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Eucharist and Holy Spirit: Hidden Mass-Theology in an Early Thirteenth- Century Office Book Fragment

Felix Heinzer

THE SINGLE LEAF IN HOUGHTON LIBRARY (MS TYP 962) stems from a notated antiphonary of impressive size (35.6 x 24.3 cm.) that can, on the basis of paleographical and art-historical evidence, be dated to the early thirteenth century.¹

The leaf contains part of the Office for Pentecost, namely, the end of Compline on the vigil of the feast, as well as the chant for the first nocturn, i.e., for the first part of the night Office, known as Matins. The contents of the leaf are listed in the following table:

Recto

Compline:

Antiphon for the psalms, capitulum, and hymn (only as a rubric with incipits)

Antiphon: *Veni sancte spiritus*² for the canticle *Nunc dimittis*

First nocturn:

Invitatorium: *Alleluia Spiritus domini*³

Antiphons 1–3: *Factus est repente, Confirma hoc deus, Emitte spiritum* (each with psalm-incipits)⁴

Verse: *Spiritus dominus*⁵

1 For the typology of this liturgical book, see David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 303–308; and Michel Huglo and David Hiley, “Antiphoner [Antiphonal, Antiphonary],” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed., ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols. (New York: Grove, 2001), 1:749–759.

2 Rene-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols., (Rome: Herder, 1963–1979), no. 5327 (hereafter cited as *CAO*).

3 *CAO*, no. 1034.

4 *CAO*, no. 2847, no. 1873, and no. 2643.

5 *CAO*, no. 8204.

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Verso

Continuation of first nocturn:

Responsories 1–3: *Dum complerentur, Repleti sunt, Iam non dicam* (the third one incomplete)⁶

The tripartite structure, to which the completely preserved antiphons bear witness and which hence can also be deduced for the corresponding responsories, clearly indicates that the fragment and the manuscript from which it comes adhered to the so-called *Cursus romanus* as it was employed in cathedrals, churches of foundations (*Stiftskirchen*), and communities of Canons, all of which provides important indications when it comes to providing a context for the fragment.⁷ Both the writing and the notation (German neumes on a four-line staff) point to the German-speaking region west of the Rhine.

The special interest of the fragment—and no doubt the reason for its acquisition by Philip Hofer—lies in the historiated initial, which introduces the first responsory (*Dum complerentur*) on the leaf's verso (see figure 2). Inside the body of the letter (an uncial *D*), the initial offers a pictorial representation in the form of a colored drawing with a blue and green ground of only average artistic quality, but with rather unusual subject matter: a priest, accompanied by a kneeling assistant, who stands at an altar as he blesses the chalice and host.⁸

At first glance, the reference to the eucharist in the context of Pentecost is rather surprising. The image appears to be misplaced in two respects. First, it would appear that the illuminator—or, perhaps better, whoever directed the illumination—made a mistake by placing the image in what is functionally a false context. With an antiphonary, we find ourselves having to do, not with the Mass, but with the Office. Second, there would appear to be no connection whatsoever between the iconography of the miniature and the content of the responsory, which, in keeping with Acts 2:1–2, takes as its subject the event of Pentecost. It is, however, rather difficult to imagine that the subject was simply the result of a mistake, for precisely this place, that is, the first responsory, had a special dignity within the whole of the Office, which often was

6 CAO, no. 6536, no. 7531, and no. 7030.

7 “Secular antiphoners were used by ordinary clergy, canons, and friars of the thirteenth-century mendicant orders (Franciscans and Dominicans); they contain nine antiphons and nine responsories in groups of three for each of the three nocturns of Matins, a short responsory for the Little Hours and five psalms for Vespers. Monastic antiphoners (those used in monasteries, e.g., of the Benedictines, Cistercians, and Carthusians) contain twelve antiphons and twelve responsories in groups of four for Matins, as well as another antiphon for the Old Testament canticles in the third nocturn of Matins.” Huglo and Hiley, “Antiphoner,” 750.

