical boundary, between where the faithful otherwise lived their lives and where they gathered to read, to study, to preach, to hear the Word of God, and to

[66] On Evangelical reconceptualizations of the place of worship, see Reymond 1996, esp chs. 2–4; Grosse 2005. On Evangelical adaptations of older buildings for new liturgies, see Germann 1963, Teil 1; on later Reformed church buildings, see Teilen 2–4. For a survey in how church buildings have changed between Reformation and the present day, see Yates 2008.

[67] "En réalité, ni Calvin ni ses émules n'ont jamais voulu dire que les temples seraient des édifices parfaitement banals, qui ne se distingueraient en rien d'autres édifices réservés à des usages moins spécifiquement cultuels. Ils ne visaient pas à les rendre complètement profanes, mais voulaient combattre le mauvais usage qui pouvait découler d'une piété encore toute imprégnée du désir de faire son salut par les oeuvres," Reymond 1996, 46.

[68] Grosse delineates "holy" and "sacred" as they would have been construed in Calvin's Geneva, Grosse 2005, 60–64.

[69] "The first places of worship used by the evangelical activists between 1532 and 1535 in Geneva were profane: large rooms within private houses, a garden beyond the city walls and, more exceptionally, a public place," Grosse 2005, 66.

[70] On Luther, see foremost Heal 2005. On Reformed churches, see Guicharnaud 1999; Grosse 2005, 60–80; Spicer 2007.

[71] "l'iconoclasme des réformés dans les églises entrées en leur possession n'est donc pas une profanation, mais répond au désir de restituer l'environnment cultuel à la sainteté de la recontre qui s'y fait entre Dieu, présent dans sa Parole, et les hommes réunis pour l'écouter et le prier," Reymond 1996, 49.

[72] Aston, "Are churches necessary?" Aston 2016, 74–79.

[73] Reymond 1996, 32–33.

receive the two sacraments Zwingli held the Bible to authorize: baptism and the Eucharist. All textiles, veils as well as vestments, were gone. Portals were no more than a point of access to the place to hear the Word of God.

Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin all explicitly distinguished church buildings from the faithful who gathered in them. Those buildings had been places of multiple temporalities: liturgical calendars, altars, vestments, and images of many different kinds. Evangelicals removed all of those temporalities, some through the altering or silencing the rhythms of bells, some through the physical removal of vestments and altars. Through shattering altarpieces and whitewashing the walls of church buildings, Evangelicals also removed figurations of scriptural narratives, silencing images' particular interplays of place and time.

Evangelicals severed the ties of place: of altars with their intricate weaving of lives – holy, patrons, devout; of churches built on the graves of martyrs; of walls constituted of generations of the faithful. Even those churches that retained their altarpieces and their stained glass were transformed into boxes where the faithful gathered. Their stone no longer offered a point of reference for the Word of God, whose codex form could be seen at the center of the church, close to where the Eucharist was offered. The codex Bible had no *res* in Durand's sense at all.

If, for all Evangelicals, church buildings were simply where the faithful gathered, the interiors of those spaces differed. In "On the Adoration of the Sacrament of Christ's Holy Body," in 1523, Luther called for the abolition of sacrament houses.[74] In the churches of Saint Lawrence and Saint Sebald in Nuremberg, two of the earliest sites of a Lutheran liturgy, their sacrament houses were nonetheless retained, empty of hosts. Sacrament houses were smashed up in the churches of St. Moritz in Augsburg, St. Martin in Biberach, and St. Stephen in Constance, as well as throughout Zurich, while in Ulm, the city council preserved the house even as it called for its grille to be pulled out – a removal that ultimately was not done.[75] In England, foremost, but also elsewhere, Evangelicals who looked to Geneva as a model removed choir stalls and choir screens.[76] But for all Evangelicals, none of the interiors of medieval churches mediated between the living present and the codex Bible. None was a machine for thinking about Incarnation or divine revelation.

