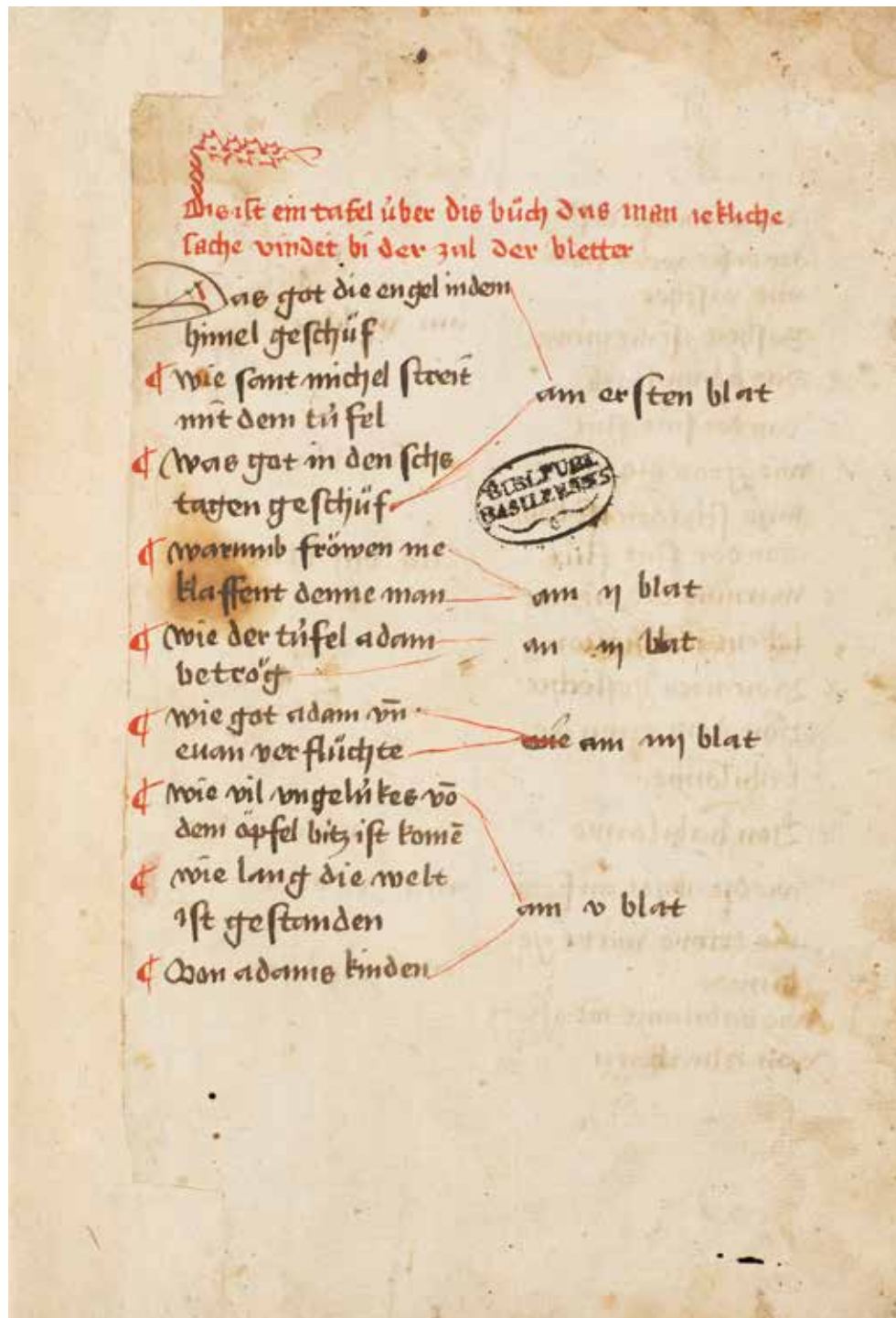


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# CONTENTS

## INTRODUCTION

### 2 | **Tables of Contents**

Bruno Reudenbach

## ARTICLES

### 5 | **Observations on *breviaria* / *capitula* in Reichenau Gospel Books**

Jochen H. Vennebusch

### 25 | **Tables of Incipits for Music of the Mass Ordinary in Manuscripts before c.1500**

Andreas Janke

### 45 | **The Painted Table of Contents in the Florentine Codex: Hieroglyphs of the Nahua Gods**

Anna Boroffka

### 103 | **Tables of Contents in Arabic Manuscripts as Exemplified by Works from the Refaiya Library from Damascus**

Beate Wiesmüller

### 133 | **Tables of Contents and Titles in Japanese Shingon Buddhist Manuscripts**

Heidi Buck-Albulet

### 159 | **Contributors**

## Article

# Observations on *breviaria* / *capitula* in Reichenau Gospel Books\*

Jochen H. Vennebusch | Hamburg

In the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE, Fortunatianus, the Christian bishop of Aquileia, compiled a list of 160 numbered headings of the four Gospels. This list bears the title ‘INCIPIUNT SINGULA CAPITULA AD BREVE, UT LECTIONUM QUAM VELIS CELERIUS INVENIAS’.<sup>1</sup>

In this incipit, Fortunatianus reveals the purpose of these small headings to the reader: they serve as a kind of chapter summary of the Gospels and are intended to aid readers in their search for specific chapters within the large corpus of texts contained in the Gospel Book. Very similar indices were produced for these books from the Carolingian and Ottonian age throughout the Middle Ages. This particular study focuses on these short lists of chapter headings in the Gospel Books written in the scriptorium of the Benedictine monastery of Mittelzell on the island of Reichenau in Lake Constance in the late tenth and early eleventh century. Three aspects are investigated here: after outlining the corpus of manuscripts, I will concentrate on the particular lists of the *breviaria/breves*

or *capitula*, after which I will endeavour to explore the visual organisation of these indices and their artificial embedding in codices before moving on to propose some of the possible functions these registers may have had.

Produced in the scriptorium of the monastery of Reichenau on the shores of Lake Constance in south-west Germany,<sup>2</sup> eight Gospel Books have more or less completely survived and are now kept in various libraries and museums. It seems very likely that even more manuscripts of Gospel Books than these were written at Reichenau Monastery. Certain preserved folios in the treasury of Reichenau Minster and in the Biblioteca Queriniana in Brescia suggest that these fragments were originally part of codices of this kind.<sup>3</sup>

Specifically, the eight Reichenau Gospel Books were produced over more than fifty years: the famous *Liuthar Gospels* – the oldest manuscript of the eight codices – were written between 990 and 1000 CE and given to the Palatine Chapel in Aachen (Domschatzkammer Aachen, G 25). Two further codices were produced for or donated to Bamberg Cathedral; the older of the two was written around the year 1000 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Clm 4453) and the other around 1010 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Clm 4454). A fourth Gospel Book dated to around 1020 was presumably dedicated to the Abbey of Limburg an der Haardt (Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Cologne, Cod. 218). Two later codices were produced for Cologne Cathedral around 1025 (Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Cologne, Cod. 12) and perhaps again originally for Bamberg Cathedral (Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen, MS 12). Another codex, which was also written around 1025, contains some late medieval entries from canons of Strasbourg. We do not know where this

\* This study is a shortened version of a chapter of my PhD dissertation, *Materialisieren – Erschließen – Deuten: Anlagekonzepte, liturgische Lese- und visualisierte Hermeneutik mittelalterlicher Evangelienbücher am Beispiel der Reichenauer Codices*, submitted in May 2019; see Vennebusch 2022. I would like to express my gratitude to Marcus Stark and especially Harald Horst (Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln), to Christine Sauer (Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus Nürnberg), to Christina Hofmann-Randall (Alte Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen) and to Birgitta Falk (Domschatz Aachen) for giving me the opportunity to do research on the breathtaking Reichenau Gospel Books, which are preserved there. I also thank the student assistant on my project, Darya Yakubovich, for her help and diligent work. Furthermore, I would like to thank Andrew Connor and Carl Carter for making the English version of this study much more intelligible and readable. The research for this article was carried out as part of the work conducted by the SFB 950 ‘Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa’ at the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), Universität Hamburg, and was funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG).

<sup>1</sup> Dorfbauer 2017, 135 (ll. 575–576). The English translation is ‘The individual chapters begin as an index here so you can find the reading you want more quickly’ (translated by the author). See Houghton 2017, 215–237; Dorfbauer 2013a, 395–423.

<sup>2</sup> For more on the illuminated manuscripts from the scriptorium at Reichenau Monastery, see Berschin and Kuder 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the folio in the Treasury of Reichenau Minster, see Berschin and Kuder 2015, 130–131; Hiller-König and Mueller 2003, 84–87 [text by Birgit Schneider]. As for the Canon Tables in Brescia, see Berschin and Kuder 2015, 134–135; Parker, Milde and Sterneck 1992.

particular manuscript (Stadtbibliothek Nuremberg, Ms. Cent. IV,4) was originally in use after its completion, however. The last manuscript is an unfinished Gospel Book dating to between 1050 and 1070 (Walters Art Museum Baltimore, Ms. W.7). The manuscripts Clm 4454 and Cod. 218 in particular, with their lavishly decorated *breviaria* and chapter divisions, were probably commissioned by the Emperors Henry II and Conrad II and subsequently given to the respective churches.