8 The difference in height between the two figures suggests that the assistant, who is cut off by the body of the initial *D*, was kneeling.

6 *Eucharist and Holy Spirit*

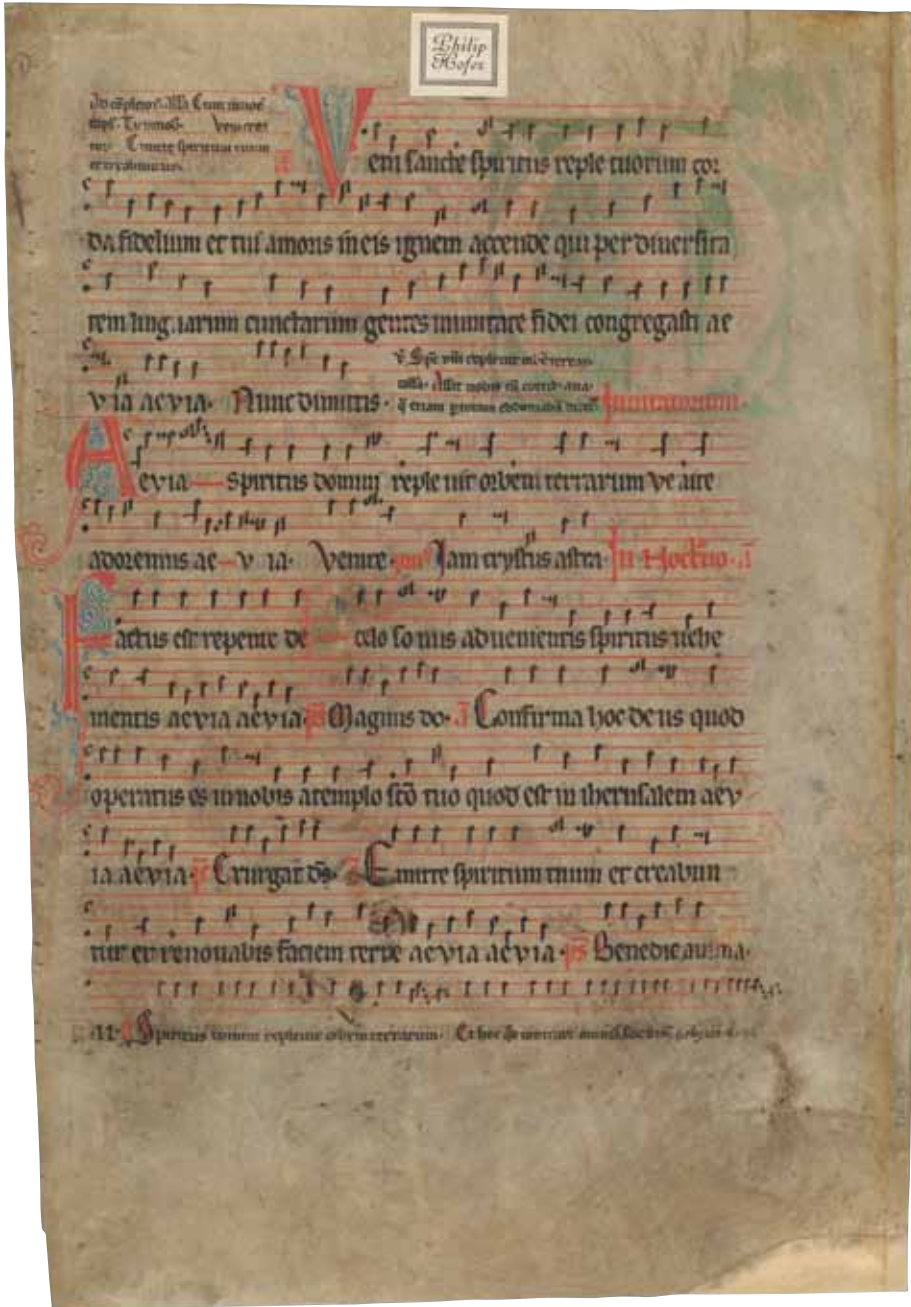


Figure 1. Antiphony leaf, early thirteenth century. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 962, recto. Hofer fund, 1958.

