8. SACRAMENTARY, in Latin, with the Alcuinian Preface and Supplement. France, probably in the Abbey of Saint-Amand, about 860. 170 leaves (11 1/4 x 8 3/4 inches). Gold uncial script (ff. iv-3). Caroline minuscule script (ff. 5v-170v). 15-17 lines (uncials) and 26 lines (minuscules), 1 column. 2 full-page decorated initials, 1 half-page decorated initial, 8 pages full decorated borders. Bound in modern red velvet with flap on spine revealing fragment of figured Byzantine silk, possibly from original binding. [G. 57]

After generations of scholars have searched through libraries, both public and private, for examples of Carolingian illumination, the appearance of an unknown manuscript of major importance is a rare event. Such a manuscript is this Sacramentary, whose decoration, though lacking any miniatures and limited to nine pages, is as boldly conceived and finely executed as that in any other manuscript of the Franco-Saxon school. It resembles in quality, as well as in specific designs and motifs, a fragmentary manuscript in Vienna (Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 958), which has been called by Dr. Charles Niver “artistically the finest” of the Franco-Saxon Sacramentaries; and its ornament is comparable in refinement, though not in quantity or variety, to the “Second Bible” of Charles the Bald (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 2), the masterpiece of the Franco-Saxon school. In such manuscripts as these can be seen the taming of the vehemence geometry of Insular art and its transformation into the lucid, elegant ornamentation of Carolingian art.

The Abbey of Saint-Amand is generally accepted as the center where most, if not all, Franco-Saxon manuscripts were made, and it was there, perhaps, that this newly found Sacramentary was written and illuminated. Nevertheless, the manuscript seems to have gone almost immediately to the Royal Abbey of Notre Dame de Chelles, which was dedicated to the Virgin, Saint George, and St. Balthildis, the saints invoked in a long prayer added to the original text by a different, yet contemporary, hand. It has been proposed by Prof. Harry Bober, on considerable circumstantial evidence, that the Sacramentary was given to the abbey by its current abess, Queen Hermentrude, wife of Emperor Charles the Bald.

The text of this Sacramentary is of a type known as the Hadrianium, named for Pope Hadrian I (772-795), who sent a copy of the Mass book used in the Roman Church to Charlemagne, at the emperor’s request. It was through this authentic Roman Sacramentary that Charlemagne hoped to impose a standard rite throughout his decentralized realm. The Hadrianium was, however, a special Pontifical Sacramentary limited to Masses for stational days, and for general use a supplement was devised by the emperor’s adviser Alcuin incorporating the necessary Mass formulas. The Supplement and Alcuin’s preface occur at the end of this volume. [Provenance: Abbey of Saint-Amand; Abbey of Notre Dame de Chelles; bought from H.P.K., 1961]


For printed text or notices of this MS. see:
G.57 SACRAMENTARY, in Latin, with the Alcuinian Preface and Supplement. France, probably in the abbey of Saint-Amand, about 860.

Vellum, 170 leaves (290 x 215 mm.). 1 col., 26 lines (207 x 146 mm.). Scripts: uncial and Caroline minuscule. 3 full-page illuminated interlace initials, 8 illuminated borders. Binding: modern red velvet with flap on spine revealing fragment of figured Byzantine silk, possibly from original binding.

Illuminated initials: V (Vere dignum, Prefaces, 3); TE (Teigitur, Canon, 5); D (Deus, Collect for Christmas Eve, 9v).

Provenance: Abbey of Saint-Amand; Abbey of Notre Dame de Chelles; purchased in January 1960 from H.P. Kraus, New York.

For printed text or notices of this MS. see:


Grand Chemignon de France. M. 536, f. 140v.

Son of Challemaghe named Louis 1247.

Did nothing worth remembering other than forcibly remove a nun from the convent of Chelles and force her to marry him. (of M. 536 f.)

G. 57  **Sacramentary**, in Latin, with the Alcuinian Preface and Supplement. France, probably in the Abbey of Saint-Amand, about 860.

Vellum, 170 leaves (290 x 215 mm.). 1 col., 26 lines (207 x 146 mm.).

Scripts: uncial and Caroline miniscule. 3 full-page illuminated interlace initials, 8 illuminated borders. Binding: modern red velvet with flap on spine revealing fragment of figured Byzantine silk, possibly from original binding.

Illuminated initials: V (Vere dignum, Prefaces, 3); TE (Teigitur, Canon, 5); D (Deus, Collect for Christmas Eve, 9v).

Provenance: Abbey of Saint-Amand; Abbey of Notre-Dame de Chelles; purchased in January 1960 from H. P. Kraus, New York.

2nd ed. 1968, 356

Jean Deshusses, *Le Psautier Gregorien,* 1921,
155, 9.57.
THE SACRAMENTARY
OF QUEEN HERMENTRUIDE
WIFE OF CHARLES THE BALD
HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR
The Sacramentary of Queen Hermentrude,
by Harry Bober, Associate Professor,
Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

Description of the Queen Hermentrude Codex.

Illustrations:

The Queen Hermentrude Codex
The Reims Sacramentary
The Vienna Sacramentary
The St. Denis Sacramentary
The Stockholm Sacramentary
The Second Bible of Charles the Bald
In this present day, when all the great Carolingian illuminated manuscripts are well known and permanently settled in the major libraries and collections, it seems all but incredible that a new and entirely unknown example of major importance should suddenly come to light. As late as 1952 the last Carolingian manuscript of quality believed to be still in private hands, a Gospel Book in the library of Mr. A. Chester Beatty went to the Pierpont Morgan Library. On that occasion, the Director of that Library wrote: "Regrettably, the available supply now seems to be exhausted".