Before looking at the Gospel Books themselves, it is necessary to clarify the terminology used in the indices in order to understand how these structuring units are named. In current research, there are two possible terms for them: *brevis/breves/breviarium* or *capitula*. In his study *Über verschiedene Eintheilungen der Heiligen Schrift insbesondere über die Capitel-Eintheilung Stephan Langtons im XIII. Jahrhunderte*, Otto Schmid classified these units and defined the *brevis/breves* and *breviarium* as extended summaries that condense the content of a particular Gospel chapter in its own words.<sup>4</sup> Additionally, the expression *brevis* can stand for a single number in a list as well as for the whole indexing system. In contrast, Schmid continues, the *capitula* just repeat the first words of the respective chapter.<sup>5</sup> Schmid goes on to concede, however, that the terms *brevis/breves*, *breviarium* and *capitula* were often used indiscriminately in Latin medieval Bibles and Gospel Books.<sup>6</sup>

The Latin chapter divisions of the four Gospels stand in the tradition of the Greek κεφάλαια (*kephalaia*) and τίτλοι (*titloi*), which were written at the top of the page, as the expression κεφάλαια, ‘little heads’, suggests.<sup>7</sup> While questions about the origin and authorship of these indices remain unresolved, parallels can be drawn with the *In Evangelium Matthaei Commentarius* written by Hilarius of Poitiers, who died in 367. The headings contained in this work display chapter divisions in a way that is very similar to the chapter divisions found in the Gospel Books.<sup>8</sup> Scholars have repeatedly traced back the use of the Latin divisions to Fortunatianus of Aquileia, who died before the year 370.<sup>9</sup> Lukas J. Dorfbauer found the register attributed to Fortunatianus in a theological anthology (Cod. 17) probably written in the Lower Rhineland

in the late tenth century and now preserved in the Diözesan- und Dombibliothek in Cologne.<sup>10</sup> Even Jerome, the renowned Doctor of the Church (347–420), mentions Fortunatianus in *Viris illustribus*, his biographies of famous men. Jerome writes: ‘Fortunatianus, natione Afer, Aquileiensis episcopus, imperante Constantio, in Evangelia, titulis ordinatis, brevis et rustico sermone scripsit commentarios’.<sup>11</sup> As previously mentioned and explicitly reinforced by Fortunatianus, these *capitula* briefly recount the first few words of each chapter, which are closely aligned with the text of the particular Gospel.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, these paratexts differ from the texts in the Reichenau Gospel Books; consequently the identity of the author of the indices remains unknown.

#### Denominating the indices

In the case of the Reichenau Gospel Books, Schmid’s classification of the registers can easily be examined with regard to the particular codices: there is a kind of opening sequence before the beginning of every text in a Gospel. This usually contains the *argumentum*, i.e. a prologue, which provides the reader with information about the Gospel and the evangelist. This is followed by the index of chapters and a portrait of the evangelist. The order in which the indices and the *argumentum* appear often varies in the manuscripts. Usually the registers are introduced by an incipit, indicating the beginning of the list and providing the term for the index (the most relevant point for this investigation). Looking at the different incipits of the manuscript produced for Bamberg Cathedral and now preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (Clm 4454), one can observe that the word *brevis* appears once (fol. 85<sup>v</sup>) and the word *breves* appears three times (fols 23<sup>r</sup>, 125<sup>r</sup> and 194<sup>r</sup>), so this term occurs once in the singular and three times in the plural form.<sup>13</sup> In another Reichenau Gospel Book, the *Hillinus Gospels* (Cod. 12), now in the Diözesan- und Dombibliothek in Cologne (Cod. 12), we can make a completely different observation: in this single manuscript, the writer used the expression *breviarium* for the indices for the Gospel according to Mark (fol. 72<sup>v</sup>) and the term *capitula* for the Gospels according

<sup>4</sup> Schmid 1892, 25–26.

<sup>5</sup> Schmid 1892, 26.

<sup>6</sup> Schmid 1892, 25.

<sup>7</sup> Schmid 1892, 15–16.

<sup>8</sup> Houghton 2011, 326; Migne 1844, 917–1078 [668–811].

<sup>9</sup> Beissel 1906, 331.

<sup>10</sup> Dorfbauer 2013b, 177–198.

<sup>11</sup> Quotation from Houghton 2017, 215: ‘Fortunatianus, an African by birth, bishop of Aquileia during the reign of Constantius, composed brief commentaries on the Gospels, arranged by chapters [and] written in a rustic style’ (translated by the author).

<sup>12</sup> Dorfbauer 2017, 135–142 (ll. 575–751).

<sup>13</sup> Klemm 2004, 200–203.

Table 1: Terms used for indices in the incipit entries.

Gospel	Aachen, Domschatzkammer, G 25	Munich, BSB, Clm 4453	Munich, BSB, Clm 4454	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 218	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 12	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 12	Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Cent. IV,4	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.7
Matthew	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Breves</i>	<i>Breviarium</i>	No title	– (lost)	<i>Breviarium</i>	No title
Mark	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Capitula</i>	<i>Brevis</i>	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Breviarium</i>	No title	<i>Capitula (add.)</i>	No title
Luke	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Capitula</i>	<i>Breves</i>	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Capitula</i>	No title	<i>Capitulae</i>	No title
John	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Capitula</i>	<i>Breves</i>	<i>Breviarium</i>	<i>Capitula</i>	<i>Capitula</i>	<i>Capitula</i>	No title

to Luke and John (fols 106<sup>r</sup>/162<sup>r</sup>). The incipit of the index for the Gospel according to Matthew was not completed.<sup>14</sup>

In the case of the *Hillinus Gospels* (Cod. 12), the German historian and palaeographer Hartmut Hoffmann declared that the Gospel book was written by a monk from the monastery of Seeon in Bavaria and illuminated by an artist from Reichenau Monastery in the Cathedral School in Cologne.<sup>15</sup> One could therefore presume that this inconsistent terminology could be traced back to this particular artistic co-operation between Seeon and Reichenau. However, my observations show that even the manuscripts ascribed solely to Reichenau Monastery display these heterogeneous expressions for the indices, except for the very stringent *Liuthar Gospels* (G 25). The different terms for the paratexts – taken from the incipit entries – are listed in Table 1.

In addition, we even find different terms within the incipit and *explicit* lines belonging to one and the same index. In the Gospel Book Ms. Cent. IV,4, for instance, the writer used the expression *capitula* in the index of the Gospel according to Matthew (fol. 10<sup>v</sup>), whereas he used the title *breviarium* in the incipit. No later additions of this have been traced, which therefore leads me to believe that these two terms are the original Ottonian words. In the index of the Gospel according to Luke, the Ottonian scribe entitled the index in the incipit ‘capitulae’ (*sic!*) and in doing so employed the wrong Latin plural form of *capitulum*. However, the late medieval scribe who completed this list used the correct term, *capitula*, in his *explicit* (fol. 119<sup>v</sup>). In the case of the *Limburg Gospels* (Cod.

218), we also find different expressions in the incipit and *explicit* of the Gospel according to Luke: while this index is introduced by the term *breviarium*, it ends with the expression *capitula* (fol. 108<sup>r</sup>).

With regard to these results, one can conclude that both terms may have been used interchangeably and synonymously. Taking a closer look at the content of the indices, one has to say that the definitions contributed by Schmid are actually unsustainable.<sup>16</sup> However, he is right insofar as the different terms were obviously used indiscriminately.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, the different terms cannot be traced back to a particular period of time. The term *brevis/breves* is used in one older Gospel Book from Reichenau (Clm 4454), whereas *capitula* and *breviarium* are in the older codices as well as the newer ones. Since the incipit cites the term of the list repeatedly, one has to deal with the different titles *brevis/breves/breviaria* as well as *capitula* and comply with the given terms each time. Let us now take a closer look at the indices belonging to the opening sequence of the particular Gospels.

#### The visual organisation of the *breviaria/capitula*

The characteristic structure of these lists can be explained very well using the example of the *Limburg Gospels* (Cod. 218), dated around 1020. At first glance one can see that the index in this work is structured in a remarkably uniform way (Fig. 1): at the top of the left page (fol. 8<sup>v</sup>) one can read the last few lines of the prologue to the Gospel according to Matthew. Below that, there is a rubricated line that unequivocally

<sup>14</sup> Vennebusch 2019a; Euw 2008, 251–300; Bloch 1959, 9–40.

<sup>15</sup> Hoffmann 1986, 408–410.

<sup>16</sup> Schmid 1892, 25–26.

<sup>17</sup> Schmid 1892, 26.