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Figure 2. MS Typ 962, verso.

8 Eucharist and Holy Spirit

named for the beginning of this very chant text.⁹ When pictorial initials are supplied at this place—often in the form of historiated initials—they usually have a programmatic status.

A detour concerning the origin of the manuscript can solve this puzzle, but taking this route exacts its toll: the route leads through a tangle of difficult questions and problems having to do with the history of theology and the liturgy.

Our path begins with the chant that opens the fragment. To see *Veni sancte spiritus* as the antiphon for Compline on the vigil of Pentecost is to find something quite rare. Aside from Netherlandish sources, especially the *Ordinarius* of the Marian church in Utrecht,¹⁰ there are hardly any witnesses—with an important exception: the liturgy of the Praemonstratensians. In light of this, we are able to draw some conclusions regarding the image: not only is the priest tonsured, but so is his assistant, who also wears the habit of a monk or canon. Hence we are in a monastic context,¹¹ but given the structure of the Office (*Cursus romanus*; see above), a community living according to the Benedictine rule cannot be considered, and the focus thus has to be limited to the realm of Regular Canons. This evidence, together with the white color of the assisting figure's habit, would fit well with the Praemonstratensians. The order's liturgical *Consuetudo* is rather well documented, which provides a good way of testing this working hypothesis—and this test proves completely convincing. In fact, the Praemonstratensian *Liber ordinarius*¹² prescribes *Veni sancte* for the vigil of Compline. In addition, it also names the verse *Spiritus domini* for the conclusion of the Hour and the votive collect *Assit nobis*, which as a petition to the Holy Spirit is appended here to the prayer for the day and for the entire week. Also to be taken into consideration is the almost exact correspondence between the rubric of the Houghton fragment and that in the normative liturgical text.¹³ The *Ordinarius* itself does not provide further evidence regarding the other chants. Yet comparisons with other Praemonstratensian liturgical books, for example, a manuscript from the abbey of Schäftlarn datable to the first quarter of the thirteenth century (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm

9 Typical examples include the *historia* “Clama” or the *historia* “Canite tuba,” both of which were sung during Advent and were named after their first responsory.

10 *Liber Ordinarius Sancte Marie Traiectensis: The Ordinal of St Mary's Church, Utrecht*, ed. Kees Vellekoop (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandske Muziekgeschiedenis, 1996), 109.

11 Assisting monks or canons are customary at the celebration of individual Masses.

12 *L'Ordinaire de Prémontré, d'après des manuscrits du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle*, ed. Placide F. Lefèvre (Leuven: Bureaux de la Revue, 1941), 82, lines 22–28.

13 Fragment: *V. Spiritus domini replevit orbem terrarum / collecta Assit nobis cum cottidiana que etiam per totam ebdomadam dicitur—Liber ordinarius* (Lefèvre, *L'ordinaire de Prémontré*, 82, lines 25–28): *Collecta vero . . . id est Assit nobis sicut et aliis diebus per totam ebdomadam cum cottidiana dici solet, premissa versu Spiritus Domini.*



Figure 3. Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek. *Antifonarium Tsgrooten*, 1522, fol. 47v.

10 *Eucharist and Holy Spirit*

17010),¹⁴ and the much later lavishly illustrated *Antifonarium Tsgrooten* from Tongerlo, dated 1522 (Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek)¹⁵ confirm the correspondence in every respect (see figure 3).¹⁶

