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"Primitive" Pontifical (Collection Rituals and Benedictions for Use of a Bishop) In Latin, decorated manuscript on parchment Central or Southern France (Auvergne?), c. 1040-1075

i (paper) + 49 + i (paper) folios on parchment (pronounced difference between hair and flesh sides), modern foliation 1-6, 6bis, 7-48, apparently complete (collation i* [+ one leaf added after 6, f. 6bis] ii-vi*), no catchwords or signatures, ruled in hard point, prickings visible (justification 113 x 185 mm), written in black, brown and light brown ink, copied mainly by one scribe with additions by four others, scribe one, ff. 1-32, 33-38v, 40-45, scribe two, f. 32rv, scribe three, ff. 38v-40, scribe four, ff. 45v-46, scribe five: f. 6bis and ff. 46-48v, on the top line in a Carolingian minuscule script in one column of up to 19 lines, each scribe commonly used e-caudata (e), 'æ,' and 'st', 'ct' and 'rt' ligatures and vary between 'y' and 'i', scribe one often includes elongated descending minims on the bottom line, the hands of scribes two, three, and four use booked feet, especially on the letter 'x', ff. 1v, 2, and 11v, with staffless neumes in diastematic Aquitanian musical notation, rubrics in red or pale red, a few guide letters for initials, majuscules touched in red within the text, 2-to 3-line initials in text ink or in red, many with penwork foliate decoration or red ink coloring (for example, ff. 10v, 11v, 17), some with abbreviations inside (for example, "O/mps," for "ominipotens," ff. 22 and 44v, "D/s" for "Deus," f. 24v), large initial 'O' with an eight-part roundel in red ink, f. 10v, f.1 stained, small tear f. 26, cockling throughout which is significant in places, but overall in good condition, front flyleaf is beginning to separate from the binding.

Bound in eighteenth-century brown leather over pasteboard, back sewn on five thongs, mottled red and brown paint on fore edges, gilded lettering on spine "VETUS ORDO ECCLE MSS." Dimensions 240 x 150 mm.

Pontificals from eleventh-century France are few in number (Leroquais lists seventeen from this period, the present manuscript not included). This one appears to be a very rare survival of an early liturgical manuscript from the Auvergne, since it was owned by the Collegiate Church of Saint-Julien of Brioude in the fifteenth century. Known as a "Primitive" Pontifical, its text (which is complete) reflects a stage in the liturgy the Pontifical became standardized. Aquitanian musical notation and fine painted initials of a Carolingian type further characterize this manuscript.

PROVENANCE

1. Written in Central or Southern France, in the middle or third quarter of the eleventh century, c. 1040-1075, for use in a monastery or a local diocese, possibly in the Auvergne. The manuscript is copied in a good Carolingian minuscule, with numerous early features; both e-caudata (e) and 'æ' are used, there are numerous ligatures ('st', 'ct', 'rt', 'Nt'), 'g' is open at the bottom, 'pp' is written separately, and 'm' is copied either without finishing strokes, or with a finishing stroke on the last minim only, "et" (and) is abbreviated with an ampersand, which is also used internally.

There is no textual evidence included in the manuscript such as mention of a patron saint or a litary that allows us to make a certain identification of the precise locality where it was made, but evidence of script, decoration, and later provenance makes an origin in the Auvergne quite likely, perhaps even at the Abbey of La Chaise-Dieu (Haute-Loire, Brioude), or one of its dependent priories. It was certainly owned by the Collegiate Church at Saint-Julien of Brioude in the fifteenth century (see below).

The service for the profession of monks and the transition into cenobitic life on ff. 40v-42 (beginning with a ritual interrogation between abbot and monk) was of course an important text for use in a Benedictine monastery. Numerous abbots from La Chaise-Dieu also served as bishops. The second abbot of La Chaise-Dieu, Durand (1067-1078), later became bishop of Clermont from 1077 to 1095. Abbot Pons de Tournon (1094-1102) was bishop of Le Puy (Puyen-Velay) from 1102 to 1112. Abbot Aymeric (1102-1111) was bishop of Clermont from 1111 to 1150.