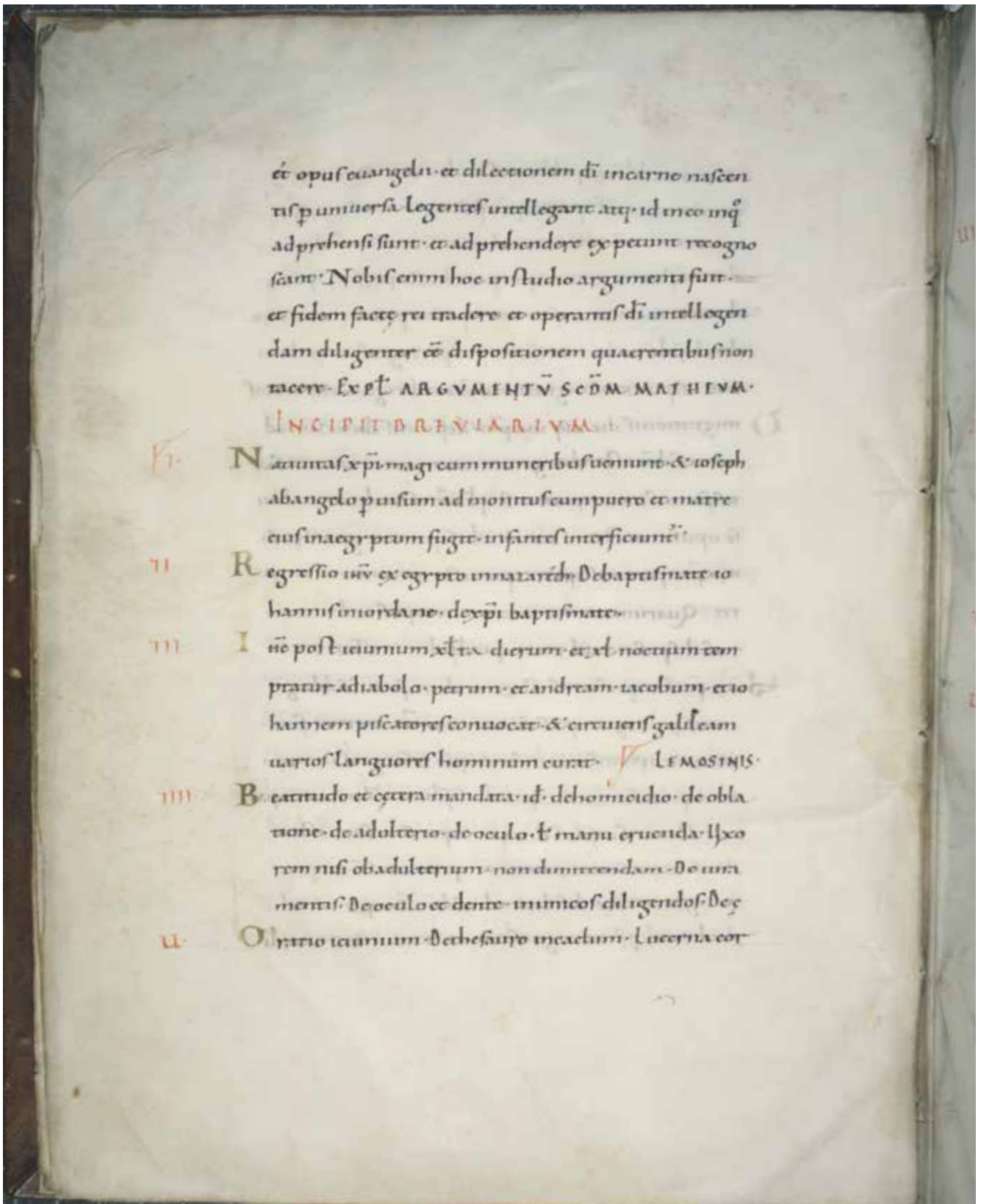


Fig. 1: Beginning of the *breviarium* (Matthew), *Limburg Gospels*, Reichenau, c.1025, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln, Cod. 218, fol. 8r.

indicates the beginning of the *breviarium*. Immediately under this incipit, one finds the first *brevis* (as the register is named *breviarium*), the first short summary of a particular chapter of the Gospel. The *mise-en-page* is very regular here: in the left-hand margin, there is a rubricated Roman numeral designating the number of the chapter. On the left side of the rectangular justification with the Carolingian minuscule script, the writer has placed several golden characters written in a larger uncial script to mark the beginning of each *brevis*.

In order to go into further detail and analyse the visual organisation of the *breves*, the particular entries in the index, we shall now go on to compare some *breviaria/capitula* in other Gospel Books. As we are just focusing on the beginning of the index to the Gospel according to Matthew here, the structure will provide us with the best comparison. Looking at the Gospel Book again, which was once used in Bamberg Cathedral (Clm 4454), one can see that the *breves*, as they are called here, begin on fol. 23<sup>r</sup> after the *argumentum* to the Gospel according to Matthew, the *explicit* of the *argumentum* and after the incipit of the *breves* (Fig. 2). The Roman numerals of the particular *breves* are written in red ink in the left margin and the first character of each *brevis* is written in a rubricated uncial script to the left of the justification. In this case, the very first paragraph initial – the N of the first *brevis* – is highlighted in a golden *capitalis quadrata*. As a result, we can see that the *breviarium* and the *capitula* regularly begin after a rubricated incipit in Clm 4454. Then the numbers of the *breves* are written

in rubricated Roman numerals in the left margin and the first character of each *brevis* is highlighted with a golden paragraph initial at the beginning or by a rubricated versal uncial script, so each *brevis* begins after a line break. Looking at a third example – the codex from Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (Ms. W.7), the youngest Gospel Book in this investigation – one can find the highlighted golden versals, but there is neither an incipit nor a Roman numeral in the left margin on fol. 21<sup>r</sup>. Presumably, this Gospel Book was never finished. This theory is backed up by further details that can be observed, such as the lack of the *capitulare evangeliorum*, for example, which lists the pericopes according to the order of the liturgical year. So in this case, it is only the arrangement of the versals that indicates the beginning of a new *brevis*.

This point – highlighting the beginning of each *brevis* – leads us to the topic of the numbers of the *breves/capitula*. As Table 2 shows, the number of the chapter units indicated by the rubricated Roman numeral varies in the different manuscripts: In addition, one has to keep in mind that just four manuscripts show (almost) the entire *apparatus* of the *breves/capitula*. These imperial donations have highlighted paragraph initials and versals as well as numbering in Roman numerals. A few of the *breves/capitula* are complete in two other manuscripts, but in all the other codices it is only possible to deduce the number of *breves/capitula* from the visual organisation of this list – from the uncial versal after the line break, for instance.

Table 2: Number of chapter units in the particular indices.

Gospel	Aachen, Domschatzkammer, G 25	Munich, BSB, Clm 4453	Munich, BSB, Clm 4454	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 218	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 12	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 12	Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Cent. IV,4	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.7
Matthew	25	28 (?)	28	28	28 (?)	– (lost)	25	29 (?)
Mark	12	13	13	13	13 (?)	13 (?)	13 (? add.)	13 (?)
Luke	20	21	20	20	22 (?)	22 (?)	20 (? add.)	22 (?)
John	15	13	14	13	13 (?)	14	15	13 (?)



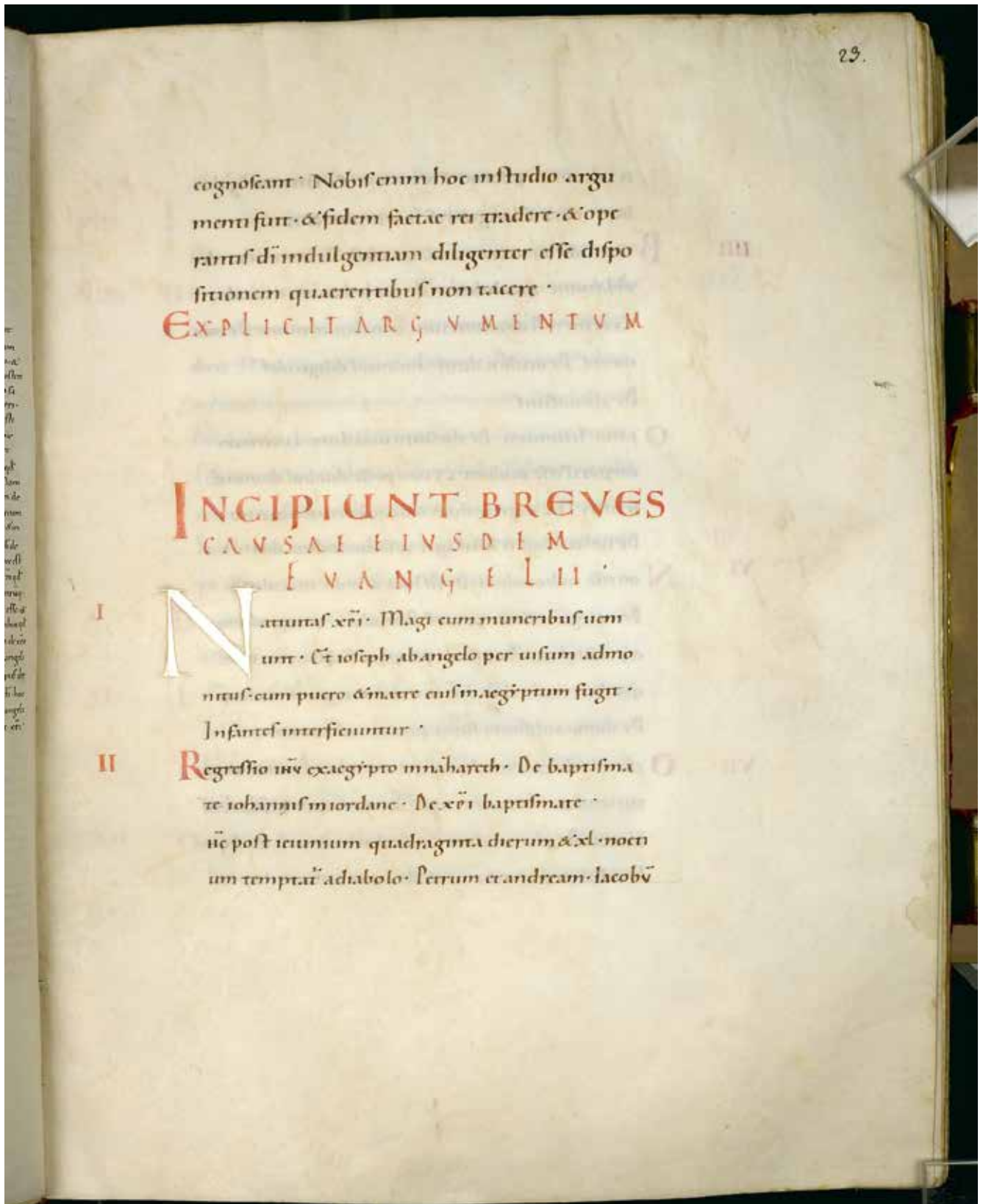


Fig. 2: Beginning of the *breves causae* (Matthew), Gospel Book, Reichenau, c. 1010, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Clm 4454, fol. 23r.