These comparisons suffice to place the fragment without doubt in the liturgical tradition of the “White Canons.” Moreover, the aforementioned paleographical evidence points to the manuscript having originated in a monastery of the order in western Germany. This in turn provides an opening to a more accurate understanding of the iconography of the opening initial. In pinning the antiphon, *Veni sancte spiritus*, to the *Nunc dimittis*, the Praemonstratensian *Liber ordinarius* adds the remarkable indication that at the beginning of this chant, the entire convent gathered in the choir should turn towards the presence of Christ, that is, face the altar and remain in this position for the duration of the antiphon.¹⁷ In light of the fundamentally static nature of the celebration of the Office, which is essentially without any action, such directives, even when they are of minimal choreographic relevance—in this case, a slight change in the otherwise strict and constant vis à vis of the two parts of the choir—become that much more striking. Moreover, this change in orientation, which apparently is intended to underscore in theological terms the linking of the eucharist to the mystery of Pentecost acquires supplementary force in that the same staging is also prescribed for the first strophe of the hymn, *Veni creator*, which is sung at all Hours for the week of Pentecost.¹⁸ What clearly comes into play here is a conception of Pentecost as a feast with eucharistic connotations. The idea that there is a substantial connection between the mystery of the eucharist and the Holy Spirit, namely, that the sanctification of the

14 For a description of the manuscript, mentioned also by Huglo and Hiley, “Antiphoner,” 755, with special focus on its artistic decoration, see Elisabeth Klemm, *Die illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts deutscher Herkunft in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, 2 vols., Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München 4 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1998), cat. no. 3. The chants and texts comparable to those on the Houghton leaf occur on fol. 80r (for digital access to the manuscript on the website of the Musicological Institute of Basel University: <<http://mwi.unibas.ch/mikrofilmarchiv/musikhandschriften-online/>> [accessed June 1, 2010]).

15 Fol. 46v–48v, which can also be consulted in digital form at the website of the Basel Institute or directly at <<http://www.antifonarium-tsgrooten.be/browser01.htm#>> (accessed June 1, 2010).

16 The oldest preserved antiphonary of the order, which dates to the late twelfth century and which comes from the abbey of Saint-Martin-lès-Saint-Marien in Auxerre (Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS lat. 9425; see Huglo and Hiley, “Antiphoner,” 755), unfortunately contains only the summer section of the repertory. Pentecost thus is missing. I am grateful to Andreas Haug (Würzburg) for sending me a copy of the microfilm of the manuscript from the Stäblein Archive.

17 Lefèvre, *Lordinaire de Prémontré*, 82, lines 22–25: *Ad completorium quoque ubi Veni sancte post canticum incipitur omnes se ad presentiam corporis Christi versus altare vertant manentes ita donec percantetur.*

18 Lefèvre, *Lordinaire de Prémontré*, 82, lines 19–22: *Ad vespas et ad omnes horas sequentis ebdomade ymnus Veni creator canitur in cuius primo versu vultus omnium ad altare convertantur.*

gifts of the bread and the wine and their sacramental transformation into the body and blood of Christ is the work of the Holy Spirit, goes back to the early Christian period. The key theological concept here (which not incidentally comes from the Greek) is *epiklese*,¹⁹ “the term used in liturgical nomenclature for a prayer calling down the Holy Spirit upon an object . . . to sanctify it and render it fruitful for its destined use.”²⁰ In the eucharistic context this consists of the ritual of calling down the Spirit on the gifts of bread and wine on the altar and, simultaneously, on the celebrating community. All this expresses with lapidary brevity the relevant passage in the second high prayer of the liturgical form instituted by the Second Vatican Council, actually inspired by Hippolytus’ *Traditio Apostolica*,²¹ in which, immediately before the words of consecration, the priest prays to God: “Let your Spirit come upon these gifts to make them holy, so that they may become for us the body and blood of our Lord, Jesus Christ.”²²

In the Roman Canon of the Mass, which survived in fixed form from no later than the sixth century until the Second Vatican Council, this element nonetheless is missing. In comparison with the eastern liturgy, its absence constitutes a significant difference, although the so-called *epiklese*, involving the transformation of the gifts, must also have been known in the East, as the case of Hippolytus makes clear. In general terms, a shift can be observed in the western tradition from a dynamic, salvific understanding to one that is almost mechanical in its quasi-automatic understanding of the words of consecration—a tendency that reaches its climax in scholastic teaching on transubstantiation. This process is so complex, and the theological research on the question so difficult and complex, that to explore it further here is simply impossible.²³