Within those spaces, Evangelicals called for worship to be centered.[77] They rejected private Masses and called for a single congregation to gather.[78] Even those congregations who allowed side and chapel altars to remain in place stopped the liturgy that

[74] Cited in Timmermann 2009, 321. On Reformation and sacrament houses, see also Bruaene 2016.

[75] "By the time the council came up with its plan in 1531, the sacrament house had already become liturgically useless, since the citizens of Ulm had voted in favour of the Protestant service the year before. The ordered removal of the grilles and fence, emblems of the clergy's century-old access privileges to the body of Christ, can thus be understood as a retrospective degradation ceremony," Timmermann 2009, 322.

[76] On the rood screen as separating clergy from laity, see Duffy 2022, 110–113. English historians have documented dozens of removals of choir screens and stalls. For Zurich, see Gerold Edlibachs Aufzeichnungen, 57.

[77] Reymond 1996, 76–86.

[78] "A place which had been subdivided into a multitude of chapels and altars that attracted a similar number of private devotions gave way to a unified space converging around a single centre of worship," Grosse 2005, 75.

was anchored to those particular places and the prayers directed to the saint to whom those altars had been consecrated. Side altars became dead in so many ways. So, too, Evangelicals rejected processions, whether those of Corpus Christi, with their monstrances, or those of Palm Sunday, with their Palmesel and the blessing of palms. They rejected pilgrimage as a physical act. The faithful were no longer to move about within the space of a church building or from a place outside the church into it. Their physical actions were no longer to figure spiritual process. They were to gather within the walls, as Cranach rendered, raptly attentive to the preaching of the Word of God, which would come to be materialized in pews and benches. The only time they were to move during service, as Cranach suggested, was to come forward and humbly receive those sacraments Christ had instituted. In Zurich, the faithful were to gather around the table, placed in the center of the Grossmünster from the beginning of the Eucharist service.

Medieval churches had had pulpits, some, such as those in the Siena cathedral or San Lorenzo in Florence, stunningly dramatic and masterfully executed.[79] But those pulpits, for all their visual richness, had not been the orientation of medieval churches. Altars were. In Evangelical churches, however, altars were stilled or removed. As the Nuremberg city council made explicit, no altar was to interfere with seeing the pulpit or hearing the preacher. The orientation of the congregation was altered, ultimately spatially fixed, in Lutheran churches, with the installation of pews, and in the churches of Geneva, with the installation of benches – so that the faithful were situated, physically placed, their bodies oriented toward the pulpit. In Geneva, Calvin called for the communion table to be placed beside the pulpit – spatializing the connection between hearing the Bible and receiving Communion.[80] In all Evangelical churches, hearing the Word of God was to orient the gathering of the faithful. Spatially, the liturgy had become verbal.

That centering was the direct counterpoint of sundering the made world. Evangelicals had severed hundreds of intimate connections between church as place and the lives of congregations.[81] As in the medieval Church, the Word of God was given sound within the space of worship, but its relationship to worship had changed. Vestments, images, altars, vessels, and the building itself no longer participated in divine communication of any kind. As Zwingli made most explicit, nothing was to distract from the Word of God: not altarpieces, not altars, not vestments, not bells. Nothing mediated the words of the codex Bible. Nothing brought them into the touch, sight, or experience of living Christians. The spatial organization of Evangelical churches materialized the centrality of the codex Bible in Evangelical worship. It was not simply the focus of worship; it was the locus. For Evangelicals, sundering was imperative, so that the codex Bible could become where Christians gathered. It was the place of worship.

The codex Bible lent itself to becoming the place of worship in a world itself being torn asunder. Beginning in the 1520s, expulsions wrenched groups of people who shared a liturgy, a catechism, a confession, from the place where they had first been

[79] On the history of pulpits in Germany, see Poscharsky 1963; on the placement of medieval pulpits, see esp. 18–21 and 30–34; on the medieval separation of preaching from the Mass, see esp. 21–26.
[80] Calvin, "Draft Ecclesiastical Ordinances September and October 1541," 67.
[81] Duffy is most eloquent on this, Duffy 2022.