The content of the indices

Having thought about the visual organisation of this list, we shall take a look at the content of these indices in order to understand the specific characteristic of the *breves*. The first *brevis* to Matthew according to ‘type A’ shows the characteristics of this particular entry:

Nativitas christi. magi cum muneribus veniunt et ioseph ab angelo per visum admonitus cum puero et matre eius in aegyptum fugit. infantes interficiuntur.

The birth of Christ. The magi come with gifts and Joseph flees to Egypt with the boy child and his mother after having been admonished by an angel in an apparition. The children are killed.<sup>18</sup>

In this example, the *brevis* condenses the content of the history of the birth and childhood of Jesus Christ in its own words, reducing it to three sentences (a few lines in the manuscript). Sometimes the sentences only contain nouns and are reminiscent of a telegraphic style of writing, while in other cases one finds longer sentences that contain verbs, but are composed in easily intelligible Latin. Whereas the text of the Gospel according to Matthew formulates a complex

conception of the descent of Jesus Christ and the theological importance of certain events in his childhood, the *brevis* just states a few key facts about the incidents. Without knowing the proper content of the main text, the reader cannot entirely understand the meaning of the Gospel just by reading the list of *breves*. With regard to the *breves/capitula*, it is interesting to note that there are two different versions of this index in the Gospel Books from the island of Reichenau. Donatien de Bruyne collected the different versions of the chapter divisions and published them in 1914 in an edition entitled *Sommaires, Divisions et Rubriques de la Bible Latine*. Versions A and B largely conform with the classification in de Bruyne’s edition (Table 3).

As one can see, the versions of the manuscripts Clm 4453, Cod. 12, Ms. W.7 and presumably also MS 12 conform as well as the four Gospel Books G 25, Clm 4454, Cod. 218 and Ms. Cent. IV,4.<sup>19</sup> The reasons for the choice of the particular types of *breves/capitula* are currently unknown. Hartmut Hoffmann attributed at least the *Hillinus Gospels* (Cod. 12) and the Gospel Book at Erlangen University Library (MS 12) to a writer from the monastery of Seeon and a painter from Reichenau Monastery.<sup>20</sup> If this really was the case, then the different versions might be traced back to some kind of master copy of the text used in the monasteries.

Table 3: Index versions in the Gospel Books from Reichenau according to Donatien de Bruyne.

Gospel	Aachen, Domschatzkammer, G 25	Munich, BSB, Clm 4453	Munich, BSB, Clm 4454	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 218	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 12	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 12	Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Cent. IV,4	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.7
Matthew	A	A	A	A	A	– (lost)	A	A
Mark	B	A	B	B	A	A	B	A
Luke	B	A	B	B	A	A	B	A
John	B = A	B = A	B = A	B = A	B = A	B = A	B = A	B = A

<sup>18</sup> Bruyne 2014, 270 (translation by the author).

<sup>19</sup> Similar research has been conducted by Carl Nordenfalk concerning the Gospel Books from Echternach Abbey; see Nordenfalk 1971, 51–53.

<sup>20</sup> Hoffmann 1986, 408–410.

### The chapter divisions in the texts of the four Gospels

Having analysed the lists of the *breves/capitula*, we now turn to the counterparts of these chapter divisions in the Gospels. Folio 27<sup>r</sup> from the codex Clm 4454, which was once used in Bamberg Cathedral, again contains rectangular justification written in a Carolingian minuscule (Fig. 3). The writer placed the Eusebian *sectiones* and a rubricated Roman numeral in the left-hand margin, the latter under a rectangular paren. He painted a splendid initial in colour next to this, extending over four lines. The words immediately following the initial are written in a rubricated uncial script. The line below and the last line of the preceding chapter are written in the same colour as the text, but in the *capitalis rustica* script.<sup>21</sup> The chapter, the beginning of which is heralded by the Roman numeral placed under a paren and by the initial and highlighted lines, reports on the birth and childhood of Jesus and establishes an immediate connection between the content of the *brevis/capitulum* and the particular chapter for the reader. The other chapters also have a similar beginning. This Gospel Book shares this specific mode of visually organising its divisions with the *Limburg Gospels* (Cod. 218): on folio 23<sup>r</sup> the writer again placed a Roman numeral – without a paren this time – in the margin or in the line above the first line of the chapter (Fig. 4). The beginnings of the texts are lavishly decorated and open with an unusually decorated initial, and the first line (or even the first two lines) is/are highlighted by an uncial script occasionally followed by a line written in *capitalis rustica*.

In the case of the *Reichenau Gospels* preserved in Baltimore (Ms. W.7), the Roman numerals indicating the beginning of a new chapter and usually written in the margins are missing. Seeing as the Eusebian *sectiones*, the incipits (which are often rubricated) and the Roman numbering of the *breviaria/capitula* have not been completed, it is obvious that this codex is unfinished. In this Gospel Book, the beginning of a new chapter is only indicated by a different script, which is larger and golden – a mixture of uncial and *capitalis rustica*. One can observe the same phenomenon in the *Hillinus Gospels* (Cod. 12) from Cologne Cathedral. In this manuscript, a rubricated Roman numeral only appears in a margin on one occasion (fol. 25<sup>v</sup>), so the beginning of a new chapter can usually be deduced from the size of the characters and the different script used (Fig. 5). Table 4 shows the numbers of the chapters in the particular Gospel Books from Reichenau.

Since the rubricated Roman numbering has only been completed (or just about completed) in five manuscripts and in one chapter of the Gospel Book in Nuremberg Ms. Cent. IV,4, the number of chapters has to be traced back from the visual organisation of the text. By comparing the number of *breves/capitula* with the number of chapters of the text of the particular Gospels, it becomes apparent that there is a significant discrepancy, even in the manuscripts that have Roman numbering in the *breves/capitula* and the Gospel text (Table 5).

Table 4: Numbers of the chapters in the particular texts of the four Gospels in the manuscripts from Reichenau.

Gospel	Aachen, Domschatzkammer, G 25	Munich, BSB, Clm 4453	Munich, BSB, Clm 4454	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 218	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 12	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 12	Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Cent. IV,4	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.7
<b>Matthew</b>	28	28	28	28	–	28	28 (?)	27 (?)
<b>Mark</b>	13	13	13	13	–	13	13	12 (?)
<b>Luke</b>	20	21	20	21	–	21	–	20 (?)
<b>John</b>	13	14	13	13	–	14	–	12 (?)

<sup>21</sup> Leidinger 1921, 14.