19 Kurt Goldammer, *Die eucharistische Epiklese in der mittelalterlichen abendländischen Frömmigkeit* (Bottrop: Buch- und Kunstdruckerei, 1941); see also John H. McKenna, *Eucharist and the Holy Spirit: The Eucharistic Epiclesis in Twentieth-Century Theology* (London: Alcuin Club, 1975); McKenna, “Eucharistic Prayer: Epiclesis,” in *Gratias Agamus: Studien zum eucharistischen Hochgebet für Balthasar Fischer*, ed. Andreas Heinz and Heinrich Rennings (Freiburg: Herder, 1992), 283–291; Robert F. Taft, “From Logos to Spirit: On the Early History of the Epiclesis,” in the same volume, 489–501; McKenna, *The Eucharistic Epiclesis: A Detailed History from the Patristic to the Modern Era* (Chicago: Hillenbrand Books, 2008).

20 Taft, 489.

21 *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome, Bishop and Martyr = Apostolike paradosis*, ed. Gregory Dix, reissued with corrections, preface and bibliography by Henry Chadwick, (London: Alban Press, 1992).

22 *Haec ergo dona, quaesumus, Spiritus tui rore sanctifica, ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiant Domini nostri Iesu Christi*. See also Ton van Eijk, “Die Epiklese in den neuen Eucharistiegebeten der christlichen Traditionen: Von der Gemeinschaft in der Lehre zur Gemeinschaft im Beten?,” *Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 96 (2006): 89–110.

23 Goldammer, *Die eucharistische Epiklese*, 23–58; Josef Andreas Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, 5th improved ed., 2 vols. (Vienna; Freiburg; Basel: Herder, 1962), 2:238–243; for a brief introduction, see

In this context, another point is more important. When in the Canon, which in the Latin Middle Ages remains the normative and exclusive Mass text, a consciousness of the workings of the Spirit remains unexpressed, remarkable and continuous contrary tendencies can still be observed in both theology and piety at least well into the twelfth century;²⁴ and they prove to be of special relevance to the miniature in MS Typ 962. In the field of theological thought, Isidore, Bede, Rhabanus Maurus, Hildebert of Le Mans, and Anselm of Canterbury are among the important figures who bear witness to this tradition, to which Rupert of Deutz (d. 1130) also adheres. In his commentary on the consumption of the burnt offerings during the exodus of the chosen people from Egypt (Exod. 12:8–9), Rupert establishes a typological link between the Old Testament burning of the lamb in the fire and the transformation of the eucharistic gifts through the Holy Spirit: “Because the Virgin received him through the Holy Spirit, who is Eternal Fire, he has also offered himself up, as the apostle said, through the Holy Spirit as a living sacrifice to the living God, and he will be burnt by the same fire on the altar, in that through the workings of the Holy Spirit, the bread and wine become the flesh and blood of Christ.”²⁵ A corresponding awareness also manifests itself in the larger realm of eucharist devotion and piety. This is the case in accounts of visionary experience, of which Goldammer has already gathered extensive evidence, including many important twelfth-century witnesses, especially the Benedictine nuns, Hildegard of Bingen and Elizabeth of Schönau.²⁶ Literary references, which might be interpreted as expressions of “reflection on the moment of consecration as operated by epiklese,” can also be identified. These include the appearance of the dove on the Gralsburg on Good Friday in Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Parzival* (book 9, line 470), written shortly after 1200, or the description of the dove of the Holy Grail in the *Jüngerer Titurel*.²⁷

also *Handbuch der Liturgik*, ed. Hans-Christoph Schmidt-Lauber et al., 3rd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 2003), 217.