The new manuscript is a Sacramentary of the Franco-Saxon school, famous for its beautiful geometric decoration of abstract interlace, leaf, bird and animal motifs. It is the one Carolingian school of illumination to take the Celtic style of the British Isles as the main basis of its art, distilling out of Celtic barbaric extravagance, an elegant style, almost classical in its reinterpretation. Precious few are the examples of this art, especially those from its highest period which was during the ninth century. All the outstanding examples are well recorded and many of them fully published. 1) In all the extensive writing on the Franco-Saxon school, there is no mention of the Chelles Sacramentary whose very existence remained in complete obscurity until now. However, those publications afford a secure basis for a complete and positive evaluation of the artistic merit and historical place of
of the new manuscript within this school. From a detailed comparative study I can state that this manuscript is the finest of all known Carolingian Sacramentaries of Franco-Saxon origin. As for its relationship to manuscripts of this school in general, I find that it has only one serious rival in the "Second Bible" of Charles the Bald (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms.Lat.2). Actually, the Bible is superior to all Franco-Saxon manuscripts in richness of its illumination but cannot be said to excell the Chelles Sacramentary in artistic quality.

Careful examination of the manuscript makes it possible to reconstruct a fairly complete picture of the provenance and original history of this fine work. The evidence for the conclusions will be amply supported in later discussion, and it turns out that the historical interest of this manuscript is no less remarkable than what has been stated concerning its high aesthetic distinction. The Chelles Sacramentary must have been created between ca.850 and 860 A.D. in the Monastery of Saint Amand, a foundation closely connected with Charles the Bald. The destination of this manuscript could only have been the Royal Court of this King and Emperor in Paris. Direct and indirect evidence point to its having been subsequently presented by the Queen Hermentrude to the Royal Abbey of Notre Dame de Chelles, over which she ruled as Abbess. Certainly there can be no doubt that the Sacramentary went to this Abbey of the Queens of France and that it remains, today, a beautiful and unique vestige of this great "Saint Denis" of the French Queens.
RELATIONSHIP WITHIN THE GROUP OF FRANCO-SAXON SACRAMENTARIES

The most widely cited authority on these manuscripts is Charles M. S. Niver, author of a doctoral dissertation on: A Study of Certain of the More Important Manuscripts of the Franco-Saxon School. In that study is presented a thorough examination of text, script, and illuminations of six outstanding Sacramentaries as well as other leading manuscripts of the school. The Sacramentaries include:

1. Leningrad, State Library, Ms.Q.V.1.41.
2. Vienna, National Library, Ms.958 (fragment). (Illustr.XXXX-XXIV)
3. Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms.213. (Illustr. XXI-XXII)
4. Stockholm, Royal Library, Ms.A.136. (Illustr. XXV-XXIX)
5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms.Lat.2250. (Illustr.XXV-XXVI)
6. Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms.162-163.

Even the most cursory examination makes it apparent that the Chelles Sacramentary is intimately related to this group, using the same system of illuminated framing borders and initial pages, the same basic composition, and repertoire of decorative motifs. In particular, it resembles the Vianna, Reims, and Stockholm manuscripts so closely in essential elements and in detail, that there is no doubt that our Sacramentary must have come from the same atelier which produced those manuscripts.

DECORATION OF THE CHELLES SACRAMENTARY

The sequence of illuminated leaves follows the rest of the group in its general plan. Only the Reims manuscript exceeds the total of 9 decorated leaves of the Chelles Sacramentary, having 12 in all. The others all have fewer illuminations (Leningrad 6, Vienna 8, Stockholm 6, and Cambrai 2).
Title of the Sacramentary and directions for use in gold uncial script with illuminated borders of interlace panels; large roundels at the four corners, and interlacing volutes forming two pairs of "horns" at the middle of each of the vertical borders. The corner roundels are filled with concentric rings and acanthus fleurons, or serpent-headed interlace. Gold and silver are the main colors used, but there are delicate fillings of strips and ornament in red, yellow, blue, and green. (Illustr. II).

Directions continued from fol. 1v and concluded. In gold uncial script, with similar framing and decoration matching fol. 1v which this leaf faces (Illustr. III).

Beginning of Preface, in gold uncial script, with illuminated borders of interlace panels; large quatrefoils at the corners, each divided into four compartments filled with fleurons and leaves. At the middle of the vertical borders are square panels, each filled with simple geometrical interlace. Gold and silver framing bands, with color as described for fol. 1v. (Illustr. IV).

Preface continued, with full page initial "V" in chalice form, with "ERE" in gold letters set within the "V". Interlace panels fill the verticals of the letter while the upper terminals are formed of bold interlace, volute, and beast-head projections. The base of the "V" is composed of large interlace elements and bold sweeping volutes as the "foot" of the chalice. The gold letters "ERE" within the large initial, are of rectangular design, the letter terminals ending in arrow-heads. The main contour of the initial is outlined in a fine series of red dots. This leaf is framed to match fol. 2v, which it faces. (Illustr. V).

Preface continued, in gold uncial script, with illuminated border of interlace panels and rectangular corner elements containing geometric and flower filling. Circular medallions with floral and interlace filling are placed on the cross-axis of the framing border. (Illustr. VI).

Conclusion of the Preface, in gold uncial script, framed to match fol. 3v, which it faces. (Illustr. VII).
7. fol. 4v Opening of the Canon of the Mass, with large monogram "TF" in gold, silver and color, each letter with interior panels of interlace. The terminals of the initials are composed of large, bold interlace and volutes, with biting bird and beast heads. Wide illuminated border, filled with fine interlace, corners in gold and silver bands forming lacertine beasts, entwined in a heart-shaped design, through which the beast-heads interlace and project on one side, while a foliate tail balances it on the other. (Illustr. VIII).

8. fol. 5r Continuation of the Canon, in gold uncialis, framed to match fol. 4v, which it faces. (Illustr. IX).

9. fol. 9v Illuminated initial "D" enclosing "S", with interlace panels and volutes at top and bottom of the vertical element of the "D". This initial is colored gold, yellow, purple, green and blue. The interior initial "E" (completing the abbreviated "Deus"), is in black with reserve dots of yellow spattered evenly over the letter. The terminals of the "S", as well as the ends of the abbreviation sign over the letter, end in arrow-heads. (Illustr. X).