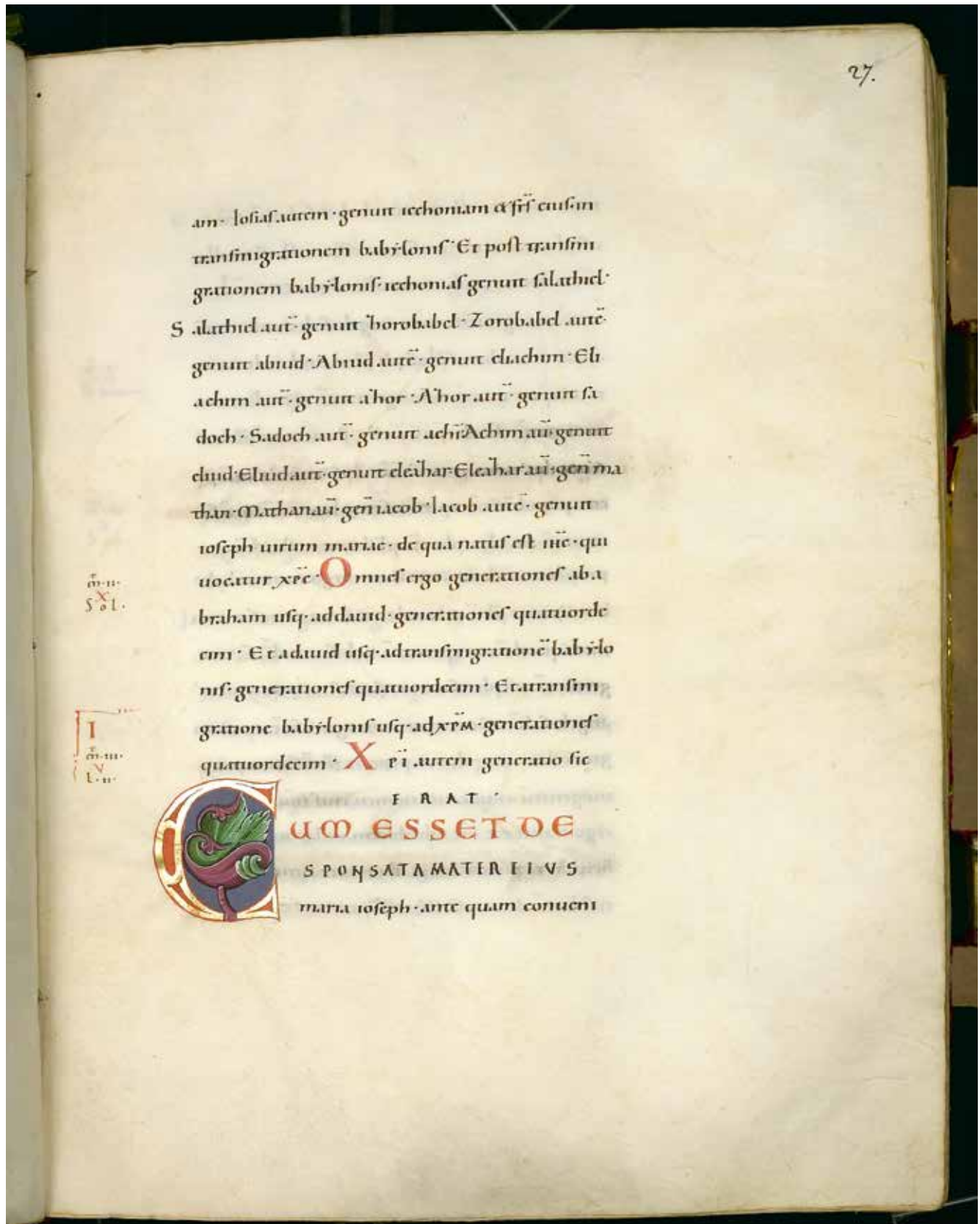


Fig. 3: Beginning of the first chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew, Gospel Book, Reichenau, c.1010, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Clm 4454, fol. 27.

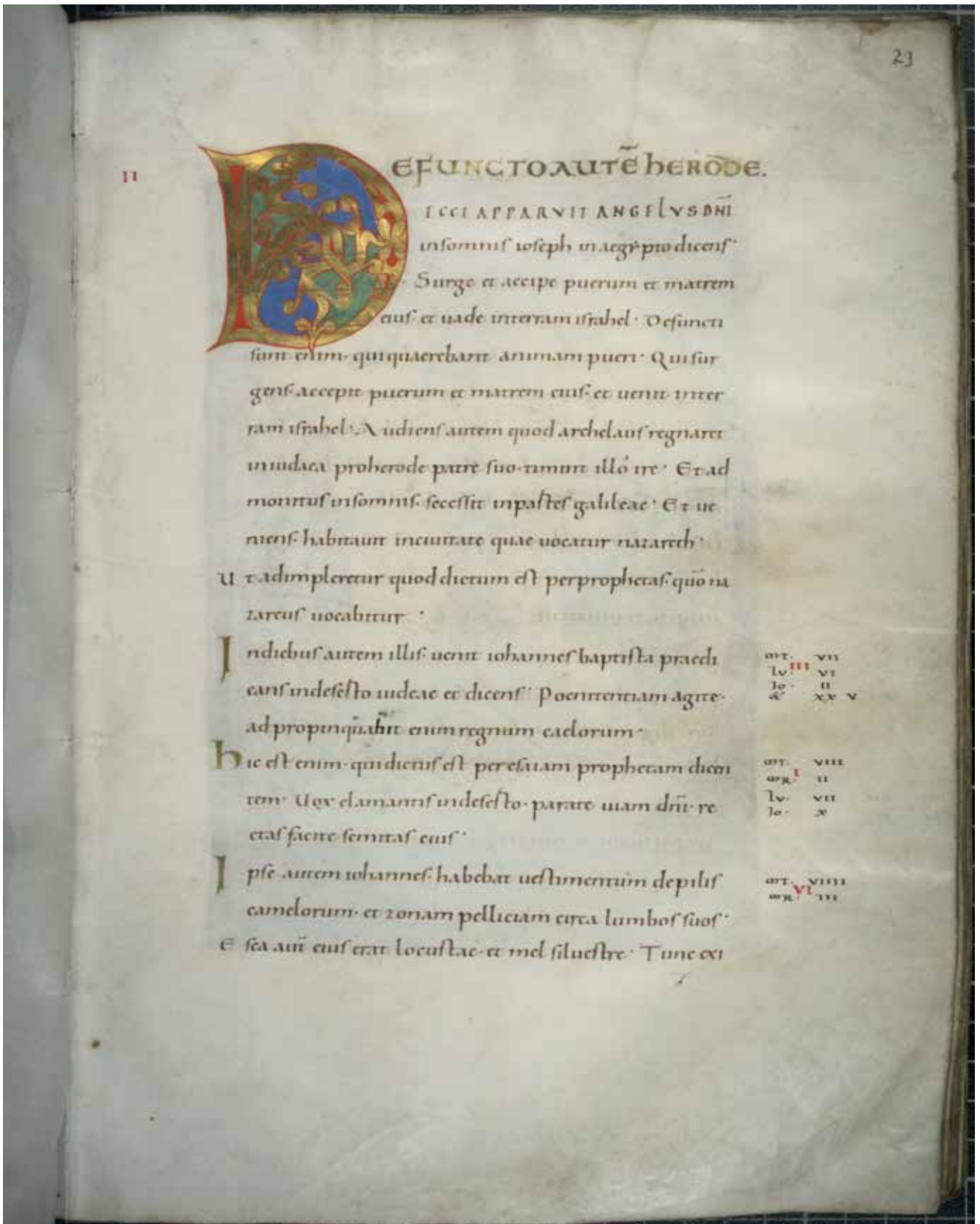


Fig. 4: Beginning of the second chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew, *Limburg Gospels*, Reichenau, c.1025, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln, Cod. 218, fol. 23'.

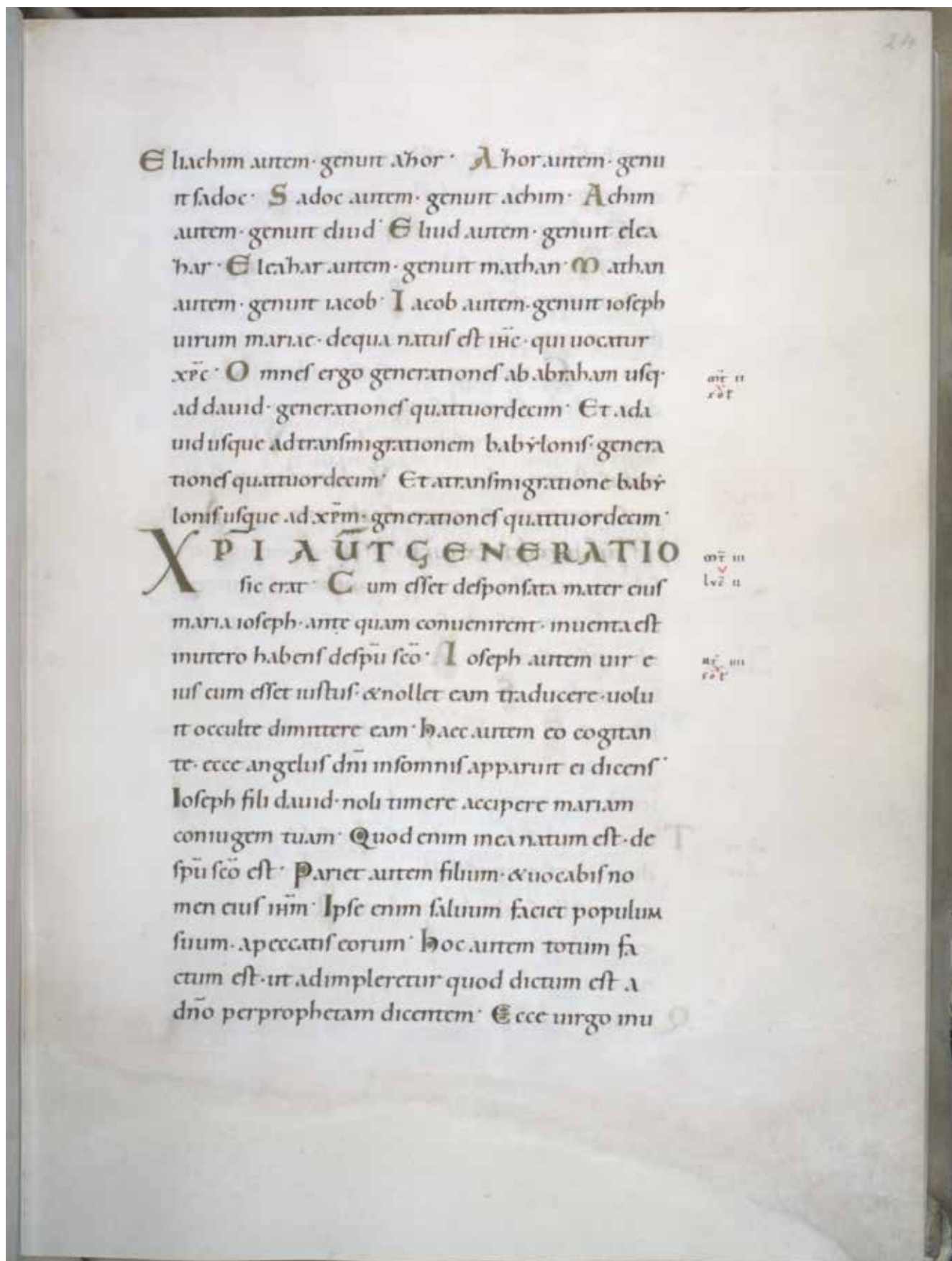


Fig. 5: Beginning of the first chapter of the Gospel according to Matthew, *Hillinus-Codex*, Reichenau, c.1020, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln, Cod. 12, fol. 24r.