24 Goldammer, *Die eucharistische Epiklese*, 59–126, assembles the evidence.

25 *Quia de spiritu sancto qui aeternus est ignis uirgo illum concepit et ipse per eundem spiritum sanctum ut apostolus ait obtulit semetipsum hostiam vivam deo viventi* [cf. Eph. 5:2] *eodem igne assatur in altari operatione namque spiritus sancti panis corpus et vinum fit sanguis christi* (*De sancta trinitate et operibus eius*, lib. XI, in *Exodum II*, 11, in *Ruperti Tuitiensis De Sancta Trinitate et operibus eius*, ed. Hrabanus Haacke, 4 vols., Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 21–24 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1972], 646).

26 Goldammer, *Die eucharistische Epiklese*, 74–77. Exemplary for Hildegard is the ambitious eucharistic vision in *Hildegardis Scivias II*, 6, esp. c 36 (ed. Adelgundis Führkötter and Angela Carlevaris, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis 43 [Turnhout: Brepols, 1978], 264–265. For Elizabeth, see her *Liber Visionum I* 27 (Friedrich W. Roth, *Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth und die Schriften der Äbte Ekbert und Emecho von Schönau* [Brünn: Verlag der Studien aus dem Benedictiner- und Cistercienser-Orden, 1884], 16).

27 Goldammer, *Die eucharistische Epiklese*, 81. On the passage in *Parzival*, see also the commentary by Eberhard Nellmann in Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival, nach der Ausgabe Karl Lachmanns*, revised

Comparable echoes occur at the margins of the liturgy itself. Goldammer already pointed to the eucharistic doves that survive from the eleventh century onward, primarily in France, which consisted of vessels in the form of a dove that were, for the most part, suspended over the altar, where they served as a means of reserving the consecrated host.²⁸ These “tabernacle doves” are best explained in terms of their reference “to the belief in the consecratory action of the Holy Spirit in the celebration of the eucharist.”²⁹ In some cases, they may well have also played a catalytic role in the aforementioned eucharistic visions.³⁰

Further evidence comes in the form of the pictorial theme known as the “Gnadenstuhl” (Throne of Mercy), an iconographic invention of the High Middle Ages that lends the salvific death of Christ a Trinitarian dimension and that apparently was intended to visualize the Canon of the Mass.³¹ In so doing, it again brings into play that person within the Trinity whom the text of the Canon does not explicitly identify as such, namely, the Spirit. The fact that the earliest examples occur not only in Mass books and portable altars, but also on a paten underscores the iconography’s close connection to the celebration of the Mass.³²

Additional testimony in the form of liturgical poetry is provided by the sequence for Pentecost, *Qui procedis*, that probably was written at the abbey of St. Victor in Paris around the middle of the twelfth century.³³ The poem celebrates at great length

and commented by Eberhard Nellmann, *Bibliothek des Mittelalters 8/2* (Frankfurt a.M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1994), 681–682.

28 Goldammer, *Die eucharistische Epiklese*, 152–155. See also Otto Nussbaum, *Die Aufbewahrung der Eucharistie* (Bonn: Hannstein, 1979), 356–361; Viktor H. Elbern, “Zehn Kelche und eine Taube: Bemerkungen zum liturgischen Schatzfund von Attarouhti,” *Oriens Christianus* 88 (2004): 233–253; Elbern, “Sancti Spiritus Figura Columbina: Ein Beitrag zur eucharistischen Altartaube,” *Das Münster* 57 (2004): 182–189.

29 Nussbaum, *Die Aufbewahrung*, 356. For still more extensive discussion, see now Elbern, “Sancti Spiritus Figura,” 186–187.

30 As noted by Goldammer, *Die eucharistische Epiklese*, 154–155.

31 *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum, 8 vols., (Rome: Herder, 1968–1976), 1:cols. 535–536; Judith H. Oliver, “Iconographies, Innovative,” in *Medieval Germany: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John M. Jeep (New York: Garland, 2001), 383–384.

32 See now Leonie von Nesselrode, *Die Chorfenster von Ehrenstein* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 2008), 130. For making clear to me the relevance of the theme of the Gnadenstuhl for my argument I am indebted to a discussion with Wolfgang Augustyn (Munich).