COMPARISON WITH OTHER FRANCO-SAXON SACRAMENTARIES

The manuscripts of this group are so close to each other in their decoration as to make qualitative distinctions difficult to tell at first glance. But it is quite simple to observe that the Cambrai Sacramentary is generally poor, perhaps the poorest of the group, with modest initials and no borders. 3) On the other hand, the Reims manuscript, richest in total number of illuminations is still not the best, in that it is somewhat coarser and heavier in execution than some of the others (see illustrations XXI-XXII). This has already been observed by Dr. Niver who considers that the Reims manuscript must therefore be among the latest of the series. He concludes that the Vienna manuscript (Illustr. XXII-XXIV) is "artistically the finest of the group". 4) No doubt the Vienna Sacramentary (which is actually only a fragment of 8 leaves from the beginning of a Sacramentary)
is fine, but it can now be said that the Chelles manuscript is not only distinctly finer but also earlier than the Vienna fragment.

The superiority of the Chelles Sacramentary to the Vienna leaves may be simply demonstrated if we compare the main illustrations - the "VERE" leaf and the "TE" monogram. In the Vienna manuscript the initial "V" (illustr. XXIII) swells to form a wide letter whose vertical stem and base are in unhappy contrast - the base being too heavy and inert for the slender stems. In the Chelles manuscript (illustr. V) the "V" is composed in an elegant chalice form; the vertical and horizontal elements are gracefully proportioned and related in a subtle progression of widths. Moreover, the interlace design and its colored fill at the base and upper terminals are clear, light, and logical, in this manuscript. In the Vienna page, those elements are somewhat jumbled, and the straps of the interlace meager in relationship to the whole. The beast-heads at the tops of the "V" in the Chelles initial are finely delineated and lively; their mouths are open and show long curling tongues, protruding in a graceful sweep. The Vienna beast heads are without spirit, their mouths dumbly closed, the drawing and detail less refined. A conclusive difference lies in the fact that the Vienna manuscript uses only one interlace pattern for all four panels of the horizontal borders, in almost mechanical repetition. The artist of the Chelles Sacramentary uses two different interlace panels for the corresponding borders, and alternates them in a subtle way; the sequence for the top becomes reversed at the bottom.

The contrast between the Vienna and the Chelles Sacramentaries for the "VE" monogram is even more strongly in favor of the latter (compare Chelles fol. 4v, illustr. VIII with illustr. XXIV). In the Chelles manuscript
the cross-bar of the "T" ends in spirited beast-heads which bite the 
corner heart-shaped bands. In the Vienna initial the beast-heads are small,
even insignificant; far from biting anything, they simply droop down into 
the space at the sides. Comparison of further details serve only to con-
firm this contrast which favors the artistic superiority of the Chelles 
Sacramentary. It is most likely that the Vienna manuscript represents 
a later use of the motifs seen in the Chelles illuminations whose quality 
and spirit have lost their original impact in transmission.

The qualitative differences observed for the Vienna manuscript 
hold true even more emphatically for others of this group (such as the 
Stockholm or Paris examples — see illustr. XXV-XXIX), leaving the Chelles 
Sacramentary as an outstanding masterpiece among the Franco-Saxon Sacra-
mentaries. Its only peer in this school (including Franco-Saxon manu-
scripts of all kind), is the famous "Second Bible" of Charles the Bald, of 
ca. 870, in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms.Lat.2), described by Jean 
Porcher as "le plus magnifique témoin de l'art franco-insulaire". 5) To 
this manuscript the Chelles Sacramentary is very close indeed (compare our 
fol. 9v, illustr. X, with illustr. XXX). However, the Bible of Charles 
the Bald uses the same elements of design and detail in a far more elaborate 
way, sometimes more complicated and, at other times, less pure and perfect 
than the way in which they appear in our manuscript. The Chelles Sacra-
mentary, by contrast, represents the Franco-Saxon style at its purest and 
most "classical" phase, while the Bible of Charles the Bald already be-
trays signs of arbitrary virtuosity and complication, symptomatic of the 
later developments in this school (see illustr. XXXI).
PALEOGRAPHICAL EVIDENCE FOR ORIGIN IN SAINT AMAND

Dr. Niver made an impressive case for placing the origin of the Franco-Saxon manuscripts in the Monastery of Saint Amand, a thesis which is today followed by most scholars. 6) In the instance of the Stockholm Sacramentary, there is certainly no difference of opinion concerning the conclusion that it was made at Saint Amand for use there, judging from the Calendar, the Litany, and the liturgy of the Canon. 7) The Stockholm manuscript was therefore taken as the standard for the style of handwriting at Saint Amand, whose characteristics Dr. Niver describes in the following terms: 8)

1. The general appearance of the script is one of great regularity, squareness, and compactness.
2. The upright strokes of letters are as nearly vertical as possible.
3. Cross-strokes have a strongly horizontal character.
4. The haste of the upright strokes are kept extremely low, so that they project only slightly above the tops of the other letters.
5. The ligatures for st and ct are regularly used. They are sometimes completely joined by horizontal strokes; sometimes with slight space between the stroke of the t and the g, or g.
6. Curves of m, n, ñ, and t, are reduced to a minimum
7. There is a square effect of the letters, especially apparent in the syllable um.

These characteristics of the Stockholm writing (see illustr. XXVIII) match the script in the Chelles Sacramentary (illustr. X, XVII-XX) so precisely in general and in detail, that there can be not doubt that it, too, was written at Saint Amand.