Table 5: Comparison of the number of *breves/capitula* within the indices with the number of chapters in the Gospels.

Gospel	Aachen, Domschatzkammer, G 25	Munich, BSB, Clm 4453	Munich, BSB, Clm 4454	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 218	Cologne, Diözesanbibliothek, Cod. 12	Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 12	Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. Cent. IV,4	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.7
Matthew	25 / 28	28 (?) / 28	28 / 28	28 / 28	28 (?) / –	– (lost) / 28	25 / 28 (?)	29 (?) / 27 (?)
Mark	12 / 13	13 / 13	13 / 13	13 / 13	13 (?) / –	13 (?) / 13	13 (? add.) / 13	13 (?) / 12 (?)
Luke	20 / 20	21 / 21	20 / 20	20 / 21	22 (?) / –	22 (?) / 21	20 (? add.) / –	22 (?) / 20 (?)
John	15 / 13	13 / 14	14 / 13	13 / 13	13 (?) / –	14 / 14	15 / –	13 (?) / 12 (?)

The results of this investigation show a strong disparity with regard to the *breves/capitula*. Whereas all of the Gospel Books from Reichenau Monastery include these lists and indices as texts that seem to have been planned according to a consistent visual organisational scheme, the artistic realisation is, in fact, fragmentary: the Roman numbering is often missing and one finds different numbers of *breves/capitula* and chapters in the registers and beside the text of the Gospels. This detail is especially surprising since the *breves/capitula* clearly refer to one particular chapter in the Gospels.

#### Indices and liturgical reading

Now, in this last step, we shall pursue the possible reasons for this presumably subordinate handling of the indices. The result will certainly relate to the function of the codices. We therefore have to try to discover why these registers were incorporated into the medieval Gospel Books in the first place. To begin with, the *breves/capitula* were not necessary for liturgical use of the manuscripts during the Middle Ages. What was important in order to use a Gospel Book for divine worship was the marginal notes in the Eusebian sections. These indices are included in all the Gospel codices from Reichenau except for the Gospel Book that is probably unfinished, which is now preserved in Baltimore (Ms. W.7).<sup>22</sup> It is not surprising, then, that the Roman numerals indicating the numbering of the *breves/capitula* and the chapters are missing in this particular manuscript. We can also interpret the extensive absence of the indices in the Gospel Book in Nuremberg (Ms. Cent. IV,4) and in the *Hillinus Gospels* (Cod. 12) as a hint suggesting that these manuscripts are also unfinished. The codex Ms. Cent.

IV,4 is a fragment because the *capitulare evangeliorum*, an index of all the pericopes, which is usually placed at the end of the Gospel Book and lists the liturgical readings for each day of the year, is missing. Two *capitula* (fols 75<sup>v</sup>–76<sup>v</sup> / parts of fols 115<sup>r</sup>–119<sup>v</sup>) were added partially in the Late Middle Ages – without the Roman ordinal numbers – because they were obviously missing, whereas no palimpsests can be found here (Fig. 6). The amendment of these two indices can perhaps be traced back to exegetical interests because further rubricated late-medieval chapter divisions were written in the manuscript that largely correspond to the Ottonian chapter divisions. Probably they were added for exegetical purposes, as in the Late Middle Ages the Gospel Books were slowly replaced by Gospel Lectionaries and Missals only containing the pericopes to be read during the service. Presumably in the fifteenth century, this codex was given to the Dominican monastery in Nuremberg by a canon of a collegiate church in Strasbourg, so it is possible that the manuscript was used for exegetical studies in Franconia or even in Strasbourg.<sup>23</sup>

In the case of the *Hillinus Gospels* (Cod. 12), the Eusebian sections, which are necessary for the liturgical reading of the pericope, are almost complete, but the rubricated Roman numerals in the Eusebian notations are missing between fols 26<sup>v</sup> and 71<sup>v</sup> (the Gospel according to Matthew), between fols 74<sup>r</sup> and 104<sup>r</sup> (the Gospel according to Mark), between fols 122<sup>r</sup> and 161<sup>v</sup> (the Gospel according to Luke), and between fols 163<sup>r</sup> and 202<sup>v</sup> (the Gospel according to John). These numbers were not necessarily intended for liturgical readings and their absence coincides with the structure of the quires; the rubrication is completely missing on some quires,

<sup>22</sup> Miner 1936, 168–185.

<sup>23</sup> Neske 1987, 30.

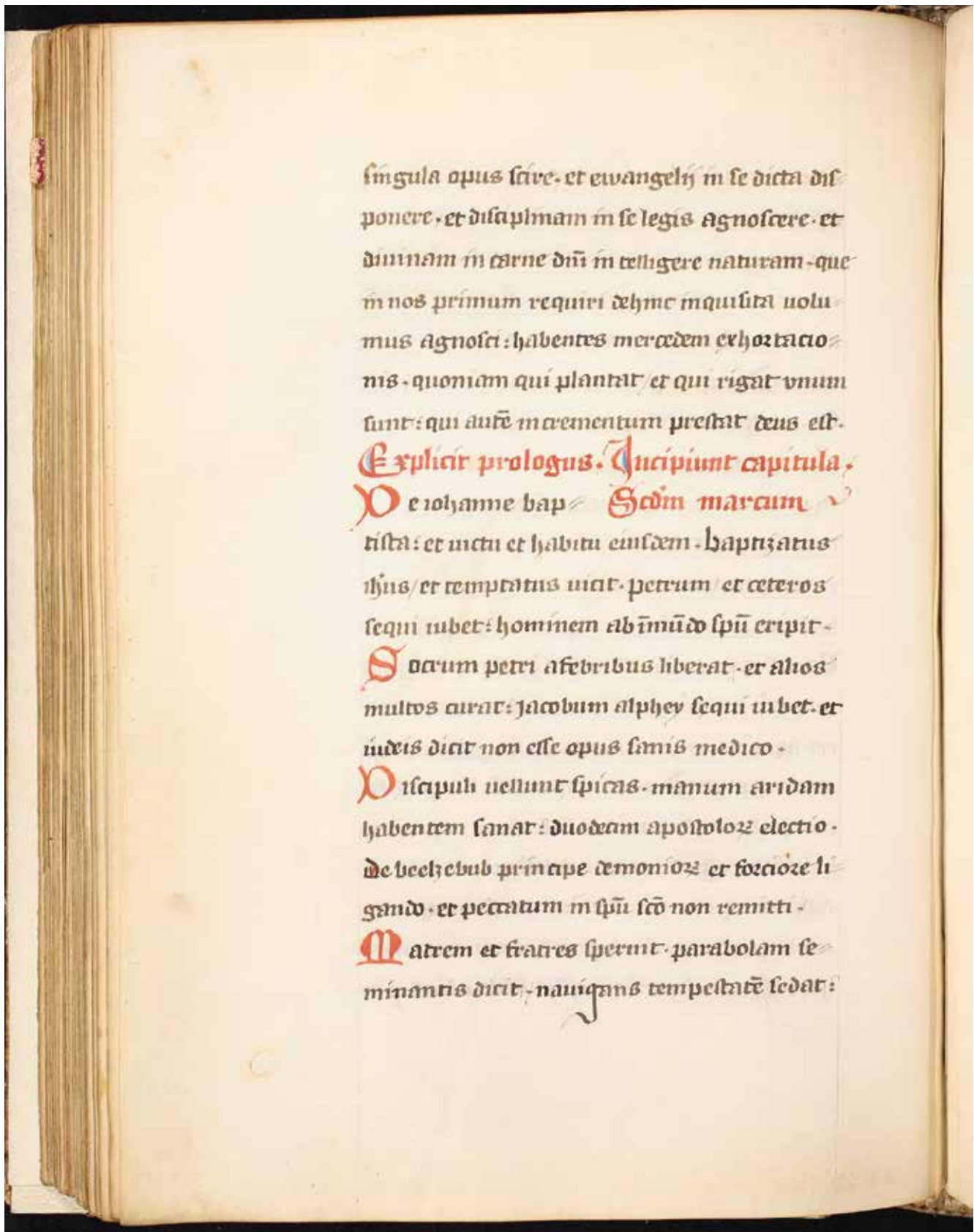


Fig. 6: Added late medieval beginning of the *capitula* (Mark), Gospel Book, Reichenau, c.1020, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus Nürnberg, Cent. IV,4, fol. 75r.



for example. This circumstance may give us an insight into the process of producing these manuscripts: after adjusting the page and providing the lines, as a first step, obviously, the Gospels and the Eusebian notations were written in a dark brown Carolingian minuscule and parts of them were highlighted by lines drawn in an uncial style. The quires must have been given to the rubricator later, who added the particular numbers and lines in red ink. It seems that this later production step was forgotten or intentionally left out in some of the quires. The *Hillinus Gospels* (Cod. 12), therefore, could have been used for the liturgical reading, but were not actually completed. One can observe a similar phenomenon in the case of the *Gospels of Otto III* (Clm 4453) in the Bavarian State Library in Munich: all the chapters were begun with a golden paragraph initial and a first line written in a rubricated uncial script. In some cases (as on fol. 242<sup>v</sup> and fol. 246<sup>r</sup>), the rubricator wrote the last syllable(s) or the last word(s) of this line in the line above it, which actually belongs to the preceding chapter. This indicates that the main text, written in a dark brown Carolingian minuscule, must have been completed before the rubricator added the first line of the particular chapter. Since the space was too narrow sometimes, the rubricator had to draw next to the previous line.