33 *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 55 vols., (Leipzig: Fues’s Verlag, 1886–1915), 54:no. 155. For more on the poem previously attributed to Adam von St. Victor himself, see Margot Fassler, “Who was Adam of St. Victor? The Evidence of the Sequence Manuscripts,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 37 (1984): 233–269, esp. 246; and Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), esp. 277–279. Fassler prefers to situate *Qui procedis* in the milieu of Richard of St. Victor, i.e., a generation earlier than Adam.

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the ministry of the Holy Spirit, which it addresses directly as “You” in cascade-like repetitions of *tu* and *te* through a series of narrative, celebratory predicates that remind one of an antique hymn.³⁴ In a central passage (strophe 6a), the sequence celebrates in a wonderfully concise manner the role of the Holy Spirit in the eucharistic transformation:

*Tu commutas elementa / per te suam sacramenta / habent efficaciam*³⁵

With the above-mentioned witnesses from the visual arts and the sequence—from the ninth century a form of supplementary free poetic and musical enrichment of the codified Gregorian propers for the Mass—we find ourselves in an arena that could be characterized in terms of spiritual and aesthetic appropriation and interpretation of liturgical ritual. The historiated initial in MS Typ 962 belongs precisely in this context. It can also be situated at the margins of the liturgy *per se* in that it appears at a marked distance from the liturgical process of which it proposes a re-reading: not in a manuscript for the Mass, but rather for the Office. The transfer from one context to another acquires still greater weight in that the image does not readily reveal its actual programmatic intent. Viewed in isolation, it is simply a representation of a priest celebrating Mass. Only in connection with the text of the Office does its relevance for the topic discussed here first become clear.

The sophistication of this particular constellation of image and text lies precisely in its remove from its actual point of reference, which can only be recognized and made plausible on the basis of the additional evidence regarding the choreographic aspects of the rite related by the *Liber Ordinarius* (see page 11). At the same time, the image emerges as a veiled, yet deliberate reference to a pneumatic theology of the eucharist—a theology that understands the mysterious transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ as a continually repeated “miracle of Pentecost *par excellence*.” One can even go so far as to suggest an additional element of intertextual play between the image and the metaphorical imagery in the texts, especially *Veni sancte* and *Dum complerentur*, which I provide here in their entirety to clarify the argument:

34 On this characteristic of ancient hymn style, see Klaus Thraede, “Hymnus I,” in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 24 vols., (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950), 16:col. 928 (following Eduard Norden, *Theos agnostos*, [Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1913; reprinted 1956]).

35 “You alter wholly the elements [i.e., bread and wine], through you the sacraments have their efficacy”; translation from Fassler, *Gothic Song*, 278.

*Ant. Veni, Sancte Spiritus, reple tuorum corda fidelium, et tui amoris in eis ignem accende, qui per diversitatem linguarum cunctarum gentes in unitatem fidei congregasti, alleluia alleluia.*³⁶

Resp. Dum compleverentur dies Pentecostes, erant omnes pariter dicentes: Alleluia. Et subito factus est sonus de coelo, alleluia; tamquam spiritus torrens replevit totam domum, alleluia alleluia.

*V. Et apparuerunt illis dispertite lingue tamquam ignis, seditque supra singulos eorum. Tamquam . . .*³⁷

Through the linking of the epiklesis illustration and the texts of the Pentecost Office, the fervent, fiery Spirit that the responsory characterizes as torrid (*Spiritus torrens*) and that the antiphon describes as the fire (*ignis*) is identified as the same manifestation of divine power that brought about the incarnation of the Son of God³⁸ and that, through a kind of holy alchemy, again and again melts and recasts the physical elements of the eucharistic bread and wine as the body and blood of Christ. When appearances do not deceive, the initial actually presents precisely that moment when, before the speaking of the words of consecration, the priest, accompanied by the invocation, *Quam oblationem*, makes the sign of benediction over the wine in the chalice and the host in the form of the cross.³⁹ The position of the priest's hand and fingers indicate that precisely this moment may be what is referred to. The discussion of the (hidden) epikletic character of *Quam oblationem* is rather intricate and cannot be reproduced here.⁴⁰ It suffices to underline that it seems by now uncontroversial that in

36 "Come O Holy Spirit and fill the hearts of your faithful and enkindle in them the fire of your love, you who in spite of differences in language of all the nations have gathered them in the unity of faith. Alleluia."