THE ENTRY OF THE SACRAMENTARY

INTO THE ROYAL ABBEY OF NOTRE DAME DE CHELLES

That our Sacramentary might well have been destined for a church directly affiliated with the court seems indicated at the outset from the
sumptuous character of its extensive decoration at the opening of the manuscript. The first five leaves are resplendent with writing entirely in gold uncials, richly framed with fine decoration and with full-page initials illuminated with unusual perfection. In accepting Saint Amand as their place of origin it is worth recalling the direct connections between that Abbey and King Charles the Bald (ruled 840-877; Emperor from 875). It is most interesting to note that the leading alternative localization for the Franco-Saxon manuscripts that has been proposed is the Royal Abbey of Saint Denis, near Paris. 9) The Saint Denis theory is based on the high quality of these manuscripts, the close relationship which they bear to Charles the Bald, and the fact that one, at least, was written for Saint Denis (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms.Lat.2290, illustr. XXV,XXVI). 10)

Within a short period after it was completed, our Sacramentary entered the Royal Abbey of Notre Dame de Chelles. The path by which it came to be so presented will be discussed later but the important fact, for the present, is that it was certainly given to that Abbey and used there. We know that this was the case since prayers and masses, added in two different places in our manuscript, point precisely to this Abbey of the Queens of France.

The decisive evidence on this point is to be found in a long prayer, added after the table of Alcuin's supplement (see our fol. 105v, illustr. XVII), invoking the saints especially venerated at that place, namely, the Virgin, Saint George, and St. Balthildis. The closing lines of this prayer read:

Ne despicias nos domine clamantes ad te, set propter gloriam nominis tuui et misericordia qua locum istum fundasti, et in honore sanctae domini genitricis mariae, Sanctique Georgii, Necon et Sanctae Balthildis sublimasti, visita nos in pace et erue a presenti angustia.
These Saints are the very ones to whom the basilica of the Royal Abbey of Chelles was dedicated, placing the manuscript there beyond any question. For the Royal Abbey of Chelles, a religious retreat for women, was originally dedicated to St. George, traditional protector of womankind. St. Balthildis (whose name is actually written in larger letters than the rest), was none other than Queen Balthildis (d. 680), who founded the Abbey in 648, retiring there herself in 664 or 665 to live as a simple nun. It was built upon the site of an earlier religious house founded by Clotilda, wife of Clovis I, about 500. Queen Baltilda, wife of Clovis II and mother of three Kings of France, ruled the Frankish kingdom as regent from 656, when Clovis died, to 664–665, when her son Clothaire III came of age. Her veneration was such that her remains were removed to a place behind the altar of the Abbey Church in 833 in the midst of pomp and ceremony, attended by the Emperor Louis the Pious, the Bishop of Paris, and other high prelates and lords of the court. Numerous miraculous healings were almost immediately wrought by her remains and she was canonized by Nicholas I (Pope 858–967). As for the dedication to the Virgin, we know that the Princess Giselle (daughter of King Pepin, and sister of Charlemagne), Abbess of Chelles from 788 to 810, had built an enlarged basilica for the growing Abbey early in the ninth century and had consecrated it to the Virgin.

There is yet another indication to this already impressive evidence. On the recto of the first folio of our manuscript has been added a commemorative mass in honor of St. Bertilla (illstr. I). St. Bertilla was, in fact, the first Abbess of the new foundation of
Chelles, governing it from 656 until her death ca. 702.

It will be observed that the two handwritings used for these additions differ in marked respects from that of the rest of the manuscript. The differences are not those of any perceptible interval of time but rather between scriptoria. The body of the manuscript was written at Saint Amand, while the additions were written at Chelles and reflect the characteristics of the style of writing used in Paris and its vicinity. Indeed certain features of the additions are to be matched in manuscripts known to have been written at Saint Denis, notably: the Psalter of Charles the Bald, Paris, B.N., Ms.Lat.1152; and the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald, Munich, Schatzkammer. Among these traits we find the rounding of the letters (note the um as endings as compared with Saint Amand), and the exaggerated high arch of the st and at ligature as opposed to the smooth and restrained manner of Saint Amand. 12)

We have good reason to believe that there was an active scriptorium in the Abbey of Chelles and its traditions had been developed out of direct inspiration and direction of Alcuin himself. 13) The additions to our manuscript thus constitute precious specimens of the writing practised in this scriptorium, apparently the sole documented example known. On the basis of what is preserved in the Chelles Sacramentary may be founded the only known hope for the recovery of other works which came from this important Abbey.

NOTRE DAME DE CHELLES, THE ABBEY OF THE QUEENS

Important for the reconstruction of the original history of our Sacramentary is an understanding of the character of the Abbey of Notre Dame de Chelles. Whereas the Royal Abbey of the Kings of France, that of Saint Denis, has come more and more to the fore in modern scholar-
ship, Chelles has been practically lost from sight among recent historians. But it is plain that Chelles, from as early as ca. 500 A.D., was to the Queens and noble ladies of France, what St. Denis was to the Kings and the male nobility.

Already in the sixth century we have a contemporary record in the reports of Gregory of Tours, whose famous History of the Franks tells us that there was a Royal Villa at Chelles, used as a retreat and a hunting lodge. It was there that King Chilperic would go in retreat or to the hunt; it was there that he was murdered while hunting, in 584. Gregory reports important royal treasures which had been kept there. 114)

In the eighth century the Emperor Charlemagne placed his sister Giselle at the head of the Abbey which she ruled from 768 to 810. Among the nuns at Chelles during this period were two daughters of Charlemagne (Pictrude, and another Giselle), and even two English princesses. Instruction at Chelles was directed by none less than Alcuin, mainly through correspondence but, apparently, also in person. Under the Abbess Giselle, the foundation flourished, receiving a new and larger basilica, developing an important scriptorium, and accumulating rich benefices, Giselle's gifts to the Abbey included, among other things, precious manuscripts. Indeed, such was the wealth of Chelles that they were able to make significant gifts of land to the Abbey of Saint Denis!