La Chaise-Dieu was founded in 1043 by Robert Turlande, a canon of the chapter of Saint-Julien de Brioude, diocese of Clermont; the new Abbey was dedicated in 1052. The Abbey was an important one throughout the Middle Ages; it was suppressed in 1790. Very few early manuscripts of any type survive from this foundation, and liturgical manuscripts are particularly rare (Huglo, 1977, and 2010, lists only two, one ninth, and the other twelfth century, neither copied at La Chaisse Dieu).

There are some similarities with the minor initials in a checkerboard pattern here (e.g., f. 36v) and initials in an eleventh-century manuscript from Puy-en-Velay (sold at Dorotheum, January, 2015), and with manuscripts copied farther to the South, including at the Benedictine Abbey at Moissac (in particular, the dotted initial on f. 25v with the initials in Chicago, Newberry Library, MS Case 1; and see Dufour, 1972, p. 75).

- 2. An ordo for the consecration of a cemetery on f. 32rv was likely added at the end of the eleventh century or early in the twelfth century. This reflects the popularization of rituals for the consecration of cemeteries in the early twelfth century, especially in Burgundy. This development has been documented in the wake of the year-long travels of Pope Urban II that culminated in the Council of Clermont in 1095. In addition to Cluny and Clermont, Urban II also visited both Brioude and La Chaise-Dieu (Rosenwein, 1999). Other additions include the blessing of candles on an inserted folio 6 bis, neumed chant for "Ambulate sancti dei ingredimini ...," in the top margin of ff. 17v-18, and prayers for absolution and other occasions on ff. 44v-45, ff. 45v-46, ff. 46v-48v.
- 3. Belonged to the Collegiate Church of Saint-Julien of Brioude (Auvergne) in the fifteenth century; a parchment folio, folded in quarters, and pasted inside the front board, states that this manuscript was given to the canons of Saint-Julien in memory of Jean Ardier, preceptor of the canons of St. John of Brioude, in 1474: "Hunc presentem librum pontificale vocatum dedit ecclesie almi martiris juliani brivatensis pro obitu suo frater iohannes ardierii ordinis sancti iohannis iherusalem preceptor domorum sancti iohannis brivate canoniaci ac sancte anne de la bastide qui prius fiut corarius huius alme ecclesie supra dicte. Anno domini Mo CCCCo LXXIIII et die prima mensis may."

Jean Ardier was commander of a fortress at Chanonat (Puy-en-Dôme) and was a member of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem (later known as the Knights Hospitaller or Knights of Malta) until his death in 1473/74 (Chassaing, 1888, p. LVII). A priory at Chanonat is recorded in 1157 as a dependency of the abbey of Port-Dieu, itself dependent on the abbey of La Chaise-Dieu. The Knights Hospitaller established a command at the priory in the late thirteenth century and later fortified the foundations.

In the twelfth century the collegiate church of Saint-Julien of Brioude held jurisdiction over the Benedictine abbeys of Saint-Germain-Lembron, Saint-Marcellin de Chanteuges, Saint-Julien de Tours and Sainte-Marie de Pébrac. Of these, the abbey of Saint-Marcellin de Chanteuges and Sainte-Marie de Pébrac were dependencies of La Chaise-Dieu.

- 4. Eighteenth-century annotations in black ink on verso of front fly leaf, "Incipit ordo ad ecclesiam consecrandam ex Romano editus a Beato Gregorio" (a transcription of first rubric); eighteenth-century note in French at bottom margin of f. 1, "Ce mss est tout au moins du X. siecle et tres beau voies la table a la fin"; an index to the contents of this volume was copied on the rear fly leaf in the same period, "Index hujus ordinis decimi saltem saeculi," omitting the prayers on ff. 46-48v.
- 5. Private Collection, France.

