

VOTIVE MASSES OF THE HOLY FACE OF CHRIST IN EARLY PRINTED DIOCESAN MISSALS

Uwe Michael Lang

THE origins of the liturgical veneration of the Holy Face of Christ can be traced to the efforts of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) to promote devotion to the Roman Veronica, the relic treasured in the Vatican Basilica of St. Peter's.¹ The cloth was identified with the handkerchief a holy woman called Veronica offered to Christ as he was carrying his cross to Calvary, so that he might wipe off the blood and sweat from his face. In return for the woman's act of kindness, Christ was believed to have left an imprint of his sacred countenance on the cloth. The name Veronica was also given to the relic itself, which is explained as "vera icon," the "true image" of the Saviour. In 1208, Innocent III led a solemn procession with the Veronica from St. Peter's to the church of the hospital of S. Spirito, S. Maria in Sassia, which was to be observed annually on the second Sunday after the Epiphany.² The veneration of the Holy Face spread rapidly

¹ Uwe Michael Lang, "Origins of the Liturgical Veneration of the Roman Veronica," in *The European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages*, ed. Amanda Murphy, Herbert L. Kessler, Marco Petoletti, Eamon Duffy, and Guido Milanese, *Convivium Supplementum 2* (Turnhout, 2017), 144–55. The volume contains papers from a conference held at Magdalene College, Cambridge in April 2016, which explore medieval devotion to the Veronica from a variety of disciplines, including history of art and literature. See also Christoph Egger, "Papst Innocenz III. und die Veronica. Geschichte, Theologie, Liturgie und Seelsorge," in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium Held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996*, ed. Herbert L. Kessler and Gerhard Wolf, *Villa Spelman Colloquia 6* (Bologna, 1998), 181–203.

² The *Ordinarium Innocentii III* includes a note about this procession; see Stephen J. P. van Dijk, *The Ordinal of the Papal Court from Innocent III to Boniface VIII and Related Documents*, completed by Joan Hazelden Walker, *Spicilegium Friburgense 22* (Fribourg, 1975), 157–58. At S. Maria in Sassia, Innocent preached on the Gospel reading for this Sunday, the wedding at Cana (John 2:1–11), and interpreted the procession of the image of Christ to the church dedicated to Mary as a spiritual representation of the biblical scene; see *Sermo VIII* (PL 217:345–50). The

throughout Europe, as is shown by the proliferation of devotional offices, which were not intended for liturgical use strictly speaking, but for pious exercises that were popular among both religious and laity at the time. The earliest sources for the most widespread office are an addition to the illustrated Arundel Psalter (ca. 1240) and the Cambridge manuscript of the second volume of the *Chronica maiora* (ca. 1240–1253) by the Benedictine writer and artist Matthew Paris. This office includes several psalm verses and responses that invoke the Old Testament search for the Lord's countenance and present this aspiration as being fulfilled in the contemplation of the face of Christ. Among these verses, particular significance is given to Psalm 4:7: "Signatum est super nos lumen uultus tui, Domine" ("The light of your countenance, O Lord, is stamped upon us: you have given gladness in my heart"), which in the Latin patristic tradition (Ambrose, Augustine, Bede) is connected with man being created in the image of God and with the restoration of this image, disfigured by original sin, in the sacrament of baptism. Psalm 4:7 is worked into the concluding prayer, which is attributed to Innocent III and composed in the classical style of the Roman collect. This collect is the stable, recurring feature in later mass formularies which in other respects show considerable diversity:

Deus qui nobis signatis lumine uultus tui memoriale tuum ad instantiam Veronice sudario impressam ymaginem relinquere uoluisti, per passionem et crucem tuam tribue nobis quesumus: ut ita nunc in terris per speculum et in enigmate ipsam adorare et uenerari ualeamus: ut facie ad faciem uenientem iudicem te securi uideamus. Qui uiuis et regnas cum Deo Patre.³

(O God, who willed to leave for us, stamped with the light of your countenance, as your memorial at the urging of blessed Veronica the image impressed on a cloth, through your passion and cross grant us, we pray, that we may now on earth, in a mirror dimly, so venerate and adore the

title printed in Migne, "Dominica prima post Epiphaniam" is misleading; it should read "Dominica secunda post Epiphaniam" or "Dominica prima post octavam Epiphaniae."

³ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 53v (49v), reproduced by Alexa Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (New York, 2014), 43; see also Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, vol. 3: *A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239*, ed. H. R. Luard, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* (London, 1876), 7–8. London, British Library Arundel 157, fol. 2r, is reproduced by Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, 39.

same [image], that we may then see you secure face to face, when you come as our judge. Who with God the Father live and reign.)

A set of three mass orations of the Holy Face was added, probably in the fifteenth century, to the end of a Roman missal from the second half of the thirteenth century in the Capitular Archives of St. Peter's in the Vatican.⁴ Another set of three mass orations "de sancta Veronica" was added to a twelfth-century Cistercian missal now in Troyes,⁵ and a complete mass formulary "de sancta Veronica" was appended to a Franciscan missal from the first half of the fourteenth century now in Lyon;⁶ in both cases, the additions seem to have been made in the fifteenth century and hence are roughly contemporary with those in the Vatican manuscript.

In this article I intend to present and analyze mass formularies in honour of the Holy Face that appear in a number of early printed diocesan missals from central Europe in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. While I do not claim to offer an exhaustive survey of the extant material,⁷

⁴ *Missale secundum consuetudinem Romane ecclesiae*, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro E.6, fol. 341r. The manuscript is digitalized and accessible on http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Arch.Cap.S.Pietro.E.6/0001. See Lang, "Origins of the Liturgical Veneration of the Roman Veronica," 150–53; also Solange Corbin, "Les offices de la Sainte Face," *Bulletin des Etudes Portugaises*, n.s., 11 (1947): 1–62 [also published separately: Coimbra, 1947], at 19–20: "*Collecta ad faciem Christi*: Deus qui nobis signatis lumine uultus tui . . . [the prayer of the devotional office attributed to Innocent III, with some minor variations in the wording]. *Secretum*: Deus, qui es splendor patris et figura substantie eius quique tuam gloriosam faciem coram discipulis solari claritate refulgere fecisti, presta quesumus, ut qui nunc in speculo et enigmate te uidemus in reuelatione glorie tue facie ad faciem contemplatione speciei tue perfrui mereamur. Qui uiuis et. *Complenda*: Comple in nobis quesumus domine deus noster sumpti sacramenti uirtutem ut saluator mundi in cordibus nostris per fidei illuminationem et caritatis feruorem accendatur cuius claritatis solemnia deuota ueneratione celebramus. Qui uiuis et regnas."

⁵ Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale 406, fols. 180v–181r; see Victor Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1924), 1:344.

⁶ Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale 512 (432), fols. 188v–189r; see Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires* 2:225.

⁷ Comprehensive research into this subject will need to explore the titles listed in William Henry James Weale, *Bibliographia liturgica: Catalogus missalium ritus latini ab anno M.CCCC.LXXIV impressorum*, ed. Hans Bohatta (London, 1928); Robert Amiet, *Missels et bréviaires imprimés. Supplément aux catalogues de Weale et Bohatta: Propres des saints* (Paris, 1990); and Antonio Odriozola, *Catálogo de*

my partial investigation of holdings in the British Library in London and sources made available in digitized form has yielded significant results, which confirm the wide diffusion of liturgical veneration of the Veronica and illustrate its theological and spiritual characteristics. This study is limited to a particular geographical area, and given the diversity of mass-sets identified even within this area, it is likely that a wider field of enquiry would reveal an even greater variety of liturgical texts in honour of the Holy Face.