Among the successors to Giselle at Chelles, we find Helvide I (825-835), mother or step-mother of Judith, wife of the Emperor Louis the Pious. It was on the occasion of a visit from the Emperor Louis to Chelles in 833 (and upon his order) that an elaborate ceremony for the translation
of the body of St. Balthilda to the altar of the recently built large basilica was planned. For the occasion, the Bishop of Paris, Erkenrad, "accompanied by a great number of prelates and lords...and a throng of priests, virgins and faithful" came to Chelles. The excitement of the occasion, and a number of miracles effected by her remains, drew a great crowd from Paris, including "the entire court", according to an old chronicle of the convent. 15)

The peculiar function of the Royal Abbey of Notre Dame de Chelles was obviously oriented in relationship to the royal and noble ladies of France. There they might be sent into tasteful exile, or might withdraw by choice to a life of religious devotion, all amidst socially suitable company, surroundings, and worthy style. Some might serve with honor in Christian service from the high post of Abbess of the Monastery; others might choose — or be given — that remunerative position as a sinecure. Obviously the Convent of this Abbey stood apart from all others in France in much the same way that the Abbey of Saint Denis stood in close royal affiliation throughout the history of the French monarchy. This exceptional status of Chelles sometimes gave pause to theologians and statesmen of those days, as well as to later historians, one of whom commented: 16)

These princesses, these Queens, who succeeded each other in those days, under the title of Abbesses, while retaining their (secular) status and without subjecting themselves to monastic life,...did they act & thus on principle of devotion, or to give honor to themselves, or to protect the monasteries, or derive temporal advantage from them?

QUEEN HERMENTRUD, ABBESS OF CHELLES (855-869)

Of all the Royal ladies who ruled the Abbey of Notre Dame de Chelles, Queen Hermentrude stands out in an exceptional light both for the rule of the Abbey and relevance to the history of our Sacramentary. King Charles
the Bald appointed Hermentrude, his wife, Abbess of the monastery by
commenda, a commission of ecclesiastical benefice entitling the holder
to the revenues of the foundation in question. She ruled Chelles until
her death in 869 but even then the bonds with the court were not broken
for the rule passed to her daughter, the Princess Rotilde. By its very
nature, such rule by commendas enabled Queen Hermentrude, as secular
Abbess, to govern Chelles while retaining her position and activities
at the court.

QUEEN HERMENTRUD AND THE CHELLES SACRAMENTARY

The concert of evidence, with impressive coincidence in
history and circumstance, leads consistently to the conclusion that our
Sacramentary must have been presented to the Royal Abbey of Chelles within
the period of the reign of the Abbess–Queen Hermentrude. It would be almost
impossible to avoid the further conclusion that the Queen herself made the
presentation. The most cogent points in support of this interpretation
may be considered under a number of different headings listed below:

A: DIRECT AND CLOSE CHRONOLOGICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR MANUSCRIPT
AND THE REIGN OF QUEEN HERMENTRUD

The main group of Franco-Saxon manuscripts of the early and
the "classical" period of its first flowering, has been placed between
850/860 for the earliest manuscripts, while the later date towards and just
after about 870. On comparative stylistic grounds it has already been ob-
served that our Sacramentary must date well before both the Reims Sacrament-
ary (of ca. 870), and the "Second Bible" of Charles the Bald (ca. 871-877).17
The relative period for the new Sacramentary thus indicated, would fall before
about 860 and, possibly, as early as ca. 850. The critical dates in the life-
time of Queen Hermentrude are suggestively coincidental with the presumed
date of the Sacramentary. Hermentrude was married to King Charles in 842,
became Abbess of Chelles in 855, and died in 869.

B: CLOSE PERSONAL LINK BETWEEN THE FRANCO-SAXON STYLE AND CHARLES THE BALD

Quite apart from the fact that the original and classic development of the great Franco-Saxon manuscripts belongs precisely within the reign of King Charles the Bald, there is repeated evidence which connects this King directly with the Franco-Saxon school and its productions. Indeed, the "classic" Franco-Saxon manuscript style might well be called "The Style of Charles the Bald". Charles had a personal interest in the Abbey of Saint Amand for he had sent his twin sons, Drogo and Peppin, there for schooling. 18) Milo of Saint Amand was tutor to the young princes and if this famous Carolingian scholar and poet was not also a personal friend of the King, at least he dedicated two important works to him. Another son of Charles, Carlomann, became Abbot of Saint Amand for a short period, between 867 and 871. During the reign of Charles we have records of at least five charters granted by the King to the monastery (between 847 and 871). 19) Among the grants is one of 863 for certain building, which also mentions glass decoration and names the artisans who executed this work at Saint Amand. 20) Thus we see that King Charles' patronage of Saint Amand included benefices of major artistic interest and that while the manuscripts are our most important surviving evidence they do not stand alone in this class.

C. FRANCO-SAXON MANUSCRIPTS MADE FOR KING CHARLES THE BALD

King Charles the Bald, after Charlemagne, was surely the foremost patron of luxury manuscripts among the Carolingian rulers. 21) For him the great scriptorium of Tours produced the famous "First Bible" now in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms.Lat.1), presented to him by the Abbot Count William, and datable ca. 846. A number of manuscripts written
and illuminated at Saint Denis were made especially for him and include the Psalter of Charles the Bald (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 1152) and the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald in the Munich Schatzkammer. The Psalter mentions not only the King, but also Queen Hermentrude.

The richest of the Franco-Saxon manuscripts, the "Second Bible" already mentioned, contains a dedicatory poem which proves that this was indeed made for the King, between about 871 and 877. The "Second Bible" was presented by the King to the Abbey of Saint Denis and kept in the Treasury of the Abbey Church until 1595. Finally, we may recall, one of the outstanding Saint Amand Sacramentaries (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 2290), was made for Saint Denis — obviously, especially commissioned from the remarkable scriptorium of Saint Amand, most probably by the King himself.

D: KING CHARLES AND SAINT DENIS: SAINT DENIS AND CHELLES

In the period which interests us, Saint Denis and Notre Dame de Chelles were practically royal twins — born, we might say, of the same royal mother, Queen Béthildis. She was most famous as the foundress of Chelles (648) but it is often overlooked that it was also Béthildis who introduced the two decisive elements for the real birth of the Abbey of Saint Denis out of a somewhat motley earlier history. Obviously a woman of high religious devotion, she turned her energies to both of these courtly religious centers at the same time. Probably just after she became Regent of France (656), she introduced regular monastic rule to Saint Denis, therewith raising the foundation to the true status of an Abbey. 22)

Closely coupled with this event was the grant of royal immunity, the distinctive privilege of this Abbey, and one which was decisive for
its great future. Again, it was Queen Bathilde who accorded this privilege to Saint Denis. The power and prosperity of Chelles developed swiftly, possibly in advance of Saint Denis, for by the end of the eighth century the Abbess Giselle of Chelles (sister of Emperor Charlemagne), gave considerable grants of land to the Abbey of Saint Denis.