TEXT

ff. 1-22 [Service for the Dedication of a Church], f. 1, Incipit ordo ad ecclesiam consecrandam ex Romano editus a beato Gregorio, incipit, "Ponantur reliquie in feretro composite in altera ecclesia pridie quam nova..."; f. 1, Qua perfecta dicat oremus, incipit, "Acciones nostras quos domine et aspirando... [Deshusses, 1992, no. 4119]; f. 1v, Et incipit episcopus, R., incipit, "Domine si conversus [with neumes for only this first word of chant]. V. Si peccaverit. Exaudisti domine... A. Tollite [with neumes for only this first word of chant] portas principes ... Pax huic domui et omnibus habitantibus in ea pax egredientibus et regredientibus alleluia [this entire chant with neumes, including melismata] Et usque tercio repetat ... Deinde incipiat clerus letaniam..."; f. 2, Et sequitur orațio, incipit, "Magnificare domine deus noster in sanctis tuis..." [Deshusses, 1992, no. 4086] "...deinde pontifex incipiat angulo ab oriente scribens per pavimentum cum cambota sua super cineres. A B C D E F G H I. Canendo antiphonam A. Fundamenta templi huius [with neumes] cum psalmo Fundamenta eius inmontibus sanctis [with neumes] Usque dum finiant ..."; f. 2v, Exorcismus aquae, ... [Deshusses, 1992, no. 4120]; f. 3, Deinde dicit hanc oracionem oremus, incipit, "Sanctifica(+)re per verbum dei et unda celestis..." [Deshusses, no. 4121]; f. 5, Benediccio aque, ... [Deshusses, no. 4122]; ff. 5v-6, Exorcismus salis, ... [Deshusses, no. 4112]; f. 6-6v, Benediccio salis, ... [Deshusses, no. 4123]; ff. 6v-7v, incipit, "Aeterne omnipotens deus qui nobis..." [Deshusses, no. 4124]; f. 6 bis, Benedictio cynerum, incipit, "Omnipotens sempiterne deus parce metuentibus ..." [Andrieu, Le pontifical romain, 1938, I, p. 181; Deshusses, no. 4307]; f. 7v, Deinde miscetur vinum cum aqua sequitur oracio, ... [Deshusses, no. 4089]; f. 8v, Iterum dicit oremus et diaconus up supra et pontifex oremus, ... f. 9, Ipsi expleti incipit pontifex antiphona..., f. 9v, Et pontifex dicit oremus ...; f. 10v, incipit, "Omnipotenciam tuam domine supplices exoramus..." [Deshusses, no. 4126]; f. 11, incipit, "Omnipotens sempiterne deus altare hoc hoc..." [Deshusses, no. 4127]; f. 11-11v, incipit, "Consecr(+) are et sanctific(+) are dignare..." [Deshusses, no. 4128]; ff. 11v-12, incipit, "Descendat quaesumus domine ... " [Deshusses, no. 4081; f. 12, additional prayer in right margin, partially trimmed, "Conse[cre]tur et [sanctifi]cetur [...] templi..."; ff. 12-13, incipit, "Domine deus omnipotens qui post offendicula ..." [Deshusses, no. 4129]; f. 13, Iterum dicit oremus et diaconus ut supra sequitur oracio, ... [Deshusses, no. 4092]; f. 13-13v, Iterum dicat oremus et diaconus ut supra sequitur benediccio, ... [Deshusses, no. 4093]; ff. 13v-14, Ad consecrandam patenam, ... [Deshusses, no. 4096]; f. 14, Inde faciens signum crucis de oleo sancto super patenam et dic, ... [Deshusses, no. 4096]; f. 14, B(enediccio) paten, ... [Deshusses, no. 4130]; f. 14-14v, Ad calicem benedicendum, ... [Deshusses, no. 4098]; f. 14v, Alia, incipit, "Dignare domine ..." [Deshusses, no. 4099]; ff. 14v-

15, Alia, incipit, "Oremus fratres..." [cf. Deshusses, no. 4098]; f. 15, Alia, incipit, "Deus qui per moysi..." [cf. Deshusses, no. 4131]; ff. 15-16, B(enediccio) ad lintamina vel ad omnia in usum basilice, ... [Deshusses, no. 4116]; f. 16, Alia, ... [Deshusses, no. 4132]; ff. 16-17, B(enediccio) super munus quodcumque ecclesie offert, ... [Deshusses, no. 4133]; f. 17, Alia, ... [Deshusses, no. 4134]; f. 17-17v, Benediccio stolarum, ... [Deshusses, no. 4135]; f. 17v, Oracio, incipit, "Aufer a nobis ..." [Deshusses, no. 4079]; ff. 17v-18, Alia, incipit, "Fac nos ..." [Deshusses, no. 4136]; f. 18-18v, incipit, "Oremus domum tuam ..." [Deshusses, no. 4080]; f. 18v, incipit, "Deus qui ex omni coaptatione..."; Deinde vestitur altare vestibus consecrates ... et pontifex incensum desuper et dicat hanc orationem, ... [Deshusses, no. 4083]; ff. 18v-19, incipit, "Dirigatur oracio..." [Deshusses, no. 4137]; f. 19, Inde revestatur pontifex cum ordinibus sacris et induantur se vestimentis sollempnibus. Interim ornatur ecclesia et accendantur luminaria ... pontifice incipit cantor antiphona ad introitum. Terribilis est locus. Et procedit pontifex de sacrario cum ordinibus sacris more sollempni et celebratur ibi missa more solito ordine suo cum gloria in excelsis domino. Tota vero illa ebdomada misse puplice ..., f. 19v, Super oblata, f. 19v, Prefacio, f. 20, Benediccio ..., f. 20v, Ad complendum ..., f. 20v, Lectio libri apocalipsis iohannis apostoli ..., f. 21, Sequitur sancti evangelii secundum lucam ...;