EARLY PRINTED DIOCESAN MISSALS

In the first place, it should be noted that there does not seem to be a votive mass of the Holy Face in the early printed editions of the Roman missal.⁸ Several late medieval missals, both Roman and diocesan, feature a mass “de Iconia Domini Saluatoris,” with the *Trisagion* as its introit.⁹ This mass formulary observance has no direct connection with the Roman Veronica but is rather linked to the story of an icon of Christ in Beirut, which was reported to work miracles after having been attacked by a Jewish

libros litúrgicos españoles y portugueses impresos en los siglos XV y XVI, ed. Julián Martín Abad and Frances Xavier Altés i Aguiló (Pontevedra, 1996). The British Library’s *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue* (ISTC), <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc>, covers books printed in the fifteenth century. Dominik Daschner, *Die gedruckten Meßbücher Süddeutschlands bis zur Übernahme des Missale Romanum Pius V. (1570)*, Regensburger Studien zur Theologie 47 (Frankfurt am Main, 1995) only considers diocesan missals that were printed without episcopal mandate. A helpful resource is *Usuarium: A Digital Library and Database for the Study of Latin Liturgical History in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, <http://usuarium.elte.hu/>.

⁸ There is no trace of the mass of the Holy Face in the printed editions considered for *Missale Romanum Mediolani, 1474*, vol. 2: *A Collation with Other Editions Printed before 1570*, by Robert Lippe, Henry Bradshaw Society 33 (London, 1907). Likewise, it is absent from *Missale secundum morem sancte Romane ecclesie* (Venice: Joh. Herzog de Landoia, 1493 [British Library, IA.23364]); *Missale secundum consuetudinem Romane curie nouiter impressum* (Venice: Johannes Emericus de Spira, 1497 [British Library IA.24229]); *Missale secundum morem Romane ecclesie apud fratres minores de obseruantia accurate reuisum ac emendatum* (Nuremberg: Johannes Meurl, 1501 [British Library C.41.1.6]); and *Missale Romanum nouiter impressum* (Venice: Lucantonio Giunta, 1508 [British Library, Legg20]).

⁹ “Sanctus Deus, Sanctus fortis, Sanctus et immortalis. . .” This is sometimes introduced as a “solemnitas,” as in the Roman missal printed by Spira in Venice, 1497, fol. 217r–v. See also *Missale Romanum Mediolani, 1474* 2:329–30.

mob. The story was transmitted in a homily attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (295–373), and it was used by the iconodules at the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 in favour of their cause. The mass texts seem to have been composed after the lengthy office, which is found in several early printed breviaries. The liturgical observance was associated or even conflated with the feast of the Dedication of the Lateran Basilica (9 November), where a miraculous image of the Saviour's face was venerated in the apse.¹⁰

Early printed editions of the Ambrosian missal and breviary include St. Veronica in their liturgical calendar for 4 February, mostly listed as “matrona” (married woman). The three hagiographical readings for matins in the *Breviarium Ambrosianum* identify the saint with the woman with an issue of blood, who was healed by her touching the hem of the Lord's garment, and relate how she wiped Christ's face with a cloth (*sudarium*) on his way to Calvary.¹¹ The mass formulary in the *Missale Ambrosianum* focuses on the holy woman, with Mark 5:21–43 as the Gospel pericope, and refers to the image of Christ's face imprinted on the *sudarium* chiefly in relation to her work of love (above all in the preface).¹² The feast was excised from the post-Tridentine edition of the Ambrosian liturgical books, overseen by St. Charles Borromeo (archbishop of Milan, 1564–1584), most likely because of doubts about the historicity of the legends associated with St. Veronica.¹³

Complete mass formularies of the Holy Face, including proper readings and chants, can be found in the following early printed diocesan missals

¹⁰ See Marica Tacconi, *Cathedral and Civic Ritual in Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence: The Service Books of Santa Maria Del Fiore*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 12 (Cambridge, 2005), 84–93; and Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), 541–42.

¹¹ *Breviarium iuxta institutionem Sancti Ambrosij castigatum* (Venice: Girolamo Scotto, 1539 [British Library, Legg158]), fol. 144v; see also *Breviarium iuxta institutiones sancti Ambrosij archiepiscopi Mediolani castigatum* (Milan: Niccolò Landriani and Camillo Figini for Cristoforo Caroni, 1557 [British Library, Legg149]), fol. 174v.

¹² *Missale Ambrosianum* (Milan: Antonio Zarotto, 1475 [British Library, IB. 25954]), fols. 35r–36r; *Missale Ambrosianum* (Milan: Leonardo Pachel, 1499 [Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, OEXV 698 RES]), fol. 35r–v.

¹³ See *Breviarium Ambrosianum* (Milan: Da Ponte, Besozzi & C., 1582 [British Library, D–3355.bb.11]); and *Missale Ambrosianum* (Milan: Pacifico Da Ponte, 1594 [British Library, Legg137]).

from central Europe: Basel (about 1481),¹⁴ Meissen (1485),¹⁵ Olomouc (1488),¹⁶ Krakow (after 1493),¹⁷ Prague (1498),¹⁸ Merseburg (1502),¹⁹ Passau (1503),²⁰ Breslau (1505),²¹ Mainz (1510),²² Augsburg (1510),²³ Salzburg (1510),²⁴ and Esztergom (1512).²⁵ It is worth noting that other missals printed in the same period and for neighbouring or indeed the same dioceses do not contain the mass of the Holy Face.²⁶

¹⁴ *Missale Basiliense* (Basel: Bernhard Richel, ca. 1481 [London Oratory Library, 12419]), fols. 301r–302r.

¹⁵ *Missale Misnense* (Mainz: Peter Schöffner, 1485), <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001783800000000>, [305–7]; the original print does not have page numbers.

¹⁶ *Missale Olomucense* (Bamberg: Johann Sensenschmidt, for Peter Drach, 1488), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0128-1-47866>, fols. 296r–297r.

¹⁷ *Missale Cracoviense* (Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs for Johannes Haller, after 1493), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00032898-6>, fol. 302r–v.

¹⁸ *Missale Pragense* (Leipzig: Konrad Kachelofen, 1498), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00070473-2>, Pars Estiualis, fols. 149r–150r.

¹⁹ *Ex quo missalium diversitas in diocesi Merszburgensi* (Leipzig: Melchior Lotter sen., 1502), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-497681>, Pars Estiualis de Sanctis, fols. 146r–147r.

²⁰ *Liber missalis secundum chorum Patauiensem* (Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1503), <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10989555-4>, fols. 306v–308r.

²¹ *Missale Vratislaviense* (Krakow: Johannes Haller and Sebastian Hyber, 1505 [British Library, C.52.h.7]), fols. 284v–285r.

²² *Missale Moguntinum* (Strassburg: Prüss, 1510), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0128-6-2060>, fol. 200r–v.

²³ *Missale secundum ritum Augustensis ecclesie* (Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1510), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00017896-1>, fols. 215v–216v.

²⁴ *Missale Saltzburgense* (Vienna: Johann Winterburger, 1510), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb020004363-8>, fols. 235r–236r.

²⁵ *Missale secundum chorum alme ecclesie Strigoniensis* (Venice: Peter Liechtenstein, 1512 [British Library, C.111.h.5]), fols. 286r–287r.