baptized, then had prayed, participated in the Mass, spoken or listened to the Divine Office, confessed, and received Communion, over generations.[82] If Evangelicals sundered the many connections within each place of worship, expulsion and exile completed the sundering of Durand's *ecclesia*, separating people from place. When Calvin wrote of "the church" in the *Institutes*, he was writing to faithful who had become dispersed – no longer united by place but by their reading of the Bible. In the sixteenth century, thousands of Christians were sundered from the *ecclesiae* – of both persons and place – of their childhoods. Through the twinned forces of dismantling the made world and expulsion or exile, the place of worship became, even for those churches in which Catholics gathered to worship, Joseph Jungmann's "outer frame."[83] For *each* group – Lutheran as well as Catholic, Reformed as well as Anabaptist, each who shared a reading of the Bible – their "Church" became a gathering of the faithful, at times in a field, at times in an attic, at times in a prison, *wherever* "two or three are gathered in my name" (Mt 18:20).

PALMESEL

> And as every year one went from the three parish churches to the Lindenhof with the image of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the honor of God pushed the Palmesel singing the gloria and other melodies, in praise of God with great devotion, that was also removed [hin und abgethan] and held to be a useless ceremony, and no more palms were blessed.
>
> Gerold Edlibach, Zurich, *Chronicle*[84]

In reducing the matter of the late medieval liturgy to "objects," we miss what "removal" encompassed in each specific case and what each case teaches us about late medieval understandings of just what liturgy was and did. Palmesel were one form of a group of what Ernst Stückelberg called "iconic monuments" that participated in the medieval liturgy: the crib, the cradle, the Palmesel, the Mount of Olives, Calvary, the grave, the column from the Passion, and the head of John the Baptist.[85] Palmesel was the name for a carved wooden or stone figure of a donkey, usually placed on a wheeled platform, and usually with a figure of Christ seated on it, which belonged to the Palm Sunday liturgy (Figure 32).[86] By 1500, they were widely in use: Stückelberg found well over 100 surviving Palmesel at the beginning of the twentieth century, five, for example, in Basel and also in Nuremberg, four in Wroclaw. Surviving figures suggest something of how they were also beloved, treasured: In some, Christ was clothed in textiles; in some, Christ

[82] On exile in the Reformation, see Jürgens and Weller 2010; Wandel 2011, ch. 7; Spohnholz 2011; Janssen 2014; Terpstra 2015; Spohnholz 2021.

[83] Jungmann 1986, I, 252.

[84] Gerold Edlibachs Aufzeichnungen, 51.

[85] Stückelberg 1908: 118.

[86] For a summary of the earliest research on Palmesel, see Stückelberg 1908: 121–122. Stückelberg also visited collections and documented surviving Palmesel in Alsace and Germany before the First World War. On the development of the figure of the Palmesel, also in Italy and France, see Tripps 2000, 95–121. According to Adelmann, the earliest record of a procession on Palm Sunday using a Palmesel is from the Vita Ulrici, bishop and saint of Augsburg, written between 982 and 992, Adelmann 1967: 183.

FIGURE 32 Palmesel, late fifteenth century, Musée de Cluny *Source*: Wikimedia. Wolfgang Hoffstatter Collection, purchase, 2005.

wore a crown; in some, that crown was gold. Many manifest great care in their making.[87]

Each traversed the time separating living Christians from the events for which they served as visible and tactile media. Recalling Reisch's physics, we might also see each as formed from *materia* that abided over time – the form changed, but the substance was as ancient as the events it figured in these forms. In 1967, Josef von Adelmann reconstructed local praxes, perhaps better orthopraxes, which, he also found, were widespread before 1500: He identified some 250 places that held processions with a Palmesel. All were enacted on Palm Sunday.[88] Many involved the blessing of palms or plants that were substituted for palms, which, in turn, could be carried home to

[87] Stückelberg 1908, 119.
[88] According to Gräf, Durand mentioned briefly the Palm Sunday procession, Gräf 1959, 89 and 106.