Service for the consecration of the church (including blessing for liturgical implements, furnishings, and vestments); see the Service for the dedication of the church in the Sacramentary of Saint-Denis, BnF MS lat. 2290, ff. 140-150v (Deshusses, 1992, v. 3, 452, pp. 200-204; Andrieu, Ordines romani 1, 1931, p. 281, and Andrieu, Le pontifical romain, I, pp. 176-195).

ff. 22-31v, [Blessings and prayers for shaving the monastic tonsure], Bened(iccio) de sancta trinitate, incipit, "Omnipotens trinitas unus et uerus deus pater et filius et spiritus sanctus. det uobis eum desiderare..."; and continuing with blessings for the days of the week (ff. 22-24); the common of saints (ff. 24v-26v), for the dead (f. 27), and for the end of a synod (f. 27), and for ordinations for ecclesiastical offices: f. 27v, Benediccio in solucione sinodi; f. 28, Benediccio vestis viduae; f. 28v, Benediccio vidue; f. 28v, Post hec ponas pallium super caput eius et dicas; f. 29, Oratio ad capillaturam; f. 29, Oratio ad clericum faciendum, 29v, Alia; f. 29v, Dum tondis eum dicis antiphonam; f. 29v, Oratio post tonsionam; f. 30, Alia; f. 30, Ad barbas tondendas; f. 30v, Oratio post rasam barbam; f. 30v, Benediccio ad sportam, "Domine ihesu christe filius dei..."; f. 31, Ad baculum; concluding, f. 31v, Benediccio de sancta maria

f. 32-32v, [added by hand two at the end of the quire] *Primitus cum aqua benedicta episcopus cum suis clericis circumdet totum cimiterium cum antiphona*, Asperges me domine ysopo. *P. Miserere mei deus. Postea letanie de inde dicat pontifex.* Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. *Oremus*, incipit, "Benedicere digneris omnipotens deus piissime et misericordissime ... et electis omnibus habere mereantur. Per."

Blessing for a cemetery; Andrieu, Le pontifical romain, 1938, I, p. 286.

ff. 33-38v, Reconciliacio loci sacri ubi sanguis fuerit effusus aut homicidium perpetratum. primitus. iii. Aspergat aquam benedictam in circitu. et inter et dicat has oraciones, incipit, "Dum indultorem criminum deum sordium mundatorem ...; f. 34v, Missa in reconciliacione ecclesiae, Dum sanctificatus Pl. Benedicam dominum. Oracio, incipit, "Deus qui dixisti domus mea..." [Deshusses, no. 4179]; f. 35, Lectio liber apocalipsis iohannis apostoli, ...; f. 35, Require in dedicacione. Secundam lucam; f. 35, Require similiter in dedicatione ecclesię super oblate; f. 35, Prefacio, incipit, "Videlicet per christam dominam nostrum ..."; f. 35v, Benediccio, incipit, "Omnipotens deus universa a vobis et ab hoc templo ...; f. 36, Ad

complendam, incipit, "Percipientes domine munera salutis eternae supplices..."; f. 36v, Exorcismus salis ...; f. 36v, Benediccio salis ...; f. 37, Exorcismus aque ...; f. 37, Benediccio aquae ...; f. 38, Hic mitte sal in aqua ...; f. 38, Oratio salis et aque pariter ...; f. 38v, Oratio pro aspersionem aque ...;

Service for the reconciliation of a church after the spilling of blood or a murder; Andrieu, *Le pontifical romain*, 1938, I, p. 64.