²⁶ *Liber missalis secundum breuiarium chori ecclesiae Ratisponensis* (Regensburg: Johann Sensenschmidt and Johann Beckenhub, after 1485), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00032947-1>; *Missale Basiliense* (Basel: Michael Wenssler, between 1486 and 1490), <http://dx.doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-10442>; *Missale Frisingense* (Bamberg: Johann Sensenschmidt, 1487 [British Library, IC.14403]); *Liber missalis secundum ordinem ecclesiae Wormatiensis* (Basel: Michael Wenssler, about 1490 [British Library, Hirsch III.936 (=IC.37141)]; *Missale Herbipo-*

The seemingly random inclusion of the mass formulary of the Holy Face in diocesan missals can be related to the role of printers and the lack of episcopal supervision in the production of liturgical books in the pre-Reformation period. Hubert Jedin already addressed this relationship in his studies on the pre-history of the Council of Trent, and Natalia Nowakowska has recently explored it in her survey of early printed missals.²⁷ The later Middle Ages witnessed a standardization of the Latin liturgy according to the Roman model, for which the rapidly expanding Franciscan Order acted as a catalyst. Variations in the missals of dioceses and religious orders, however, remained and were significant in certain regards: the liturgical calendar, above all the sanctoral cycle; the formal presentation of mass formularies (such as the headings for prayer and chant texts); and the structure and sequence of parts within the liturgical books. Even where the *ordo missae* essentially followed the use of the Roman curia, there were differences in the texts and ceremonies of the introductory rites and of the concluding rites. Likewise, the ritual form and the prayers of the offertory were by no means uniform. Liturgical diversification increased with the addition of new saints' feasts, the proliferation of prefaces, tropes, and sequences of uneven quality, and the multiplication of votive masses.²⁸

In general, diocesan bishops did not have effective control over the making of liturgical books in their territories. Before the invention of printing, manuscripts for liturgical use were usually copied at the initiative

lense (Würzburg: Georg Reyser, 1493), <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k3105715>; *Missale Salisburgense* (Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs for Johann Rynmann, 1498), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00032991-0>; *Missale Hildensemense* (Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, 1499 [British Library, IB.8116]); *Missale Vratislaviense* (Mainz: Peter Schöffler, 1499 [British Library, IC.266]); *Missale Nurnburgense* (Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, 1501), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00001943-0>; *Missale Bambergense* (Bamberg: Johann Pfeyl, 1499), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00030069-4>; *Missale secundum chorum et ritum Eystetensis ecclesiae* (Nuremberg: Hieronymus Holtzel, 1517 [British Library, C.66.k.3]).

²⁷ Hubert Jedin, "Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform des Römischen Meßbuches," *Liturgisches Leben* 6 (1939): 30–66, and "Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform der liturgischen Bücher," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 59 (1945): 5–38; Natalia Nowakowska, "From Strassburg to Trent: Bishops, Printing and Liturgical Reform in the Fifteenth Century," *Past and Present* 213 (November 2011): 3–39.

²⁸ See the still valuable work of Adolph Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Liturgie und des religiösen Volkslebens* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1902), esp. 268–91.

of local churches and their clergy, who would engage scribes for this particular purpose.²⁹ Missals would often be donated by local nobility or other patrons. Episcopal involvement was mostly reactive and its limits are illustrated by the largely unsuccessful efforts of Nicholas of Cusa, who as bishop of Brixen tried to enforce the correction of missals in use according to approved normative manuscripts at two diocesan synods in 1453 and 1455.³⁰ The new, fast-growing and unregulated printing industry dramatically simplified the production of liturgical books and gave printers an important role in this process. Leaving aside the stable parts, above all in the *ordo missae* and the temporal cycle of the liturgical year, the actual composition of a diocesan missal seems to have been, to a considerable extent, in the hands of the printers themselves.³¹ Some bishops denounced this rank growth as well as the errors introduced by careless and unreliable printers. A particular problem concerned rubrics, which originated from private annotations, as a practical help for priests to celebrate Mass: they did not have official character and varied both in quality and in usefulness.³² Relatively few bishops, however, took the initiative to create officially approved editions for liturgical use. Based on international incunabula catalogues that document European printing until the year 1500, Nowakowska has compiled a list of diocesan liturgical books that were produced with episcopal commission by leading master printers, such as Erhard Ratdolt in Augsburg and Venice, Georg Stuchs in Nuremberg, Georg Reyser in Wurzburg, and Michael Wenssler in Basel. With the caution that our knowledge of early printed books is far from complete and any quantitative survey must remain provisional, she concludes that these “107 episcopally commissioned editions . . . in fact formed only a small part of the wider market in printed liturgical books in the fifteenth century; they existed alongside a separate genre, the uncommissioned or unofficial

²⁹ See Nowakowska, “From Strassburg to Trent,” 24, who points to the evidence provided by contracts from fifteenth-century Poland and England.

³⁰ Jedin, “Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform des Römischen Meßbuches,” 40–41.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 41: “Die gedruckten Missalien waren allzuhäufig Privatunternehmungen tüchtiger Drucker.”

³² See Nowakowska, “From Strassburg to Trent,” 19–20; and Jedin, “Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform der liturgischen Bücher,” 108.

diocesan printed liturgy.”³³ Most of these books are in fact breviaries and hence primarily for the use of clergy; only 28 of the 107 incunabula listed are missals.³⁴

Nowakowska also observes that episcopal commissions of liturgical books reached their height in the last decade of the fifteenth century and subsequently fell sharply in most dioceses. The reasons for this change are complex, and they probably include a saturation of the market as a result of the success of the earlier initiatives. Liturgical books, once acquired, continued to be used as long as they remained in adequate condition. Going beyond such pragmatic motives, however, disagreements between reformers who inclined towards corrected and standardized editions of the current liturgical books and humanists who argued for a further-ranging reform returning to ideals of Christian antiquity may have stifled the bishops’ efforts in overseeing the production of liturgical books.³⁵

The digitized collection of early printed missals from the Diocese of Passau in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich allows us to illustrate this intricate history with the example of the votive mass of the Holy Face. Two editions of the *Missale Patauiense* (after 1491 and 1494, reprinted 1498), published with the mandate of Christoph von Schachner, bishop of Passau from 1490 to 1500, do not have such a votive formulary,³⁶ neither

³³ Nowakowska, “From Strassburg to Trent,” 19; see 32–39 for the list detailing date of printing, diocese, commissioning bishop, printer, place of printing, and ISTC reference.

³⁴ Among them are the following pre-1501 missals that include the votive mass of the Holy Face: Olomouc, printed in 1488 with the commission of Bishop Jan Vitez (no. 44); Krakow, printed not before 1493 with the commission of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon (no. 67*); and Prague, printed in 1498 with the commission of the cathedral chapter during a long vacancy of the see (no. 95*). Nowakowska does not list the Meissen missal, printed in 1485 with the commission of Bishop Johann V. von Weißenbach. Bernhard Richel’s Basel missal of ca. 1481 was printed without episcopal commission.

³⁵ Nowakowska, “From Strassburg to Trent,” 25–26 and 31, with reference to Jedin, “Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform der liturgischen Bücher.”

³⁶ *Missale Patauiense* (Passau: Johann Petri, after 1491 [Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (= BSB) 2 Inc.c.a. 2590]), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00032993-1>; *Missale Patauiense* (Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1494 [BSB, Rar. 331]), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00032951-4>, reprinted with a renewed episcopal mandate: *Missale Patauiense* (Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1498 [BSB, 2 Inc.c.a. 3666]), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=>

does the exquisitely illuminated missal printed by Johann Winterburger in Vienna in 1503, apparently without episcopal commission.³⁷ The first of two copies of the *Liber missalis secundum chorum Patauiensem*, printed in Augsburg by Erhard Ratdolt in 1503 with the mandate of Wiguleus Fröschl von Marzoll, bishop of Passau from 1500 to 1517, does not include the votive mass of the Holy Face.³⁸ In the second copy of the same edition, however, Erhard Ratdolt added an appendix with votive masses, which he introduced with a rubric stating, “The printer added the following special masses for a greater incentive of love of God, and for the glory of his work.”³⁹ In this section we find the votive mass of the Holy Face, entitled “Officium sancte Veronice: hoc est de facie Iesu Christi.”⁴⁰ A subsequent edition of the *Missale Patauiense* also printed in Augsburg by Erhard Ratdolt in 1505, commissioned again by Bishop Wiguleus Fröschl, does not include these additional votive masses.⁴¹ This evidence would seem to suggest that Ratdolt’s initiative did not meet with the approval of the diocesan bishop, at least not immediately. Subsequent editions of the *Missale Patauiense*, printed by Johann Winterburger in Vienna (1507, 1509, 1512), by Jobst Gutknecht, with Jakob Heller and Heinrich Hermann von Wimpffen, in Nuremberg (1514), and by Lucas Alantsee, for

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00032988-8. These pre-1501 editions are not listed by Nowakowska, “From Strassburg to Trent.”

³⁷ *Missale Patauiense* (Vienna: Johann Winterburger, 1503 [BSB, Rar. 2149]), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00005368-9>.