livestock and domestic structures.[89] All involved movement of the Palmesel and the faithful who accompanied it. Christian von Burg found that many of these processions began in a chapel outside the vicinity of the church and involved multiple stations.[90]

Palmesel take us into the heart of the late medieval liturgy, not as "extra-liturgical," but as a way of revisiting just what we understand liturgy to be. As Adelmann wrote, these processions made present for the faithful Jesus' entry into Jerusalem: "one expected, for that reason, that everyone took part in the procession and did not remain a spectator."[91] Palmesel mediated present and past, Christian history and living Christianity.[92] They enacted the entry, the faithful accompanying, year after year, the figure of Christ to the church that was to be read as Jerusalem and the place of the Passion. They were there on that Sunday in the Christian liturgical calendar in which the living faithful enacted that which the liturgy celebrated.

Prior to Reformation, Palmesel bridged spatially the world outside the church and the interior where the Palm Sunday Mass was celebrated. They materially connected Jesus' entry into Jerusalem, every year, to the movement of the faithful toward their place of worship. They made the Gospel narratives of that entry a living experience, linking in their very materiality Jesus' life and the living of Christianity in medieval Europe.

Palmesel were also among the most frequent Evangelical removals in the sixteenth century.[93] With them, Evangelicals removed the way that medieval congregations had participated in the Palm Sunday liturgy, and in participating, following Durand, had brought Scripture to life – not as words on a page but as a narrative encompassing *res gestae* such as the entry in which living Christians might take part. For Evangelicals, no living Christian could participate in the events of Christ's life as they were set on the page of the codex Bible. Those were "useless ceremonies." Liturgy, worship, was written in the Gospels, "this do." And that doing was "in remembrance of me." Time separated living Christians from the life of Jesus. It was not a medium nor could the made world mediate it.

CRUCIFIXES AND CROSSES

Among the most cited of all Evangelical acts has been that of the shoemaker, Claus Hottinger.[94] With the help of two others, Lorenz Hochrütiner and Hans Ockenfuoss, he brought down what the records tell us was a great crucifix in the village of Stadelhofen,

[89] On the early development of Palm Sunday processions, see Gräf 1959.

[90] Burg 2002, 120.

[91] "In der Palmeselprozession wird, eingebettet in die gesamt Osterliturgie und umrahmt von Palmweihe und Palmsonntagsmesse, das Heilsgeschehen des Einzugs in Jerusalem durch die Prozession des gläubigen Volkes vergegenwärtigt. Man erwartet deshalb auch, daß alle sich an der Prozession beteiligen und nicht nur Zuschauer bleiben," Adelmann 1967, 190.

[92] For other examples of mediation, see Dauven-van Knippenberg, Herberichs, and Kiening 2009.

[93] "Der Palmesel is in den Quellen zum Bildersturm nach dem Kruzifix, verschiedenen Marienbildern und nebenm den plastischen Ölbergdarstellungen eines der am häufigsten genannten Bildwerke," Burg 2002, 117.

[94] The account of the trial is in Egli, *Aktensammlung*, No. 421. Heinrich Bullinger gives a brief account, *Reformationsgeschichte*, I, 127. For modern considerations, see Jezler 1984, esp. 77–80; Schärli 1984; Wandel 1995, 72–80; Koerner 2002; Aston 2016, 754.

now a suburb of Zurich. That act engaged modern scholars along a number of lines. Occurring in September 1523, it was one of the earliest of Evangelical acts against what modern scholars consider "images." The crucifix was outdoors – not in the consecrated space of a church, not in a place of worship. It was on a road, not even itself a site of devotion. In a seventeenth-century manuscript of Heinrich Bullinger's account of the act, Hottinger was depicted taking down a cross, raising questions about the relationship of crosses to crucifixes in the early sixteenth century and the seventeenth. Focusing on the crucifix and the act against it, in that framing of "iconoclasm," scholars were less interested that before he did anything, Hottinger talked with others, and two others helped him to take down the crucifix. He was not alone, either discursively or physically. Hottinger talked before – seeking to preach as it were, a way of understanding the crucifix. He approached Heini Hirt, the miller of Stadelhofen, and received from him what Hottinger took to be permission: Hirt had said to him, if it were not right, then he would like "his crucifix" removed. He brought at least two others into the act itself. Witnesses were talkative, designating the removal, according to Hottinger, "a good work [*guot werch*]" – affirming that what he was doing constituted precisely one of those acts that, according to the teaching of the medieval Church, helped to assure salvation. And he talked afterwards, before the adjudicating authority, tracing a path that the Zurich city council found disturbing, even disruptive, but not a capital crime.