37 "When the days of Pentecost came, they were all together saying Alleluia, and suddenly a sound came from heaven Alleluia and like a torrid wind filled the whole house." Verse: "They saw what seemed to be tongues of fire that separated and came to rest on each of them. And like a torrid wind . . ." (cf. Acts 2:1-3). The verse diverges from the CAO standard and corresponds exactly to the version found in other Praemonstratensian manuscripts.

38 *Et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine, et homo factus est* (Symbolum Nicaenum).

39 *Quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus, quaesumus, benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris: ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui, Domini nostri Iesu Christi* (We beg you, God, to deign to make this offering in every way blessed, approved, ratified, right and acceptable, so that it may become for our benefit the Body and Blood of your beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ.)

40 See the studies quoted in note 19.

its deeper meaning, this invocation has epikletic connotations even without containing an explicit petition for consecration through the Holy Spirit.

It might seem astonishing that an initial with such clear eucharistic connotations is connected to *Dum complerentur* and not to the chant for which the *Liber ordinarius* explicitly requires the *versus altare* orientation of the choir, i.e., *Veni sancte*.⁴¹ Standing in the way of such a procedure, however, would have been the entrenched tradition of underscoring the first responsory. In this context, it is instructive to draw comparisons with the aforementioned antiphonaries from Schäftlarn and Tongerlo, both of which follow this traditional principle throughout. Whereas the Schäftlarn manuscript marks Pentecost by means of an ornamental initial,⁴² the Tongerlo antiphonary honors the Office of the feast with a full-page decoration, in which *Dum complerentur*, just as in the Houghton fragment, receives a figural initial. There is, however, one significant difference: in keeping with established iconographic tradition, the Tongerlo initial represents the descent of the Holy Spirit on Mary and the apostles.

In this respect, the antiphonary only fragmentarily preserved in MS Typ 962 acquires a singular status, one, however, that appears not to have inspired any imitations. Goldammer referred to only a single image that presents comparable iconography: namely, an illustration to a thirteenth-century manuscript of the *Bible-moralisée*.⁴³ An image of a priest celebrating Mass published by François Avril⁴⁴ does not refer to epiklese, but rather to the elevation of the host, and that in altogether different cultural context. In lieu of fostering a trinitarian perspective on mystagogy that, like the Houghton initial, underscores the role of the Holy Spirit, the image published by Avril reflects strategies of visualization developed in scholastic discussions over the role of the priest as a representative of Christ (key term: *in persona Christi agere*) in the context of sacramental theology that underlie the visual eucharistic piety of the later Middle Ages. Against this foil, the otherwise relatively modest testimony provided by the fragment in Houghton Library becomes that much more interesting. It makes clear that medieval conceptions of theological significance should hardly be defined simply in terms of a (narrow) spectrum of normative texts, in this case, the established Canon of the Mass. Rather, we must reckon with a much broader and more colorful, if sometimes hidden, variety of alternative avenues.

41 See note 17.

42 Klemm, *Die illuminierten Handschriften*, 1:22.

43 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 11560, fol. 199v (Goldammer, *Die eucharistische Epiklese*, 157–158).

44 François Avril, “Une curieuse illustration de la Fête-Dieu: L’iconographie du Christ prêtre élevant l’hostie, et sa diffusion,” in *Rituels: Mélanges Offerts à Pierre-Marie Gy, O.P.*, ed. Paul de Clerck and Éric Palazzo (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1990), 39–54.

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