#### Tracing the functions of the indices

What can these results tell us about the functions of the *breviaria/capitula*? In his letter to Pope Damasus, which is known as *Novum opus*, Jerome explains that he has also adopted the Eusebian sections from the original Greek versions of the Gospels and integrated them into his unifying Latin translation. In addition, he even gives precise information on the layout of the marginal notations that can usually be found in every Gospel Book, since they were necessary to identify the pericopes for liturgical reading in the Middle Ages. Unfortunately, there are no comments from Jerome on the *breves/capitula*, but these chapter divisions were unnecessary for celebrating the liturgy because the *capitulare evangeliorum*, a list usually put at the end of each Gospel Book, only refers to the Eusebian sections. As Hugh A. G. Houghton suggests with regard to early Latin versions of the Gospels, these *breviaria/capitula* may have had a referential purpose and show ‘a growing emphasis on the form of the scriptural text along with the fixing of the canon’.<sup>24</sup> So it is probable that these notations were incorporated into

the codices by late antique Christian scribes and were used for their interpretation of the four Gospels. Since the production of these manuscripts was highly complex and very expensive, one should bear in mind that when such an annotated Gospel Book was copied – one that served liturgical purposes as well as being used for exegetical studies – these notations were copied as well. The different numbers of the divisions and the varying versions of the *breves/capitula* can probably be traced back to the use of different master copies, as the manuscripts, which were written on the island of Reichenau, are part of a long tradition of copying and were written over a period of at least fifty years.

Another aspect seems to be rather more important here, however: while the *breviaria/capitula* were not necessary for celebrating the liturgy in medieval times, they actually played a significant role in divine services performed in Late Antiquity. The order of readings, which is codified in the *capitulare evangeliorum*, can be traced back to the middle of the seventh century.<sup>25</sup> Before this order prevailed, the choice of the pericopes was not regulated systematically. However, a close connection between the place of the liturgical celebration, the day in the liturgical calendar and the pericope can be observed. Some examples taken from Egeria’s *Peregrinatio* – an account of a Gaul’s pilgrimage to the Holy Land – may make this clearer: Egeria explains that during the divine service, at particular places related to an Old or New Testament event, the readings were proclaimed that report the story.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, the pilgrim describes the liturgical celebrations during Holy Week and the proclamation of the Gospel in detail. Again, the close connection between the event of salvific history, the place of the service, the day of the liturgical calendar and the pericope is obvious.<sup>27</sup> The chosen pericopes focus on the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, and these passages were proclaimed at the ‘authentic’ places of the biblical events.<sup>28</sup> Egeria must have been fascinated by the proper choice of the pericopes as she explicitly mentions the attribution of the feast days and readings:

<sup>25</sup> Klauser 1935.

<sup>26</sup> Röwekamp 1995, 135, 137, 213; on the *Peregrinatio Egeriae* (with further literature), see Baldovin 1987, 55–57.

<sup>27</sup> The Stational Liturgy in Jerusalem is not limited to solemn occasions or feast days; the bishop celebrated the divine service at varying places. See Baldovin 1987, 58.

<sup>28</sup> See Baldovin 1987, 45–55 on the Early Christian ‘holy places’ that Egeria visited.

<sup>24</sup> Houghton 2011, 349.

Among other things, it is quite remarkable that they always manage to sing the right psalms and antiphons. Those that are sung at night, in the morning and all through the day until the Sext or Non or the Lucernarium are relevant and well-suited insofar as they refer to the particular event that is celebrated.<sup>29</sup>

According to Egeria's account, some pericopes must have been proclaimed once a week. So the bishop did not only read the passage on the Resurrection of Jesus Christ at Easter, but every Sunday during the vigil in the Anastasis of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>30</sup> In order to achieve more congruence between the holy place, the feast day or occasion of the celebration and the pericope, this way of proclaiming the Gospel successively replaced the *lectio continua*, which was common originally.<sup>31</sup> This system of reading the Gospels on particular occasions was also established at other places outside Jerusalem as well: Augustine of Hippo mentions that – starting with the liturgical readings for the *maior* feasts of Jesus Christ – the pericopes were allocated to particular occasions with regard to the meaning of the celebration, so the *lectio continua* was interrupted quite often.<sup>32</sup> Cyrille Vogel points out that the right pericopes were proclaimed on feast days in some local churches, especially those of venerated saints.<sup>33</sup> He says it is very likely there is 'the possibility that at the same period there existed something like and [*sic!*] overall arrangement of readings for the entire year'.<sup>34</sup> Since the number of feast days – especially to commemorate martyrs – increased in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the number of applicable pericopes increased as well, while the *lectio continua* was kept as it was.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Röwekamp 1995, 236: 'Hoc autem inter omnia satis precipuum est, quod faciunt ut psalmi vel antiphonae apti semper dicuntur, tamqui nocte dicuntur, tam qui contra matutina, tam etiam qui per diem vel sexta aut nona vel ad lucernare, semper ita apti et ita rationabiles, ut ad ipsam rem pertineant, quae agitur' (translation by the author).

<sup>30</sup> Röwekamp 1995, 244: 'legat episcopus intra Ansastase locum resurrectionis Domini de evangelio, sicut et toto anno dominicis diebus fit' (translation by the author).

<sup>31</sup> Klauser 1935, XI; Jungmann 1952, 510. Rouwhorst says that the focus of the *lectio continua* is on the biblical book, which thus receives 'its own right', meaning that a systematic form of exegesis could be conducted. Additionally, the *lectio continua* could be regarded as a kind of meditation or religious exercise; see Rouwhorst 2013, 838.

<sup>32</sup> By analysing the sermons of Augustine, Stephan Beissel reconstructs the reading system of the church of Hippo, which has pericopes for the feast days. See Beissel 1907, 41–47; cf. Klauser 1935, XII f.; Jungmann 1952, 510; Dijk 1969, 225–226.

<sup>33</sup> Vogel 1986, 300.

<sup>34</sup> Vogel 1986, 302.

<sup>35</sup> Rouwhorst 2013, 838; Kunzler 2003, 236.

The Gospel Books, of course, had to fulfil the requirements of this way of reading and proclaiming the Gospel according to the congruence between feast days or liturgical commemoration and the pericope. On the one hand, the passage had to be found within the entity of the manuscript, while on the other, a determination of the relation of liturgical celebrations and pericopes seemed to be obvious. Thus, with regard to the content, proper texts from the four Gospels were assigned to particular feast days in the ecclesiastical calendar. First traces of a set system of readings can be found outside Jerusalem in Gaul during the fifth century, for example.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, the first written evidence of a mandatory determination of the *capitula*, as these readings are named in this early index, can be dated to the seventh century.<sup>37</sup> It is therefore very likely that the *breviaria/capitula* of the Gospel Books, which contain short summaries of passages in the texts of the Gospels they refer to, served as a way of helping the reader find the right pericope. These easily understandable indices summarised the content in a simple, abbreviated way, while the well-educated clergymen – especially the bishops – were also familiar with the detailed theological background. Since 'the bishop was perfectly free to choose the passages that were to be read',<sup>38</sup> the *breviaria/capitula* helped one find a suitable pericope for a particular day. Therefore, the *breviaria/capitula* were added to the codices as a kind of tool, even though the manuscripts did not originally contain any numbered chapter divisions in their Latin form.<sup>39</sup> This relationship between the proclaimed passages and the occasions of the liturgical celebration provided an additional 'benefit' in comparison to the *lectio continua*: the preacher was able to interpret the pericope with the event in mind.<sup>40</sup> In terms of the feast days of the saints, in particular, this re-reading of the Gospel stressed the *imitatio Christi* of the particular saint in question.<sup>41</sup> To come back to Fortunatianus of Aquileia again, the incipit of his *capitula*

<sup>36</sup> Dijk 1969, 225–226.

<sup>37</sup> Regarding the development of the reading system and the choice of pericopes, see Jungmann 1952, 510; cf. Klauser 1935, XII on the dating of the documentary evidence.

<sup>38</sup> Vogel 1986, 302.

<sup>39</sup> Houghton 2011, 320.

<sup>40</sup> Rouwhorst 2013, 838.

<sup>41</sup> See Angenendt 2007, 35–38 and Beissel 1907, 46 on the *imitatio Christi* of the Saints.

‘INCIPIUNT SINGULA CAPITULA AD BREVE, UT LECTIONUM QUAM VELIS CELERIUS INVENIAS’<sup>42</sup> suggests that even this index was used to find the proper passage for a liturgical reading. Furthermore, Theodor Klauser collected evidence about the use of the term *capitula* to signify a liturgical pericope.<sup>43</sup> Additionally, in Egeria’s famous account of her pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the proclamation of biblical texts is always expressed by various finite forms of the verb *legere* (‘to read’).<sup>44</sup> Regarding the stationary liturgy of the Holy Week in Jerusalem, Egeria also describes the celebration of Palm Sunday:

Hora ergo septima omnis populus ascendet in monte Oliveti, ed est in Eleona, in ecclesia; sedet episcopus, dicuntur ymni et antiphonae apte diei ipsi vel loco, lectiones etiam similiter.