Hottinger's *res gesta* involving the crucifix in Stadelhofen is a small marker of the watershed this book has been tracing. It was one of the earliest acts against a cross or a crucifix, and Hottinger may have sought permission from the donor not simply to remove the crucifix but to frame that removal in terms of property. Hirt named the crucifix "his," designating exactly the ambivalent position so much of the matter of the liturgy occupied, between media of divine revelation and material gifts from the laity. According to Hottinger, his witnesses named what he had done in terms they drew from their childhoods, a good work. The Zurich city council did not execute Hottinger for blasphemy but banned him for two years, for "a great sacrilege and wantonness against authority and an occasion of 'much contrariness, evil-making, and defamation among the pious and residents.'"[95] The city of Lucerne, not ambivalent about the meaning of his act, did execute him on March 9 of the following year.

> 79. In the Year of Our Lord 1526, in the same time, one removed [*hienweg gethann*] the great cross in the choir behind the main altar [*fronaltar*].
>
> "La Petit Chronique de la Cathédral"[96]

Of all the removals Evangelicals effected, none is more difficult to trace than that of crucifixes and crosses. At the most basic level, in most cases we have little description of the cross or crucifix. The chronicler of Strasbourg cathedral knew the cross, knew its shape and matter, and knew the practices in which it participated; we do not. Another chronicler, Sebald Büheler, offered two more details: The cross was silver and it was

[95] "Wegen Beseitigung des Crucifixes zu Stadelhofen, als wegen eines grossen Frevels und Muthwillens gegen die Obrigkeit und eines Anlasses von 'vil widerwillen, verböserung und nachred unter frömbden und inheimschen,'" Egli, *Aktensammlung*, No. 442.

[96] "La Petit Chronique de la Cathédral," 20.

broken up after it was removed.[97] No trace of it survives. Those that remain in other churches offer some clues as to size, shape, perhaps even materials, but not to the particular place that cross or that crucifix held in the living Christianity of that particular church.

More deeply, Evangelical removals were not just of single crosses or crucifixes from particular places such as Stadelhofen or the Strasbourg cathedral. While Evangelicals may have taught us to see them as removing objects, in the moment of removal, as Hottinger's conversations as well as his execution suggest, both crosses and crucifixes were much more to many Europeans. More than any other form, as Durand suggested in Book I of the *Rationale*, they permeated the lives of European Christians. European Christians lived among them most intensively. Most churches were formed in the shape of a cross. Crosses had been inscribed or painted or mounted on the walls of a church before it was consecrated. Crucifixes stood on altars. Crosses and crucifixes were stitched onto the backs of chasubles. As Hottinger's case testified, even non-Christian Europeans lived among crosses and crucifixes. Crucifixes were mounted across the landscape of Europe; as the illumination of the Bullinger account suggests, so, too, were crosses. The space that was Europe was inscribed with crosses and crucifixes.

We now tend to see that numerical amplitude as a plurality of specific objects, which we distinguish from one another.[98] For Durand, however, crosses and crucifixes were the epitome of divine *redundantia*. For him, crosses and crucifixes could have been interchangeable: The cross, after all, called immediately to mind the Crucifixion for every Christian.[99] For him, the wood of the cross materially connected it to what we now consider quite discrete forms. For him, the cross laced through the world. Crosses and crucifixes were not simply everywhere to be seen; they designated the complete interconnection between the Crucifixion and Creation. Both cross and crucifix belonged fully and essentially, both materially and temporally, within what God had made and was making. Each instantiation carried in the living present all the significations that cross's and crucifix's dialogic relationship with Scripture engendered.