f. 38v, [added by hand three], B(enediccio) palmis, incipit, "Omnipotens sempiterne redemptor qui de celis ad terra...";

Blessing of the Palms; Andrieu, Le pontifical romain, 1938, I, p. 26.

ff. 40-44, incipit, "Conversi quando promittunt regula stent ante altare et interroget eos abba ..." [Andrieu, Le pontifical romain, 1938, I, pp. 295-296]; f. 40v, Oratio pro renunciantibus saeculo et cenobiis trabentibus, incipit, "Deus qui per beatum benedictum regulare magisterium ... " [Andrieu, Le pontifical romain, I, p. 298]; f. 41, Alia, incipit, "Pręsta domine quaesumus famulos tuos renunciantis ... " [Deshusses, no. 4437]; f. 41v, Alia, incipit, "Deus qui renunciantibus saeculo mansionem paras in cælo ... " [Deshusses, no. 4439]; f. 41v, Alia; incipit, "Suscipe domine preces nostras et muro custodie tuę hoc sem avile circumda ..." [Deshusses, no. 4439]; f. 42, Oracio super vestimenta, incipit, "Domine ihesu christe qui tegmen nostre mortalitatis induere dignatus es ..." [Andrieu, Le pontifical romain, I, p. 296]; f. 42, Quando ipsa vestimenta induit; incipit, "Accipe vestem perclaram(?) quam inmaculatam ..." [Andrieu, Le pontifical romain, I, p. 246]; f. 42v, Sequitur oracio, incipit, "Deus qui per coaeternum filium tuum cuncta creasti ... " [Andrieu, Le pontifical romain, I, p. 174]; f. 43, Alia, incipit, "Domine ihesu christe qui es via sine qua nemo venit ad patrem ... " [Andrieu, Le pontifical romain, I, p. 298]; ff. 43v-44, Alia, incipit, "Sanctæ spiritus qui te dominum hac deum revelare mortalibus dignatus es ... [ends incomplete on last line of f. 44]" [Andrieu, Le pontifical romain, 1938, I, p. 299];

Ordo for the profession of a Benedictine monk, lacking title; Andrieu, Le pontifical romain, I, pp. 295-300, Ordo ad faciendum monachum; also pp. 174-176.

- ff. 44v-45, [hand one, lacking title, ordo for absolution], incipit "O(mnipotens) sempiterne deus respicere dignare de altissimo regna tui solio..."; [ends incomplete on line three of f. 45 with most of the remaining folio blank; Deshusses, no. 357];
- ff. 45v-46, [hand three, lacking title, ordo for confirmation], incipit, "Omnipotens deus qui regenerare dignatus..." [Andrieu, *Le pontifical romain*, 1938, I, p. 247; Deshusses, no. 376];
- f. 46, [hand four, added prayers for absolution beginning on line 11, lacking title], incipit, "Dominus ihesus christus qui dixit discipulis suis..." [Andrieu, Le pontifical romain, 1938, II, p. 493];
- f. 46v, [hand four, added prayer for absolution, lacking title], incipit, "In ea auctoritate et potestate confidentes qua deus omnipotens in beato petro apostolorum principem tribuit dicens ..." [Martène, 1737, IV, ch. XVII, ordo X, col. 153]; f. 46v, [hand four, added prayer for absolution, lacking title], incipit, "Vice sancti petri apostolorum principis cui a domino collata et potestas ligandi atque solvendi cuius ... " [ends incomplete on f. 47, leaving majority of the parchment blank; Martène, 1737, IV, ch. XVII, ordo X, col. 153];

ff. 47v-48v, [hand four, incomplete ordo for the consecration of a church, in the same hand as the blessing of candles, f. 6bis], f. 47v, [beginning imperfectly], incipit, "Fide catholica perseverant ..." [Andrieu, *Le pontifical romain*, I, 1938, p. 184]; f. 47v, [lacks title], incipit, "(Vere dignum...) aeternae deus. Adesto precibus nostris... " [Andrieu, *Le pontifical romain*, I, p. 184]; f. 48v, [lacks title], incipit, "(Vere dignum...) aeternae deus. Ut propensiori cura et attentiori famulatu tibi servitutis official ..." [Andrieu, *Le pontifical romain*, 1938, I, p. 191].