Under King Charles the Bald these two Royal Abbeys became more directly connected with the Crown than ever before. Charles had made his Queen Hermentrude Abbess of Chelles in 855, to rule by commenda. And when the Abbot of Saint Denis died in 867, he took for himself the title of Abbot of that monastery. Thus we find a close personal union between the Crown and the Royal Abbeys which must be seen as equivalent components of a single imperial ambition and force.

"ET GLORIOSISSIME REGE NOSTRO"

THE ROYAL ROAD FROM SAINT AMAND TO NOTRE DAME DE CHELLES

Some of the most significant finds concerning the new Sacramentary might now be recapitulated before we may proceed to still another question which must be answered. In this Sacramentary we have a work of exceptional quality, written and decorated at Saint Amand. It can be dated within the reign of King Charles the Bald and, further, within the period after his marriage to Queen Hermentrude in 842, but before her death in 869. The King, closely associated with the Monastery of Saint Amand, owned some of the finest Franco-Saxon manuscripts produced at this Abbey and presented at least one, of which we know, to the Royal Abbey of Saint Denis. Finally, it is now clear that Saint Denis stood in the same relationship to King Charles, as Notre Dame de Chelles stood to Queen Hermentrude.

But it must still be explained, if possible, by what path the Sacramentary was passed from Saint Amand where it originated, to Chelles where it was deposited and used. Even if there were no further direct
evidence on this question, it could still be safely supposed that a manuscript of such exceptional workmanship would have been destined for very high patronage. (The new Sacramentary is at least the equal, in sumptuousness, of the Paris Sacramentary (Lat. 2290) which we know to be a Saint Amand product made for Saint Denis; in artistry the Paris manuscript is surpassed by the newly discovered Sacramentary). Other circumstantial reasons point no less clearly to the likelihood that the Chelles Sacramentary went from Saint Amand, probably as a special gift, to Charles the Bald and his Queen in Paris.

However, there is one precise piece of evidence which raises this likely conjecture to as high a degree of certainty as one might reasonably expect for problems of this kind and during the particular period. After the text of the Chelles Sacramentary was completely written, it was very carefully edited and the corrections, additions, etc. entered very neatly in a fine hand which, while different from that of the main text as of the same date and style as the text. Among the additions inserted in the manuscript there appear (see our fol. 41r, Illustr. XII) the following words, supplementing the Benedictio Cerei:

... et gloriissimo rege nostro illo eiusque nobilissima prole.

At first it would appear that this insertion is evidence against the possibility of a royal destination in the original writing of the Sacramentary. But the contrary is the case. Several instances may in fact be cited to show that even in those manuscripts produced at Saint Amand for use in Paris and at Saint Denis, such references to special prayers for the King were added in the same or in similar fashion. In one of the most important early texts of the Carolingian Sacramentary, the
Vatican Codex Ottobonianus 313 (cg.330, without illuminations) 24), we find the following marginal additions to the same prayer of the Benedictio Cerei: et piisimo imperatore nostro illo suisque bobilissima prole. (To this addition, there was a further correction, changing the word imperatore to rege). What do these additions and changes signify? First of all we can see that Benedictio Cerei was a service at which the presence of the king was not usual, hence the reference was normally not included.

Apparently, when the text of the Vatican Sacramentary was edited for its destination (which was Paris), the reading of this prayer was corrected according to usage at the Paris court where the King did attend the celebration of the Benedictio Cerei. This was a matter of some importance, judging from the fact that imperatore was carefully changed to rege, showing that after the death of the Imperator Louis the Pious in 840, it was the Rex Charles the Bald (son of Louis) who was thus cited at this point in the service.

Important, indeed, decisive in this connection, is the fact that the Paris Sacramentary (Lat.2290) made at Saint Amand for Saint Denis and, even given a special calendar for the Royal Abbey, still had to be edited in similar fashion for actual use at Saint Denis. Thus, where the Canon of the Mass refers to uno cum famulo tuo there has been added: at Regibus nostris. 25) In other words, the scribes at Saint Amand would not necessarily have taken these peculiarities into account when preparing a special manuscript for use at a particular church attended by the King, or honoring him in a pointed fashion. For ordinary purposes the Masses for the King which form a regular part of the Sacramentary would
have been considered sufficient (note that our manuscript contains such
masses and prayers in the Alcuinian supplement, chapters LXXI-LXXIII; illustr.
XVIII-XX).

This last piece of evidence gives certainly to our hypothesis
for the missing link between Saint Amand and Chelles. The new Sacramentary
was written and decorated at Saint Amad. The style suggests a date of ca.
850-860, so much purer and earlier is the decoration of our Sacramentary than the
others of this group. From Saint Amand it must have gone to the court of
King Charles the Bald, probably to the King himself, for whom this Abbey was
one of his most favored and important sources for liturgical manuscripts.
The presentation of the Sacramentary to the Abbey of Notre Dame de Chelles
would most appropriately have been made by Queen Hermentrude, during the
period of her tenure as Abbess. It would not only have been a gift of the
Queen, matching similar donations by the King to his Abbey at Saint Denis —
but it might well be connected with a very particular occasion during her
reign at court and at the Abbey. I would venture to suggest that Queen
Hermentrude presented this Sacramentary to the Abbey of Notre Dame de
Chelles on the occasion of the canonization of St. Balthildis by Pope
Nicholas I (between 858 and 867). It would have been symbolically and
aesthetically appropriate and worthy, for St. Balthildis was in every sense
the precursor of Hermentrude, both as Queen of France, and as Abbess of
Chelles. The hypothesis might seem gratuitous but for the fact that the
reference to St. Balthildis in the added prayers, takes a peculiar form.
The name of St. Balthildis is not only written in larger and bolder letters
than those of the Virgin and St. George, but the very phrasing, "... Sanctique
Georgii. Nec non & Sanctae Balthildis...", may be interpreted as a specific
reference to her recent canonization.