In Cranach's woodcut (Figure 31), there is only one crucifix, there directly behind the table at which the sacrament of Communion is being offered.[100] That crucifix does not sit on the table – it is no "image" in that sense. It is depicted as surrounded by stone: Golgotha. It is not, following this reading, a crucifix at all but the Crucifixion, a defining moment in the history of Christianity. Following this reading, the most famous of Lutheran altarpieces in the parish church of Wittenberg offers not a crucifix but the rendering, in paint on wood, of that event toward which Luther's preaching directed his

[97] "Chronique de Sébald Büheler," 76.

[98] "[T]he cross's story is neither simple nor straightforward. Embedded in the vast history of Christianity, this multifaceted symbol is implicated in almost every aspect of that much larger narrative. Whether a sign, artifact, instrument, or character, the cross has been cast into a myriad of roles," Jensen 2017, ix. On the multiple forms the cross has within Christianity, see Benson 1983. Surprisingly little has been done on the cross and Reformation. See Koerner 2002; Aston, "The cross," Aston 2016, 707–882. For an introduction to crucifixes, see the splendid collection of articles, Fozi and Lutz 2020.

[99] "The cross represents a singular intersection of past, present, and future, ... simultaneously commemorating sacred history, functioning in the present day, and preparing for the end of time," Kitzinger 2018, 3.

[100] As Hoffmann points out, Johann Friedrich of Saxony shoulders a cross, Hoffmann 1983, 194.

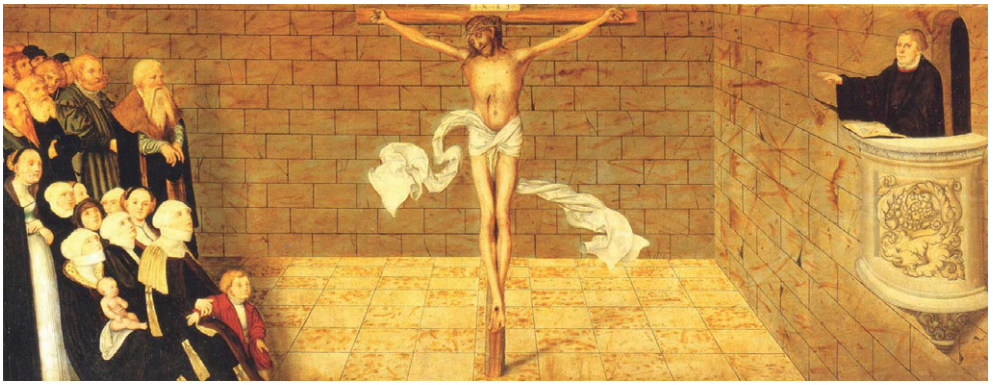


PLATE 14 Lucas Cranach, Elder and Younger, Predella, Altarpiece, 1547, Stadtkirche, Wittenberg Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Luther-Predigt-LC-WB.jpg

audience (Plate 14).[101] The only visual marker that this space is a church is the pulpit. It could be read as *ecclesia* only in the sense of the living faithful gathered to hear the Word of God. It could just as easily be read as a monastic cell or even a tomb.

In Lutheran places of worship, following the altarpiece, the Crucifixion was preached. It was not an "image" at all but the visual evocation of a moment which was past. In the sixteenth century, Evangelicals sundered crosses and crucifixes from Creation, framing them as human made, human imagined. With the removal of crosses and crucifixes, Evangelicals sundered the preeminent way sight, touch, even taste had bridged the time of the Gospels and the living present. Their *res gestae* instituted new ways of understanding the relationship among living human beings, matter, and the Bible. For all Evangelicals, the Gospel accounts were history, separated in time from the living of Christianity in the present. Christ's life was narrated in the codex Bible; no living Christian could enter it – not priest into the Passion and not the faithful in accompanying Christ into Jerusalem or in touching or meditating on the cross.