³⁸ *Liber missalis secundum chorum Patauiensem* (Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1503 [BSB, Rar. 1739]), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00004942-9>. This and similar titles do not indicate that the use of the missal was limited to the choir of the cathedral. Rather, the cathedral liturgy is meant to be the normative for the whole diocese, with the intention to unify the celebration of Mass. See Daschner, *Die gedruckten Meßbücher Süddeutschlands*, 21–22 and 25–29.

³⁹ *Liber missalis secundum chorum Patauiensem* (Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1503 [BSB, 4 Liturg. 400]), <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10989555-4>, fol. 305r: “Subsequentes missas speciales pro maiori diuini amoris incentiuo et operis decore subiunxit impressor.” A similar rubric introducing a section with votive masses is found in the Salzburg missal printed in Vienna by Johann Winterburger in 1510, fol. 234v, and in the Esztergom missal printed in Venice by Peter Liechtenstein in 1512, fol. 284v.

⁴⁰ *Liber missalis secundum chorum Patauiensem*, fols. 306v–308r.

⁴¹ *Missale Patauiense* (Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1505 [BSB, Rar. 213]), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00005742-7>.

Peter Liechtenstein, in Vienna (1522) have the appendix with “missae speciales” that includes the formulary of the Holy Face.⁴²

In conclusion, printers of diocesan missals would confidently supply their editions with mass formularies that corresponded to devotions popular at the time, perhaps with the collaboration and the advice of local clergy. This phenomenon accounts for the haphazard inclusion of the votive mass of the Holy Face in the missals under examination, some of them printed for use in the same diocese in the space of a few years. In certain respects, the new possibility of printing missals initially generated greater diversity, rather than leading towards uniformity.

VOTIVE MASSES OF THE HOLY FACE

The mass formularies of the Holy Face found in diocesan missals from central Europe that were printed in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries can be divided into two sets. On the one hand, the orations, readings, and chants in the missals from Basel, Olomouc, Krakow, Passau, Mainz, Augsburg, Salzburg, and Esztergom are largely identical and use as a template the votive mass of the Holy Cross (from which the chant texts are taken). The Veronica is venerated as the visible, miraculous memorial Christ left of his Passion and hence of his saving work. With a sobering emphasis on redemption from sin, the present vision of the Holy Face is taken above all as an anticipation of and preparation for the eschatological vision of Christ as judge at his Second Coming. Hence, I shall refer to this type of votive mass of the Holy Face as the “Passion formulary.” Within this set, the Basel, Passau, Augsburg, Salzburg, and

⁴² *Missale Patauiense* (Vienna: Johann Winterburger, 1507 [BSB, ESlg/2 Liturg. 227]), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00019128-1>, fols. 284v–285r; *Missale Patauiense* (Vienna: Johann Winterburger, 1509 [BSB, Res/4 Liturg. 402]), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00004335-3>, fols. 255v–256v; *Missale Patauiense* (Vienna: Johann Winterburger, 1512 [BSB, Rar. 2150]), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00007875-4>), fols. 299v–300r; *Missale Patauiense* (Nuremberg: Jobst Gutknecht, with Jakob Heller and Heinrich Hermann von Wimpffen, 1514 [BSB, Rar. 2150]), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00007333-7>, fols. 331r–332e. *Missale Patauiense* (Vienna: Lucas Alantsee, for Peter Liechtenstein, 1522 [BSB, 999/4 Liturg. 96]), <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11069260-8>, fols. 338r–339r.

Esztergom missals show features the Olomouc, Krakow, and Mainz missals do not have: the sequence “*Salve sancta facies*,” the indication of the preface of the Holy Cross, the communion “*Per lignum serui*,” and a note about an indulgence granted by Pope Innocent IV.

On the other hand, a more festive tone is struck in the missals from Meissen, Prague, Merseburg, and Breslau. This type of mass formulary does not draw on a traditional model but appears specifically composed for the object of veneration, with the use of poetic, non-scriptural texts for the chants. The Meissen, Prague, and Merseburg missals include the joyful sequence “*Magnifica tua festa*,” while the Breslau missal offers two heavily edited versions of “*Salve sancta facies*.” The Breslau missal stands out for using the Epistle and Gospel readings for the third mass of Christmas day, and for featuring a double alleluia, which would ordinarily be specific to Paschal time. Since this type of votive mass celebrates the vision of the Saviour’s face as the source of grace and blessing, both in this life and in the world to come, for those who have come to worship him in the present, I shall refer to it as the “*Incarnation formulary*.”

The single element all the mass formularies have in common (with minor variations in the wording) is the familiar prayer “*Deus, qui nobis signatis lumine . . .*” as the collect. The secret and the *complenda* from the Vatican missal, or the texts from the French manuscript missals, have left no trace in the early printed missals that have been surveyed for this study.

In the transcriptions, I generally follow the particular spelling of the early modern editions, with a few exceptions: uppercase is used for “*Deus*,” “*Dominus*,” the Persons of the Holy Trinity, and proper names. I consistently use “*u*” instead of “*v*” in lowercase, although some missals distinguish between the two letters. Abbreviated headings, such as “*Offer.*,” are written out. The punctuation largely replicates the sources, rather than supplying commas and semi-colons according to current editorial style.

THE PASSION FORMULARY

For this table the missals from Krakow and Passau have been selected, because they would seem to be the clearest representatives of the two distinct sub-sets of the Passion formulary.

Missale Cracoviense (Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs for Johannes Haller, after 1493 [Munich, BSB, 2 Inc.s.a. 879 g]), fol. 302r–v. *Liber missalis secundum chorum Pataviensem* (Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1503 [Munich, BSB, 4 Liturg. 400]), fols. 306v–308r.

*De facie Domini**Introitus*

Nos autem gloriari.
ut supra in communi de sancta cruce feria uidelicet vj.

Oratio

Deus qui nobis uultus tui lumine signatis memoriale tuum ad instantiam beate Veronice ymaginem tuam sudario impressam relinquere uoluisti per crucem tuam et passionem nobis tribue propicius: ut illam nunc in terris per speculum et in enigmate uenerari et adorare ualeamus ut te facie ad faciem iudicem super nos uenientem securi uideamus. Qui uiuis.

*Officium sancte Veronice:
hoc est de facie Iesu Christi**Introitus*

Nos autem gloriari oportet in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi in quo est salus uita et resurrectio nostra: per quem saluati et liberati sumus. *Ps.* Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat nobis: illuminet uultuum suum super nos et misereatur nostri.

Oratio

Deus qui nobis signatis lumine uultus tui memoriale tuum ad instantiam beate Veronice imaginem tuam sudario impressam relinquere uoluisti: tribue nobis quesumus per sanctam crucem et gloriosam passionem tuam ita nunc per speculum et in enigmate uenerari: adorare ac honorare te ipsum in terris: quatenus te tunc in nouissimo die facie ad faciem uenientem super nos iudicem securi et leti uidere mereamur. Qui cum.

*(Missale Cracoviense)**(Liber missalis secundum chorum
Patauiensem)**Epistola*

Fratres: Recogitate Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum

Require feria quarta dominice sexagesime.

Graduale

Christus factus est pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem mortem autem crucis. *V.* Propter quod et Deus exaltauit illum et dedit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen.

Alleluia. *V.* Dulce lignum dulces clauos, dulcia ferens pondera, que sola fuisti digna pondere regem celorum et Dominum.

Epistola

Recogitate Dominum Iesum. *Folio xxxi*

Graduale

Christus factus est pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem: mortem autem crucis. *V.* Propter quod et Deus exaltauit illum: et dedit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen.

Alleluia. *V.* Dulce lignum dulces clauos: dulcia ferens pondera: que sola fuisti digna sustinere regem celorum et Dominum.

*(Liber missalis secundum chorum Patauiensem)**Sequentia*

(1) Salue sancta facies nostri redemptoris
in qua nitet species diuini splendoris
impressa panniculo niuei candoris
dataque⁴³ Veronice signum ob amoris.