At the seventh hour, all the people climb up the Mount of Olives. This is in Eleona, and they enter the church [there]. The bishop sits down, appropriate hymns and antiphons are sung with regard to the particular day and place, and the readings are made in a similar way.<sup>45</sup>

Egeria went on her pilgrimage to the Holy Land between 381 and 384, just a few decades after Fortunatianus of Aquileia compiled his headings of the four Gospels. Since she explicitly names the liturgical readings *lectiones*, we can conclude that Fortunatianus may also have meant these readings when he used the term *lectionum in the incipit* of his *capitula*.

#### Later developments

In the early seventh century at the latest, the rather inordinate system of readings was replaced by a strictly determined reading system using the *capitulare evangeliorum*, so the *breviaria/capitula* became useless for selecting appropriate pericopes for particular occasions. Theodor Klauser, who diligently carried out research on the *capitulare evangeliorum* in the 1930s, dated the first written evidence of this kind of index to around 645 CE.<sup>46</sup> This index usually begins with the

pericope for the vigil at Christmas Eve and lists all the days of the liturgical year together with the attributed passage of the Gospel. Thus, the *capitulare evangeliorum* contains all the information for the readings on particular feast days and on the days of Ordinary Time as well as on certain special occasions like the dedication of a church.

The *capitulare evangeliorum* is closely related to the Eusebian *sectiones*.<sup>47</sup> In the late third or early fourth century, Eusebius, the bishop of Caesarea (\*260/264, †329/330), divided the text of the four Gospels into a number of sections (Matthew – 355 / Mark – 233 / Luke – 342 / John – 232) and wrote a small synoptic table in the margin.<sup>48</sup> Additionally, Eusebius composed the canon tables that display entries by listing all the congruent *sectiones* in one line to which sections of the different Gospels structurally conform.<sup>49</sup> At the beginning, the marginal matrix states the abbreviation of the name of a particular evangelist beside whose Gospel this notation is placed, along with a continuously written Roman numeral of the *sectio*. One finds a second Roman numeral (I–X) under this line, which indicates the number of the canon and therefore shows the canon table in which the particular section and corresponding sections can be found. In the margins, these corresponding *sectiones* are noted in the lines below the Roman numeral of the canon by giving the abbreviation of the names of the other evangelists as well as the particular Roman numerals of the *sectio*. Now, the numbering of the *sectiones* is important for the *capitulare evangeliorum*: these particular entries are structured in a highly regular manner and first mention the name of the feast or the day of the ecclesiastical calendar. Sometimes even the Roman church is stated where the papal stationary liturgy was celebrated that day.<sup>50</sup> The particular Gospel (according to Matthew, Mark, Luke or John) and the Eusebian *sectio*, which contains the pericope, come after that. Since the pericopes are not usually congruent with the *sectiones*, the phrase for the beginning (‘In illo tempore...’) and the first and last words of the division (after the word ‘usque’) are also provided.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Ganz 2012, 326.

<sup>48</sup> See Hollerich 2013, 629–652 and Shepard 2012, 345 on the acts of Eusebius. See Crawford 2015, 21–23 on the reconstruction of Eusebius’ *modus operandi*.

<sup>49</sup> Oliver 1959, 138; Parker 2008, 315–316; Reudenbach 2009, 61–63; see Nordenfalk 1938, 45–54 on the development of the Canon Tables.

<sup>50</sup> See Baldovin 1987, 105–166 and Weigel 2013, 3–14 on the stationary liturgy in Rome.

<sup>51</sup> Klauser 1935, XVII.

<sup>42</sup> Dorfbauer 2017, 135 (ll. 575–576): ‘The individual chapters begin as an index here so you can find the reading you want more quickly’ (translation by the author).

<sup>43</sup> Klauser 1935, XII, n. 2.

<sup>44</sup> Röwekamp 1995, 134 [4,4] – lectus, 232 [24,10] – *legit / legi*.

<sup>45</sup> Röwekamp 1995, 258 [31,1] (translation by the author).

<sup>46</sup> Klauser 1935, 1.

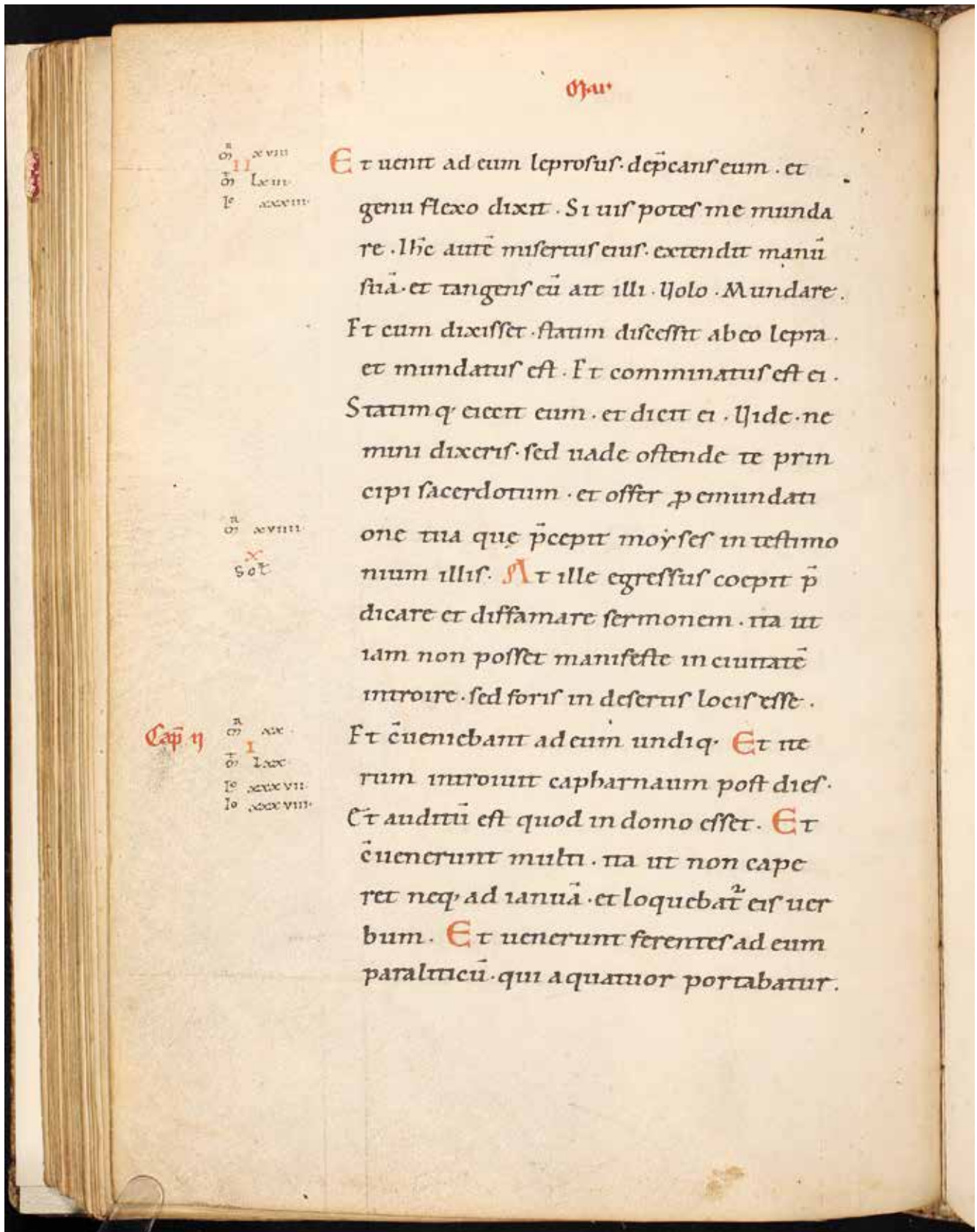


Fig. 7: Late medieval chapter division in the left margin, Gospel Book, Reichenau, c.1020, Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus Nürnberg, Cent. IV,4, fol. 79r.

This index was incorporated into the Gospel Books of the Latin Church from the seventh century onwards and determined which pericopes were chosen. Although the *breviaria/capitula* – indices that helped readers to find the appropriate pericope by summarising its content – were replaced by the *capitulare evangeliorum*, these lists were still included in the Gospel Books; perhaps these indices were considered to be a constitutive part of the manuscripts, much like the authenticating prologues and letters, so they were not abandoned. This interpretation of the functions of the *breviaria/capitula* may also explain the subordinate treatment of these lists in the Gospel Books from Reichenau Monastery. Since they were not used any more, the Roman ordinal numerals in the margins of the indices are often missing, as are their corresponding counterparts in the margins of the texts. These indices probably served exegetical purposes in the Late Middle Ages because the Roman numerals were added in the manuscript from the Stadtbibliothek Nuremberg (Ms. Cent. IV,4) at a time when the Gospel Books were being replaced by Missals, which contained all the texts that were recited or proclaimed during the liturgy (Fig. 7). Although the indices lost their original purpose, especially the highlighted chapter divisions of the *breviaria/capitula* in the Gospels, in some luxury imperial donations the artists were given the opportunity to incorporate lavishly decorated initials and to unfold a sophisticated ‘hierarchy of script’<sup>52</sup> while enhancing the splendour of the Word of God.

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<sup>52</sup> Lowe 1969, 19.

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