CONCLUSION

Heinrich von Pflummern reminds us that many resisted Evangelical changes. Margaret Aston, Eamon Duffy, and Alexandra Walsham have all offered evidence that practices as well as bells, Palmesel, crucifixes, and crosses abided long after Evangelicals instituted their conceptions of worship.[102] And yet, in hindsight, we can see what Evangelicals effected. The Council of Trent sought to define the use of images and to establish single codices for the praxis of worship, both the Mass, in a single, uniform missal, and the Daily Office, in a single, uniform breviary.[103] Scholars today approach the traces of Durand's made world as "objects" formed by human hands and given their meaning by

[101] "Wie weit Lucas Cranach d.J. zur Mitarbeit an den genannten Tafeln des Wittenberger Retabels herangezogen wurde, ist nicht mit absoluter Sicherheit zu klären," Schulze 2004, 46. On the altarpiece, see Koerner 2004.

[102] See, in addition to Aston 2016 and Duffy 2022, Walsham 2011.

[103] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, II, 797.

human minds. Modern study after modern study treats altarpieces apart from the clerestories and choirs of their original locations, altars as isolated objects, choirs as discrete from the place, choir, where they sang. Evangelicals severed the building from liturgy and the Bible – for all of us. They realigned liturgy and the Bible, and in so doing severed intricately interwoven temporal connections between Christian history and the living present. Palmesel abide, but more are in museums than in use. Churches are no longer *ecclesia* but "frames" for worship.[104] What has happened to Creation lies largely outside this book, but in the sixteenth century, Evangelicals sundered its many connections in and within the place of worship, placing what God had made outside the place where they read what God had said – as recorded, past tense, in a codex, sundering as well an understanding of divine communication as permeating complexly the world in which they lived.

[104] Jungmann 1986, I, 252.

Conclusion

In rejecting allegory, Martin Luther rejected far more than a verbal technique of biblical interpretation. He rejected a conception of the nature of revelation and the modes by which God communicated with humankind. He rejected William Durand's sense of the interreferentiality of Scripture and Creation. Luther, Huldrych Zwingli, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, Martin Bucer, Uly Anders, and Claus Hottinger all rejected an understanding of revelation as mediated through the made world.[1] In so doing, they also rejected Durand's sense of the made world mediating time. And in doing that, they reconceived just what worship was and what it did.

For William Durand, the liturgy did not have a history as we might understand it. For him, worship took place *within* all that God had made: time and matter. For him, altars and vestments were *res* to be found in Scripture, materially connecting the time of Scripture and the living present. For him, revelation was neither restricted to one site, the codex Bible, nor past, recorded in that codex. It was ongoing. And it was to be discerned in the signs and mysteries of *res* and *ornamenta*.

The conception of "testament" Luther set forth as well as Huldrych Zwingli's understanding of "Wiedergedächtnis" and other Evangelicals' notion of "commemoration" drew a line between the life of Christ and the living present. As Luther emphasized in *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, a "testament, as everyone knows, is a promise made by one about to die, in which he designates his bequest and appoints his heirs."[2] That, in turn, reconceived worship to be not in a continuum from the time of Christ to the present, as it had been for Durand, but cognizant of temporal separation. The elimination of the Canon of the Mass was one formal expression of that separation. So, too, worship became something said among living Christians; the dead might be remembered, but nothing of the made world brought them into the space of worship. The matter of the liturgy changed fundamentally, divided between two essentially

[1] On John Calvin's understanding of Creation and revelation, see Schreiner 2001.