The manuscript treasures of the Abbey of Notre Dame de Chelles
are known only by indirect and enthusiastic reports. The Abbey and its treasures suffered two great ravages, first in a fire during the XIIIth century and again in 1793, during the Revolution. Among those manuscripts of Chelles whose repute was still remembered there is a report of one outstanding Sacramentary. 26) Could that have been our rediscovered Sacramentary which miraculously reappears today as the sole vestige of the remarkable Abbey of Chelles and a new masterpiece of Franco-Saxon manuscript illumination?
1. For a convenient listing of the principal manuscripts, see *Manuscrits à Peintures du VIIe au XIIe Siècle*, Catalogue of Exhibition at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1954, items 58-74, with bibliography under each item.

2. Unpublished thesis at Harvard University, 1941, with extensive bibliography for the school and for the single manuscripts. Hereafter cited as *Hiver*.

3. See reproduction of one of the two initials, in Chancoine Dehaeimes, *Histoire de l'Art dans La Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut Avant le XIVe Siècle*, Lille, 1886, pl. II.


5. *Manuscrits à Peintures*, item 58.

6. *Hiver*'s thesis is taken up and elaborated upon, more recently, by André B ontology, "Le Style France-Saxon, Style de Saint-Amand", in *Scriptorium* III (1949), pp. 260-264.


The Saint Denis attribution has been held since 1889 (vaniteshek, Die Trierer Ada-Handschrift, Leipzig, pp. 95-96); the most systematic modern defense of this thesis is that of A. M. Friend, "Carolingian Art in the Abbey of St. Denis", in Art Studies, I (1923), pp. 67-75.

10. See Manuscrits à Peintures, item 63, with bibliography; to this must be added Niver, pp. 10-11, 25.

11. For most extensive bibliography on Chelles, see Ulysse Chevalier, Répertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age: Topo-Bibliographie, Montbéliard, 1894-1899; for history of this Abbey see C. Torchet, Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Notre Dame de Chelles, Paris, 1889, 2v, esp. vol. I chapters III-IV, from which the main points of the history, as given in the present study, are drawn.


16. Torchet, I, p. 68.

17. Neutremy, Scripterium III (1949), pp. 260 ff., would date this manuscript between 871 and 877.
18. See Miver, pp. 141-145. Cf. Bousetmy, op.cit., p. 263: "Quel autre monastère peut se prévaloir de relations plus intimes avec la famille royale, avant le gouvernement de Saint-Denis par le souverain en personne?"

19. Miver, p. 142, with references.


21. See A.M. Friend, op.cit., p. 70 for some of the manuscripts which were made for Charles the Bald or owned by him; cf. p. 73 for his patronage of splendid works in gold and jewels.

22. See Summer McKnight Crosby, The Abbey of St.-Denis, New Haven, 1942, p. 56.

23. Ibid., pp. 60-61.


Sacramentarium Gregorianum. (Incipit): In Nomine Domini Incipit
Liber Sacramentorum de Circulo Anni a Sancto Gregorio Papa Romano
Editus. Manuscript on vellum, the Ordinary of the Mass written in
gold uncial letters (ff. 1v-5r); the balance in beautiful and regular
Caroline minuscule letters: 15-17 lines (uncials); 26 lines (minu-
scules). 170 leaves (lacking 5 text leaves and apparently two blanks).
With a magnificent full-page initial "V" ("Vere") on f. 3r; a magnificent
full-page "TE" on f. 4v; half-page "D" ("Deus") on f. 9v. Leaves 1v-50
(8 pages) enclosed in borders with interlace decoration; the illumina-
tion all in "Franco-Saxon" style. With gold, red and green square
initial letters, uncial chapter headings; rustic capital sub-headings.
Small folio (288 x 210 mm.) In sewn sheets, enclosed in mediaeval
wooden boards with clasps (added). With a fragment of the contemporary
binding of richly figured Byzantine silk on the back. Formerly owned
by the convent of Notre Dame de Chelles, near Paris.

Monastery of St. Amand, (c. 860).

The text

The Sacramentarium is an ancient Mass-Book of the Christian Church,
containing the canon of the Mass, i.e., the words and formulas used in
the consecration of the Host, and also the special prayers used on the various feast days of the church year, and those in commemoration of Saints. It is arranged chronologically, beginning with the Vigil of the Nativity (Christmas Eve).

The texts of the Gregorian Sacramentaries made in France in the IXth century derive, ultimately, from a codex, not now extant, which was sent by Pope Hadrian I (772-795) to Charlemagne, and which was the basis of a reform of the liturgy carried out by Alcuin. At the end of the Roman text, Alcuin added a preface, and a supplement containing a selection of the Masses, Prayers, and Benedictions of the older Gallican Sacramentaries. The typical arrangement, as in the present codex is: (1) Canon of the Mass (ff. 1v-6; one leaf with a few lines of text, and a blank missing following f. 6); (2) prayers for the ordination of a bishop, a priest, a deacon (7-9r); (3) masses for the feast days and the Saints (ff. 9v-101); (4) Alcuin's preface ("Hucusque"), (ff. 101v-102v); (5) Alcuin's supplement, here numbered I-CLVIII (ff. 103-164); a group of additional Benedictions (ff. 164-170). The text of the last signature apparently occupied five leaves, of which only the third leaf is present.\footnote{Alcuin's preface is not common; in the French Sacramentaries listed by Leroquais, it occurs in only five of the 21 IXth century codices.\footnote{As the Sacramentary gradually changed into the Missal, during the 10th century, the text of the supplement was partially incorporated, and the preface was dropped.}}

Alcuin's preface is not common; in the French Sacramentaries listed by Leroquais, it occurs in only five of the 21 IXth century codices.\footnote{As the Sacramentary gradually changed into the Missal, during the 10th century, the text of the supplement was partially incorporated, and the preface was dropped.} A comparison with the Vatican Library codices of the Sacramentaries as published by Wilson shows that the text of the present codex is, in many parts, close to that of the Codex Ottobonianus 313 (of about 830,
used in Paris - codex "0").\(^3\)

**Collation**

The collation of this codex is: a\(^6\), b-e\(^8\), f\(^{10}\), g-h\(^8\), i\(^8\)+l, k-x\(^8\), y\(^1\) - 170 ff.