DECORATION

f. 10v, initial 'O' with octopartite roundel, alternating lobes colored in red ink (similar initials and roundel decoration are found in ninth-century manuscripts, such as the Gellone Sacramentary, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 12048, f. 226v; and roundel decorations, in the Autun Sacramentary, Berlin, Staatsbibl. Phillips 105, f. 98, suggesting that this manuscript, or at least the dedication of the church, could have been copied from a Carolingian exemplar).

ff. 2v, 11v, 18v, 23, 28, 33, 35, 35v, 36, 38, initials with penwork foliate tail; f. 16, and on many others, initials dotted with red ink.

A Pontifical is the liturgical book that includes the ceremonies reserved specially for a Bishop. The evolution of the Pontifical was a long and gradual process. Very early on the book for the celebrant (whether a bishop or a priest) was the Sacramentary, which could include, in addition to Mass prayers, prayers for the other sacraments and rites such as the dedication of a church, blessings, and other texts. These prayers were supplemented in the seventh and eighth centuries by small booklets which described in detail how various liturgical rites were to be celebrated; they were mostly Frankish in origin, but since they usually claimed to reflect the liturgical customs of Rome, they are known as the Ordines Romani (edited Andrieu, 1931-1974). In the mid-tenth century, a more comprehensive approach taken by a monk in Mainz resulted in the earliest Romano-Germanic Pontifical, a large collection of the liturgical directions and necessary prayers for episcopal rites, blessings, as well as numerous monastic prayers and offices, and even didactic treatises (ed. Vogel and Elze, 1963). The Romano-Germanic Pontificals were the direct ancestor of the Roman Pontificals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which were in general better organized, and increasingly included only the texts relevant to bishops, and these Pontificals were in turn related to the Pontifical compiled (c. 1293-1295) by William Durand, bishop of Mende (ed. Andrieu, 1938-1941), and ultimately the first printed edition by Agostino Patrizi de Piccolomini and Johannes Burkhard (Rome 1485).

Despite the importance of the Romano-Germanic textual tradition for the text of later Roman Pontificals, many tenth and eleventh century manuscripts represent independent, local traditions. Although further study is needed, it is almost certainly the case that the manuscript described here reflects a local tradition. It includes six quires that roughly divide the prayers into two sections (quires 1-4, through f. 32v, and quires 5-6). This division perhaps reflects the development of so-called "Primitive" Pontificals that developed from small books (*libelli*) with discursive selections of prayers for specific uses. This format exists in parallel to the more structured examples of the Romano-Germanic Pontifical that were still new in France in the mid-eleventh century (Rasmussen, 1998; Palazzo, 1998; Hamilton, 2002). In the later Middle Ages the Pontifical was a book mainly for the use of bishops, but in the eleventh and twelfth centuries such collections of prayers were also produced for monastic use. Monasteries in this

period were often the source of liturgical texts and frequently created copies for the diocese with which they were affiliated.

The service for the dedication of a church, ff. 1-22, follows the model of the Gregorian Sacramentary, a widely disseminated book of the Roman rite used throughout the Carolingian empire and attributed to Pope Gregory I (ed. Deshusses, 1992). The content of the following sections of this Pontifical, but not the structure, or the order of the texts, are related to the so-called "Roman Pontifical of the twelfth-century" (ed. Andrieu, vol. I, 1938).

Pontificals were never as common as Missals and Breviaries, and early manuscripts such as this one are of course particularly rare. They include not only the text of the prayers, and often music, but also complete liturgical directions or rubrics (since they are often written in red) -- instructions that tell the participants how to perform the liturgy correctly. This combination of preserving both liturgical texts and very complete descriptions of the liturgical ceremonies makes them an invaluable source for liturgical historians.

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ONLINE RESOURCES

PRG Database: A tool for navigating *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique* http://database.prg.mus.cam.ac.uk/

Richard Kay, *Pontificalia*, KU-Scholar Works https://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/bitstream/handle/1808/4406/PONTIFICALIA.pdf?sequence=3

Abbey of la Chaise-Dieu http://www.abbaye-chaise-dieu.com/-Historique-.html?lang=en

Gellone Sacramentary, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 12048 http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60000317

Sacramentary of Saint-Denis, Paris, BnF, MS lat 2290 http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8423836x

TM 834