(2) Salue uultus Domini imago beata
ex eterno munere mira decorata
lumen funde cordibus ex ui tibi data⁴⁴
et ex nostris sensibus tolle colligata.

⁴³ The Passau missal, which reads “dateque” here, has been emended in the light of the other testimonies of the Passion formulary.

⁴⁴ Here I follow the reading of the Basel and Esztergom missals; the Passau, Augsburg, and Salzburg missals have “exinde tibi data.”

(Liber missalis secundum chorum Patauiensem)

(3) Salve splendor glorie salus peccatorum
representans proprie regem angelorum
restauratrix gratie speculum sanctorum
te querunt respicere spiritus celorum

(4) Salve robur fidei nostre christiane
destruens hereticos: qui sunt uite uane
horum auge meritum qui te credunt sane
illius effigie qui rex fit ex pane.

(5) Salve nostra gloria in hac uita dura
labili et fragili cito transitura
nos perduc ad patriam o felix figura
ad uidendum faciem que est Christi pura.

(6) Salve o sudarium nobile iocale
et nostrum solatium et memoriale
eius qui corpusculum assumptum mortale
nostrum uerum gaudium et bonum finale.

(7) Salve iubar seculi stella matutina
in conspectu populi fulget lux diuina
que est cura languidi uite medicina
nos in mundo labili serues a ruina.

(8) Salve gemma nobilis uera margarita
celicis uirtutibus perfecte munita
non depicta manibus sculpta uel polita
hoc scit summus artifex: qui te fecit ita.

(9) Salve color celicus qui in te splendescit
in eodem permanet statu nec decrescit
diuturno tempore minime palescit
fecit te rex glorie fallere qui nescit.

(10) Nesciens putredinem, seruans incorruptum
quod est a christicolis coram te deductum
tu uertes in gaudium gemitum et luctum
confer saluberrimum te fidenti fructum.

(Liber missalis secundum chorum Patauiensem)

(11) Salve decus seculi speculum sanctorum:
te uidere cupiunt spiritus celorum
nos ab omni macula purga uitiorum
atque nos consortio iunge beatorum.

(12) Esto nobis quesumus tutum adiuuamen
dulce refrigerium atque consolamen
ut nobis non noceat hostile grauamen
sed fruamur requie cum beatis amen.

Signatum est super nos lumine uultus tui
Domine dedisti leticiam in corde meo.

(Missale Cracoviense)

*(Liber missalis secundum chorum
Patauiensem)*

Secundum Lucam xxj

In illo tempore: Dixit Iesus discipulis suis. Attendite autem uobis ne forte grauentur corda uestra in crapula et ebrietate et curis huius uite: et superueniat in uos repentina dies illa. Tanquam laqueus enim superueniet in omnes qui sedent super faciem omnis terre. Vigilate ergo omni tempore orantes ut digni habeamini fugere ista omnia que futura sunt: et stare ante filium hominis. Erat autem diebus docens in templo: noctibus uero exiens morabatur in monte qui uocatur Oliueti. Et omnis populus manicabat ad eum in templo audire illum.

Euangelium

Attendite uobis ne forte. *Folio xxxi*

*(Missale Cracoviense)**(Liber missalis secundum chorum
Patauiensem)**Offertorium*

Protege Domine plebem tuam per signum sancte crucis ab omnibus insidiis inimicorum omnium ut tibi gratam exhibeamus seruitutem et acceptabile tibi fiat sacrificium nostrum.

Secreta

Deus qui pro mundi redemptione uoluisti a Iudeis reprobari: et a Iuda traditore osculo tradi: uinculis alligari: et ut agnus innocens ad uictimam duci: in conspectu Pylati offerri: falsis quoque testibus accusari: flagellis et opprobriis molestari: sputis conspui: alapis cedi, spinis coronari, et in cruce leuari atque inter latrones deputari, clauis et aculeis perforari: felle et aceto potari, et lancea uulnerari, tu Domine Iesu Christe per has sanctissimas penas tuas nos ab inferni penis salua et per crucem tuam sanctam custodi, et perduc illuc miseros quo perduxisti latronem tecum crucifixum tibi confitentem. Qui uiuis.

Offertorium

Protege Domine plebem tuam per signum sancte crucis ab omnibus insidiis inimicorum omnium: ut tibi gratam exhibeamus seruitutem: et acceptabile tibi fiat sacrificium nostrum.

Secreta

Deus qui pro mundi redemptione uoluisti a Iudeis reprobari: et a Iuda osculo tradi: uinculis alligari: et ut agnus innocens ad uictimam duci: in conspectu Pilati offerri: et a falsis testibus accusari: flagellis et opprobriis molestari: conspui: colaphis cedi: spinis coronari: clauis et aculeis perforari: et lancea uulnerari: tu per has sacratissimas penas ab inferni penis nos libera: et per sanctissimam crucem tuam salua et custodi nos: et perduc nos miseros peccatores: qui perduxisti tecum crucifixum latronem. Qui cum Deo Patre.

Prefatio

Qui salutem humani.

*(Missale Cracoviense)**(Liber missalis secundum chorum
Patauiensem)**Communio*

Nos autem gloriari oportet in cruce
Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

Complenda

Auxilientur nobis quesumus Domine
quinque uulnerum passiones tue et
defendant ab omni malo et angustia
et omni luctu et miseria, et ab omni
impugnatione corporis et anime:
scimus enim quod in quacunque die
memoriam earum habuerimus: salui
erimus: et ideo de immensa pietate
tua confisi per has tuas sanctissimas
passiones te deprecamur: ut nos
indignos famulos tuos celesti pro-
tegas auxilio et continua protectione
conserues. Qui uiuis.

Communio

Per lignum serui facti sumus et per
sanctam crucem liberati sumus: fructus
arboris seduxit nos filius Dei et
redemit nos.

Complenda

Auxilientur nobis Domine passiones
tue: et defendant nos ab omni im-
pugnatione corporis et anime: scimus
enim quod in quecumque die memo-
riam earum habuerimus: salui erimus:
et ideo de tua immensa pietate con-
fidentes: deprecamur te per piissimas
passiones tuas: ut nos indignos famu-
los tuos hodie et omni hora continua
protectione conserues. Qui cum Deo
Patre.

*Notandum quod Innocentius papa
quartus omnibus precedentem missam
scilicet de facie Domini deuote cele-
brantibus ccc dies: et de sola collecta
xl dies indulgentiarum est largitus.*

The proper chants are taken from the votive mass of the Holy Cross, as explicitly stated in a rubric for the introit in the Krakow and Augsburg missals. The introit “Nos autem gloriari,” an elaboration on Galatians 6:14, praises the cross of Jesus Christ as the instrument of salvation, life, and resurrection. The antiphon is combined with Psalm 66:2, which includes the petition that God may “cause the light of his countenance to shine upon us.” This verse resonates with the veneration of the Holy Face, and it is part of the devotional office of the Veronica attributed to Innocent III.

The Basel and Augsburg missals prescribe the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*; since they do the same for other votive masses, this need not imply a particularly festive character for the formulary of the Holy Face.

The collect (*oratio*) of the mass is the familiar “Deus, qui nobis signatis lumine . . .,” with minor variations, of which one is noteworthy: in the Krakow and Mainz missals the present veneration that forms the theme of the collect⁴⁵ is directed to the image (“illam”), whereas in the other missals it is immediately directed to Christ (Olomouc, Passau, Salzburg and Esztergom, “teipsum,”; Basel and Augsburg, “te”).

The Scripture readings are taken from the ferial pericopes of the early Roman-Frankish lectionary tradition. Many diocesan missals in the later Middle Ages still contained such readings assigned for Wednesdays and Fridays during the liturgical year, unless the day had a proper mass formulary. However, they were not included in the plenary missal of the Roman curia, and hence in the early printed editions of the *Missale Romanum*.⁴⁶

The Epistle reading is Hebrews 12:3–9, assigned in the missals considered here to the Wednesday after Sexagesima Sunday:⁴⁷

Brethren: Consider our Lord Jesus Christ, who endured such opposition from sinners against himself; that you may not be not wearied, fainting in

⁴⁵ Following the methodology of Mary Gonzaga Haessly, *Rhetoric in the Sunday Collects of the Roman Missal, with Introduction, Text, Commentary and Translation* (Cleveland, 1938), 13–15, we can distinguish in a collect between a *protasis* or prelude, which provides the foundation or backdrop to the actual petition, and an *apodosis* or theme, which formulates the intention of the prayer.