Some original scratched signature marks are discernible; the letters c-f, l, m, o-t, u, x. Sign. o-q, s, u and x bear, in addition, numerical marks in ink; xiii, xv, xvi, xviii, xx, xxi. The markings are all in the lower border of the last page of the respective signatures.

This proves, in our opinion, that a Calendar was not written for this codex, as sign. a is the Canon.

**The Condition**

The codex shows slight signs of use in the lower margins, and there is insignificant marginal damp-spotting. None of the decoration or leaves have been damaged, however, with the exception of a very small flaw in the blank lower margin of the last leaf. It is evident that the codex has been carefully handled throughout its long career.

**References:**

1. Calculated by comparison with the Benedictions of Codex Ottebonianus 313, in Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great*, (1915), pp. 302-315. These Benedictions are in the same sequence as those of the Chelles ms.


3. E.g., the text of the Canon of the Mass in the present codex follows the variants of 0.
MEDICETUR NISTISOLI
IN PASCHA QUANO
HEOLAEIAMIAE
NEQUE LORIAM EXCELSA
DONAQUE CALLEDIA
CANTUR.
POSTMODO
DICITOR O RATIO
OC
INDES SEQUITUR AP-\nSTOLAS. HOMERA
DALISSIA EALLELUJA
POSTMODUM LECTIO
EUANGELIUM ORDE
OFFERTORIUM ET DICI
HORATIOS SUPER OB-\nLATA QUACOMPLECTA
DICTI SACERDOS
EXCELSA SAUDE

III. Chelles Sacramentary.
Leaf 2r.
conceptu surgit, surgit operum, surgit operum iste...

...qui ex ipso autem regnator datur hebraeo. Nunc in terris concealed tu

Oramuctique, sanctus in honorem summi mihi et hominem de forum

...indescens perdere; suum domorum suavitate ac ceput supermum munus sub munere tuum. Flamm

...nec mortem. In sanguine tuum, in sanguine human

...noster et unus cum unum in unum et deus est sacer
dum in hac tempore in loco temporum. In gloria

...oratio nostri dictio. In media antequam legatur prima

LECTIO GENESIS: IN PRINCIPIO CREAVIT

...quod in mundum et in altum et in profundum

...ordo regenerati et graecus est, non est obnoxio

...cum ad eum venit et antecessor suus

...ortur egressus ut relection insabbaco

...qui immolat eum et hominem eum immolavit.

...dani et contra oblationem pecorum mensas.
XVI. Chelles sacramentary.
leaf 102r.
amplius ueritatis dedicationis die in celebratus ambrae continemur: plenitatisque perfessa corporis sancti
maeleviononeptaeamus: ut dum haec praestatua accepta reddimus: adeo eterna praemium deducuntur etene
amur: perdimus. ADEO:

Deo gratias: sanctum patris uocem dignatus est utquaque
habere atque amarum perfide devotionem habere etena xeno
minipictetm: dux constitutus haec plebs nominata fueri
uiem: hujus uocabuli consors dignus est meretur: et de
ceteraque templo: uram ueritatis praestatua accepta: adeo et
amur: uram ueritatis praestatua accepta: adeo et
ceteraque templo: uram ueritatis praestatua accepta: adeo et

Deo gratias: sanctum patris uocem dignatus est utquaque
habere atque amarum perfide devotionem habere etena xeno
minipictetm: dux constitutus haec plebs nominata fueri
uiem: hujus uocabuli consors dignus est meretur: et de
ceteraque templo: uram ueritatis praestatua accepta: adeo et

Missae pro regebus
regnum omnium: et Christianismi nemproteger
empire: dux et regibus: et triumphum
victoria: et victoriam: et principes: uos imperium: et potent
perdimus: S. P. R. O. B. L. A. T. A.

VIII. Chelles Sacramentary.
Leaf 128r.
peremptionem multum, imperium impendit. INTRACTIONEM
avunculorum et consociationis, qua peremptum munus confinidit, prae
quadripedem, et coniunguntur consilia, ut pro "pendim. A D E M E L I A,
mandamus, quod accipiat, quod recipiat, quod accepte, quod accepto,
non solo, sed etiam, in quibus teneat, in quibus sit, in quibus
emprima, in quibus securus sit. Non enim est, ut in quibus, in quibus,
in quibus, neque in quibus, neque in quibus, neque in quibus.
Omnia tua nostra tua nostra tua nostra tua nostra tua nostra tua nostra tua nostra tua nostra tua nostra tua nostra tua nostra tua nostra tua nostra tua nostra tua nostra tua nostrum quapropter pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis pacis 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« VERE... »

Sacramentaire de Saint-Thierry (IXe s.); Bibl. mun. de Reims, ms. 213, fol. 12 vo.

XXI. Reims Sacramentary.
"SSS" leaf.
"TE..."

Sacramentaire de Saint-Thierry (IXe s.) ; Bibl. mun. de Reims, ms. 213, fol. 13v.

XXII. Reims Sacramentary.
"TE" leaf.
XXIII. Vienna Sacramentary.
"VERE" leaf.

XXIV. Vienna Sacramentary.
"TE" leaf.
XXIV. St. Denis Sacramentary.
"VEXI" leaf.

XXIX. Stockholm Sacramentary.
"TE" leaf.
XXVI. St. Denis Sacramentary. "TE" leaf.