[2] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church 1520*, 40; "Testamentum absque dubio Est promissio morituri, qua nuncupat haereditatem suam et instituit haeredes. Involvit itaque testamentum primo mortem testatorls, deiude iiaereditatis promissionem et haeredis uuncupationem," "De captivitate Babylonica eccelsiae praeludium, 1520," WA 6, 513.

different kinds, those "signs" God had designated in the text of the Bible – water, bread, wine – and all else.[3]

For Catholics, the shifts, while subtler, were in the same direction. As early as the Council of Trent, we find glimmers, first of the changing relationship for Catholics as well between liturgy and what had become the codex Bible; and second, of a sense of "images" as something which could be defined and governed, as, in other words, human made and given meaning by human beings. We see glimmers, in other words, of a shared sense of "Scripture" as a codex and of "images" as objects. Catholics continued to remember their dead, but the dead and the living were no longer linked through scriptural *res*. On one metric, editions of the *Rationale* diminished in numbers after Trent, ultimately to be replaced by studies "more historical in approach."[4]

The consequences of Evangelicals' reconception of the relationship among Scripture, Creation, and worship are immeasurable. Peter Harrison, for example, argued that "a new conception of the world, itself premised on a particular view of the meaning of texts, was to drive a wedge between words and things, restricting the allocation of meanings to the former."[5] The rejection of allegory, according to Harrison, made possible what he termed "a genuine science of nature." The same might be argued for physics and modern theories of time and matter. Hans Belting and Joseph Leo Koerner traced modern notions of "art" to sixteenth-century Evangelicals, if not to their rejection of the made world.[6] It might be argued that in severing the made world, Evangelicals made "Christianity" more portable than it had been. The beautiful white boxes of New England, as well as the magnificent hybrid churches of Latin America, existed in a different relationship to their congregations than had Durand's *ecclesia*, which had been simultaneously a complexly significant place and generations of people.

In closing, I should like to point toward three consequences in particular. Each is, in its own right, immeasurable, and so I can but point in that direction. First, in severing the made world from revelation, Evangelicals altered the fundaments of Durand's conception of sign.[7] "Sign," for Evangelicals, was not a *medium* of revelation but something God *designated*, that is, verbally named a sign. Evangelicals agreed that God had designated three signs: water, bread, and wine. This, in turn, helps us better to understand the bitter battles in the sixteenth century over the relationship of the signs of bread and wine to the body of Christ. The second consequence, let me suggest, was the implications of that severing for understandings of the Incarnation. Evangelicals' reconceptualization of both matter and time in worship led most explicitly to the rejection of any notion of "transubstantiation," but also to no consensus as to what

[3] Here is not the place to take up John Calvin's unique conception of God's self disclosure in the universe, but Calvin preserved Creation as a locus for revelation. Even he, however, held that the codex Bible was the hermeneutic.

[4] "During the course of the next century [seventeenth] the rhythm of the *Rationale* production began to slow down considerably, during the second half of the century especially. New studies on the liturgy, more historical in approach, began to appear. With time these were to replace completely the medieval commentaries with their allegorical method," Ménard 1967, 584.

[5] Harrison 1998, 4.

[6] Belting 1990; Koerner 2004.

[7] Cf. Wandel 2022.

"body" might encompass, such that Zwingli and Calvin would locate that body physically, materially, and definitively at the right hand of the Father.

Quecumque in ecclesiasticis officiis, rebus ac ornamentis consistunt, diuinis plena sunt signis atque misteriis, ac singula celesti sunt dulcedine redundantia, si diligentem tamen habeant inspectorem qui norit mel de petra sugere oleumque de durisimo saxo.

William Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, Prologue, 1[8]

And the third consequence? Let us return to Durand's opening paragraph and how we might now read it. We have come to understand better his conceptions of *res*, *ornamentum*, sign, mystery, revelation, and the human discernment of divine communication. They preclude, let me suggest, a concept that became a weapon in the sixteenth century: the absence of God. The shifts that we have seen in this book, alongside sixteenth-century divisions over the nature of the signs, their relationship to the body and person of Christ, and divisions over just what "this do" and "in remembrance of me" encompassed, laid the foundations for new conceptualizations, in the plural, of "presence" and, with those, conceptions of "absence."[9] As the matter of the liturgy became human made and then dead, "absence" became possible.

[8] RDOL1, 3.

[9] "The internecine debate among Christian theologians in the sixteenth century about the nature of the divine body in the Host hardened over time into the stark dichotomy between presence and absence, which then became the metric for mapping the religious worlds of the planet," Orsi 2016, 249.

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