⁴⁶ See Antoine Chavasse, *Les lectionnaires romains de la messe au VII^e et au VIII^e siècle: sources et dérivés*, Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia 22, 2 vols. (Fribourg, 1993). For a concise overview, see Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, revised and translated by William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, D.C., 1986), 349–55. The cycle of readings in the Mass of the Roman rite, since its consolidation in the thirteenth century if not before, essentially followed the arrangement in the late eighth-century *Comes* (lectionary) of Murbach; see André Wilmart, “Le Comes de Murbach,” *Revue Bénédictine* 30 (1913): 25–69. The ferial readings in the *Missale Constantiense*, printed in Augsburg by Erhard Ratdolt in 1504, are conveniently listed by Eugen Gruber, “Vergessene Konstanzer Liturgie?” *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 70 (1956): 229–36.

⁴⁷ This reading is attested for this day in the *Comes* of Murbach; see Wilmart, “Le Comes de Murbach,” 38; and Chavasse, *Les lectionnaires romains de la messe* 1:58 and 2:12.

your minds. For you have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin. And you have forgotten the consolation, which speaks to you as sons, saying: My son, do not neglect the discipline of the Lord; neither be wearied when you are rebuked by him. For whom the Lord loves, he chastises; and he scourges every son whom he receives. Persevere under discipline. God deals with you as with his sons; for what son is there, whom the father does not correct? But if you are without discipline, of which we all are made partakers, then are you illegitimate children, and not sons. Moreover, we have had fathers of our flesh for instructors, and we respected them: shall we not much more obey the Father of spirits, and live?⁴⁸

The main element that would appear to connect this pericope with the veneration of the Holy Face is the exhortation that it is through the discipline of God's fatherly love, which is manifested in the trials and tribulations of this life, that the faithful are formed as sons of God, thus partaking in the divine sonship of Christ and inheriting eternal life. Augustine of Hippo associates Psalm 4:7 ("The light of your countenance, O Lord, is stamped upon us: you have given gladness in my heart"), a key scriptural text for devotion to the Veronica, with the Christian's being conformed to the image of the Son of God (Romans 8:29); while he follows Ambrose in attributing this impression to the agency of the Holy Spirit,⁴⁹ Augustine emphasizes its Christological dimension by taking "light of your countenance" to refer to the Son.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Passau missal, fol. 31r: "Fratres: Recogitate Dominum Iesum Christum: qui talem sustinuit a peccatoribus aduersus semetipsum contradictiones: ut ne fatigemini animis uestris deficientes. Nondum enim usque ad sanguinem restitistis aduersus peccatum repugnantes: et obliti estis consolationis: que uobis tanquam filiis loquitur dicens: fili mi: noli negligere disciplinam Domini: neque fatigeris cum ab eo argueris. Quem enim diligit Dominus castigat: flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit. In disciplina perseuerate: tanquam filiis uobis se offert Deus. Quis enim filius quem non corripit pater? Quod si extra disciplinam estis: cuius participes facti sunt omnes ergo adulteri et non filii estis. Deinde patres quidem carnis nostre eruditores habuimus: et reuerbamur eos: non multo magis obtemperabimus Patri spirituum et uiuemus." English translations of scriptural texts are largely taken from the Douai-Rheims 1899 American Edition, with modifications to follow the Latin text as printed in the missals.

⁴⁹ Ambrose of Milan, *De Spiritu Sancto* 1.6.80 and 1.14.149 (ed. O. Faller, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 79 [Vienna, 1964], 48 and 78).

⁵⁰ Augustine of Hippo, *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Mani-*

The gradual “Christus factus est” is taken from Philippians 2:8–9, and the alleluia verse “Dulce lignum” is a centonization of lines from the hymn *Pange lingua* by Venantius Fortunatus (ca. 530–600). Both chant texts are taken from the votive mass of the Holy Cross and hence continue the theme of Christ’s work of redemption through his Passion and Cross.

The Passau, Salzburg, and Esztergom missals feature the sequence “Salve sancta facies,” in a longer version of twelve stanzas of four verses each, to which the citation of Ps 4:7 is added at the end, while the Basel and Augsburg missals have an abbreviated version, with six stanzas of four verses each (stanzas 1, 2, 8, 9, 5, and 12 of the longer version).⁵¹ “Salve sancta facies” is popular in devotional books of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially books of hours, with variations in the number and order of stanzas; it is also transmitted in a late medieval German translation.⁵² Barbara Faes da Mottoni has shown that claims for the authorship of the Augustinian hermit and student of Thomas Aquinas, Giles of Rome (Aegidius Romanus, ca. 1243/1247–1316), are very tenuous. Several manuscripts in fact attribute the hymn, both the widely attested shorter version in four stanzas (nos. 1, 5, 11, 12) and the longer version in twelve stanzas, to Pope John XXII (ca. 1244–1334).⁵³ The

chaeorum 1.16.29 (ed. J. B. Bauer, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 90 [Vienna, 1992], 34). See Chad Tyler Gerber, *The Spirit of Augustine’s Early Theology: Contextualizing Augustine’s Pneumatology* (Farnham and Burlington, Vt., 2012), 133.

⁵¹ *Missale secundum ritum Augustensis ecclesie* (Dillingen: Sebald Mayer, 1555), <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00103035-7>, fol. 399r–v has the longer version of the sequence in twelve stanzas.

⁵² The Latin text can be found in Franz Joseph Mone, *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi: Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1853–55), 1:155 (no. 119, a shorter version of four stanzas) and 156–57 (no. 120, the longer version of twelve stanzas). See also Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum: Catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l’Église latine depuis les origines jusqu’à nos jours*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 4, 6 vols. (Louvain, 1892–1921), 2:522 (nos. 18189 and 18190) as well as 504 (no. 17887; referencing the rearranged, abbreviated version from the Breslau missal). For an updated bibliography, see MIRABILE: Archivio digitale della cultura medievale/Digital Archives for Medieval Culture, “Ad faciem Salvatoris,” <http://www.mirabileweb.it/title/ad-faciem-salvatoris-title/129443> and “Hymnus ad faciem Salvatoris,” <http://www.mirabileweb.it/title/hymnus-ad-faciem-salvatoris-title/171162>.

⁵³ Barbara Faes de Mottoni, ed., *Aegidii Romani Opera Omnia: 1. Catalogo dei manoscritti (457–505). 5,1: Repubblica Federale di Germania (Monaco)*, Unione

collection of sequences and tropes by the St. Gall monk Joachim Cuontz, dating from 1507, has a chant setting for the longer version of “*Salve sancta facies*.”⁵⁴ The rich poetic composition evokes a range of themes associated with the Veronica: the miraculous image, not made by human hands is presented as a visible memorial of the Christ, the Son of God Incarnate. The veneration and contemplation of his sacred countenance is a source of grace and redemption from sin, it gives strength and consolation in the struggles of this life, and it offers in the present a foretaste of the beatific vision the saints enjoy in heaven.

The presentation of the Gospel reading shows some variety: the Olomouc and Esztergom missals provide the text of Luke 21:34–36. This pericope is included in the series of ferial readings from the early Roman-Frankish lectionary tradition, and the Basel, Augsburg, and Salzburg missals simply indicate it by referring to the Friday following the tenth Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost (named “after the feast of the Trinity” in the Salzburg missal).⁵⁵ The Passau missal stands out for referring to the Friday after Sexagesima, where it also lists this pericope, in addition to the date after Pentecost.⁵⁶ Finally, the Krakow and Mainz missals provide a

Accademica Nazionale. *Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi. Testi e Studi* 10 (Florence, 1990), XVII, 280–81, supplementing the evidence in Adolar Zumkeller *Manuskripte von Werken der Autoren des Augustiner-Eremitenordens in mittel-europäischen Bibliotheken*, Cassiciacum 20 (Wurzburg, 1966), 23–24 (nos. 26 and 26a) and 558 (no. 26). One or two generations later, the writings of Michael of Massa (ca. 1290–1337) confirm devotion to the Holy Face among Augustinian hermits; see Willigis Eckermann, “Angesicht und Gestalt Jesu in der Vita Christi des Michael von Massa († 1337),” *Augustiniana* 60 (2010): 283–300.

⁵⁴ St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 546, fol. 325r (Joachim Cuontz, *St. Galler Sequentiar / Tropar mit Hufnagelnotation*, fol. 325r–v; <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/csg/0546>). The manuscript also indicates the proper chants of the Passion-type votive mass of the Holy Face, with the communion “*Propter lignum serui*.” On later polyphonic settings of “*Salve sancta facies*,” see Howard Mayer Brown, “On Veronica and Josquin,” in *New Perspectives on Music: Essays in Honor of Eileen Southern*, ed. Josephine Wright with Samuel A. Floyd, Jr. (Warren, Mich., 1992), 49–61.

⁵⁵ Luke 21:34–36 is attested in the *Comes* of Murbach for the Wednesday and for the Friday following the eleventh Sunday after Pentecost; Wilmart, “*Le Comes de Murbach*,” 47.

⁵⁶ The *Comes* of Murbach has Luke 17:20–37 for the Friday after Sexagesima; Wilmart, “*Le Comes de Murbach*,” 38; see also Chavasse, *Les lectionnaires romains de la messe* 1:66 and 2:32.

slightly longer text, which includes verses 37–38 (added in square brackets):⁵⁷

At that time, Jesus said to his disciples: Take heed to yourselves, lest perhaps your hearts be weighed down with dissipation and drunkenness, and the cares of this life, and that day come upon you suddenly. For as a snare will it come upon all who sit upon the face of the whole earth. Watch, therefore, praying at all times, that you may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that are to come, and to stand before the Son of man. [And in the daytime, he was teaching in the temple; but at night, going out, he abode in the mount that is called Olivet. And all the people came early in the morning to him in the temple, to hear him.]

This Gospel reading introduces a strong eschatological, even apocalyptic note: the end of the present shape of the world and the day of judgment will be preceded by dramatic signs and events. This prophecy is linked with the exhortation to be watchful in prayer and in the moral life, so as to be able to face Christ as judge secure, as the collect of the mass prays. The significance of the added verses may lie in introducing the Mount of Olives, which is identified as the location of key eschatological events (Zechariah 14) and is the site of Jesus' own apocalyptic discourse, from which this Gospel pericope is taken.

The offertory “Protege Domine plebem tuam” from the votive mass of the Holy Cross invokes God's protection from all adversity by means of the sign of the cross. The chant also prays that the service offered by those partaking in the mass may be pleasing to God, and that their sacrifice may be accepted.⁵⁸

The prayer over the offerings (“Deus, qui pro mundi redemptione uoluisti a Iudeis reprobari . . .”) is an adapted version of the first of the three prayers “On the Life and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ,” which

⁵⁷ While the Krakow missal lists Luke 21:34–36 for the Friday following the tenth Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost, the Mainz missal does not include the series of ferial readings.

⁵⁸ Following Gerald Ellard, “Devotion to the Holy Cross and a Dislocated Mass-text,” *Theological Studies* 11 (1950): 333–55, Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross: Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy*, *Liturgia Condenda* 11 (Louvain, 2000), 169 suggests that this offertory may originally have been a prayer *super oblata* (*secreta*).

are attributed to Pope Innocent III.⁵⁹ For liturgical use, the initial form of address “Domine Iesu Christe” has been changed to “Deus,” while the prayer remains directed to the Son. The Olomouc, Passau, Salzburg, and Esztergom missals have a slightly shorter and less detailed version than the Basel, Krakow, Mainz, and Augsburg missals. The prayer remembers the sorrowful events of Christ’s Passion, and appeals to them as the means of eternal salvation. The Cross is invoked as protection and the final petition asks for the same grace that Jesus granted to the repentant thief who was crucified with him. There is no direct reference to the Eucharistic act of offering in the oration.

The Basel, Passau, Augsburg, Salzburg, and Esztergom missals stipulate the preface of the Holy Cross, while the Olomouc, Krakow, and Mainz missals do not give any indication.

As communion, the Olomouc, Krakow, and Mainz missals have “Nos autem gloriari,” a shortened version of the introit. The Basel, Passau, Augsburg, Salzburg, and Esztergom missals have “Per lignum serui facti sumus,”⁶⁰ which presents a typology of the Cross as the tree of life, through which the Son of God has freed his people from the slavery that came from tasting the fruit from the tree of knowledge in paradise.⁶¹

The prayer after communion (“Auxilientur nobis, Domine, passiones tue . . .”) is an adapted version of the second prayer on the passion of Christ, attributed to Pope Innocent III.⁶² The Olomouc, Passau, Augsburg,

⁵⁹ Innocent III, *De vita et passione Domini nostri Jesu Christi orationes tres efficacissimae*, in *Opera D. Innocentii Pontificis Maximi, Eius Nominis III* (Cologne: Johann von Neuss, 1552), fol. CCVIIv, reprinted in PL 217:915–16. The prayers are also included in several early printed editions of the *Missale Romanum* as a distinct set of mass orations under the heading “Orationes de passione Domini.” See *Missale Romanum Mediolani, 1474* 2:357–58.

⁶⁰ Van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross*, 169 notes that the Missal of the New Minster in Winchester from the late eleventh century lists a communion with the incipit “Propter lignum” and adds the full text from one of the antiphons in the office of the Holy Cross.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 170: “In a parallel construction the antiphon makes a double typological reference to Gen. 2–3. The tree of life from Eden and the fruit of this tree which the first humans received from the snake are the anti-*typoi* of the Cross and of Christ on the Cross. The slavery which was a consequence of eating from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil has been abolished by Christ on the Cross.”

⁶² Innocent III, *De vita et passione Domini nostri Jesu Christi orationes tres* (see n. 59 above).

Salzburg, and Esztergom missals have a slightly shorter version than the Basel, Krakow, and Mainz missals. Some versions speak of the “seven passions” of Christ (Basel and Augsburg), while others add a reference to his “five wounds” (Krakow and Mainz).⁶³ The sufferings of Christ are presented as a source of help and protection from evil and harm in this life, and as the sure means of attaining eternal salvation. It should be noted that no mention is made of the sacrament received. The prayers used as the secret and *complenda* were obviously chosen for their strong expression of devotion to the Passion and Cross of Christ, and no attempt was made to adapt them to the liturgical setting in which they would be used.

Finally, the Basel, Passau, Augsburg, Salzburg, and Esztergom missals include a note about indulgences attached by Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254) to the devout celebration of this mass, and to the recitation of the collect only.⁶⁴

THE INCARNATION FORMULARY

The second type of the votive mass of the Holy Face strikes a more festive, confident, and joyful note. The mass texts do not follow a traditional model, but appear to be specifically composed for the object of veneration. The missals from Meissen, Prague, and Merseburg have the

⁶³ In the Krakow missal, the mass of the Five Wounds of Christ precedes the formulary of the Holy Face, and in the Mainz missal it follows after.

⁶⁴ No such indulgences have been identified in the recent study of Étienne Doublier, “*Sui pretiosissimi vultus Imago: Veronica e prassi indulgenziale nel XIII e all’inizio del XIV secolo,*” in *European Fortune of the Roman Veronica in the Middle Ages*, ed. Murphy et al., 180–93. Given the later date of the complete liturgical formularies, the note about the indulgence attached to the celebration of the mass is clearly anachronistic. An indulgence attached to the recitation of the collect attributed to Innocent III is mentioned by Matthew Paris, in *Chronica majora*, vol. 3 (ed. Luard, 7). This would seem to reflect a local tradition rather than a pontifical act, as the indulgences granted by Innocent III and some of his successors in connection with the Veronica refer to its local veneration in Rome, specifically the annual procession to the church of the hospital of S. Spirito. Matthew, writing between ca. 1240 and 1253, could have taken as a model the indulgence of ten days granted by Innocent IV for a prayer said on behalf of King Louis IX of France, who had been captured by the Egyptians during the Seventh Crusade in 1250. This indulgence was promoted especially by the Dominican Order; see Doublier, 188–89.

same formulary, with negligible variations,⁶⁵ while the Breslau missal shows several unique features.⁶⁶

Missale Misnense (Mainz: Peter Schöffler, 1485 [Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, 2° Inc 1541.5]), [305–7].

Missale Vratislaviense (Krakow: Kasper Hochfeder, Jan Haller, and Sebastian Hyber, 1505 [British Library, London, C.52.h.7]), fols. 284v–285r.

De facie saluatoris

Introitus

Salve sancta Dei facies bona cuncta creantis qui celum terramque regit in secula seculorum. *Ps.* Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat nobis, illuminet uultum suum super nos et misereatur nostri.

Collecta

Deus qui nobis signatis lumine uultus tui memoriale tuum perhenne, ad instantiam beate Veronice imaginem tuam sudario impressam relinquere uoluisti, per crucem et passionem tuam tribue ut ita nunc in terris per speculum et in enigmate te uenerari adorare et honorare ualeamus: ut tunc te facie ad faciem iudicem super nos uenientem securi uidere ualeamus. Qui cum Patre.

De facie Domini saluatoris

Introitus

Salve sancta Dei facies nostri creatoris: qui celum terramque regit in secula seculorum. *Ps.* Deus misereatur nostri et benedicat nobis: illuminet uultum suum super nos et misereatur nostri.

Oratio

Deus qui nobis signatis lumine uultus tui memoriale ad instantiam Veronice: imaginem tuam sudario impressam relinquere uoluisti: per crucem et passionem tuam tribue: ut ita nunc in terris: per speculum: et in enigmate: te uenerari: honorare: et adorare ualeamus: ut te tunc facie: ad faciem: iudicem super nos uenientem: securi uidere ualeamus Dominum.

⁶⁵ *Missale Misnense*, [305–7]; *Missale Pragense*, Pars Estiualis, fols. 149r–150r; *Ex quo missalium diuersitas in diocesi Merszburgensi*, Pars Estiualis de Sanctis, fols. 146r–147r.

⁶⁶ *Missale Vratislaviense*, fols. 284v–285r. The missal was published with the mandate of John V Thurzo, then coadjutor and bishop from 1506 to 1520.

*(Missale Misnense)**Zacharie Prophete*

Hec dicit Dominus exercituum. Vsq̄uequo ueniant populi et habitant in ciuitatibus multis, et uadant habitatores unus ad alterum dicentes. Eamus et deprecemur faciem Domini: et queramus Dominum exercituum. Vadam etiam ego: et uenient populi multi, et gentes robuste ad querendum Dominum exercituum in Ierusalem, et deprecandam faciem Domini. Hec dicit Dominus exercituum. In diebus illis in quibus apprehendent decem homines ex omnibus linguis gentium: et apprehendent fimbriam uiri Iudei dicentes. Ibimus uobiscum, audiuimus enim quoniam Deus uobiscum est.

Graduale

O Deus eterne tutor iudexque superne respice cantantes faciem sanctam uenerantes. *V.* Christe tuo uultu nos letifica benedicto illustra uere benedic simul et miserere.

Alleluia. O facies grata rorans unguenta beata o lux diuina mundi salus et medicina per te sanari deprecimur atque beari.

*(Missale Vratislouiense)**Epistola*

Multifarie multisque modis. *fo. XII*

Alleluia. *V.* Forma Dei: uirtute spei: nunc glorificetur ipso rei: dos: flos fidei cum magnificetur.

Alleluia. *V.* Qui crucis in ligno pendebas corpore digno: in uultu tui signo: nos protege Christe benigno.

*(Missale Misnense)**Sequentia*

- (1) Magnifica tua festa
Iesu Christe nobis presta
colamus quotidie.
- (2) Imnis psalmis et cantibus
magis sinceris mentibus
ueneremur hodie.
- (3) Vultus tuus fulgidus
honore dignissimus
proponitur omnibus.
- (4) Quem turbe fidelium
conuentus humilium
dignis colunt moribus.
- (5) Laudantes non fastidiunt
sed laudare plus sitiunt
tuam Christe faciem.
- (6) Ciues sectantes celibes
cunctos et Dei supplices
laudem ferent stabilem.
- (7) Preclara formula
uite preambula
monstrare singulis.
- (8) Amat salubria
confert utilia
soluit a uinculis.
- (9) Effigies spectabilis
iocunda et mirabilis
benigna et effabilis
omnibus exorabilis.

*(Missale Vratislouiense)**Sequentia*⁶⁷

- ^[11] Salue decus seculi
^[1] Impressa panniculo niuei candoris
alleluia
Datumque Veronice signum ob amo-
ris alleluia.
^[11] Salue speculum sanctorum quod
uidere cupiunt spiritus celorum
Nos ab omni macula purga uitiorum
Consortio nos quesumus coniunge be-
atorum.
^[3] Salue splendor glorie salus uera
peccatorum
Representans regem angelorum
Restauratrix gratie decus angelorum
Te querunt respicere anime iustorum
quia ^[7] iubar seculi.
Stella matutina clara fulgens uti lux
diuina que est cura languidi
Vite nostre medicina nos in mundo a
ruina serua ^[2] uultus Domini.
Imago hec beata ex eterno decorata
Lumen funde cordibus ex ui tibi data.
^[4] Salue robur fidei christiane nostre
spei
destruens hereticos qui sunt uite uane
Horum auge meritum qui te colunt ad
ultimum et te credunt sane.
^[6] Salue o sudarium nobile nostrum
esto solatium
Et memoriale eius qui corpus assump-
tum nostrum
Verum gaudium et bonum atque fi-
nale donum alleluia.

⁶⁷ The corresponding stanzas in the sequence on pp. 178–80 are noted in brackets.

(Missale Misnense)

- (10) Ad te cuncti passibiles
confugientes homines
tuum poscunt subsidium
et salutis remedium.
- (11) Quo adiuti leuius
mundi mala perferunt
ob hoc tibi sepius
suas preces offerunt.
- (12) Hinc plura pericula
dante te effugiunt
quos nec ulla iacula
te tuente feriunt.
- (13) Relictis sordibus
disponunt pectora
uotis et uocibus
iungentes opera
salutem adeunt.
- (14) Per exercitia
ornantes animas
per beneficia
reddentes gratias
gaudia subeunt.
- (15) Que olim multis est uisa
mesta et probris elisa
ecce apparet amena
gratia et laude plena
figura egregia.
- (16) Hec mortis ignominiam
reduxit ad memoriam
ascensionis gloriam
spopondit post miseriam
facies eximia.

*(Missale Vratislouiense)**Alia Sequentia*

[1] Salue sancta facies nostri redemp-
toris

In qua nitet species diuini splendoris
Impressa panniculo niuei candoris
dataque Veronice signum ob amoris.

[1] Salue decus seculi speculum sanc-
torum

que uidere cupiunt spiritus celorum.
Nos ab omni macula purga uitiorum.

(Missale Misnense)

(17) O felix Veronica
mundi salus unica
peccatorum gaudium.

(18) Ad te clamant singuli
huius uite populi
ut dones solatium.

(19) Da famulari iugiter
tibi et laudabiliter
concordi iubilamine
deuoto mentis carmine.

(20) Vt te uidentes oculi
nostri in fine seculi
luce fruantur sedula
in seculorum secula. amen.

Secundum Lucam

In illo tempore. Exultauit Iesus in spiritu sancto: et dixit. Confiteor tibi Pater Domine celi et terre: quia abscondisti hec a sapientibus et prudentibus, et reuelasti ea paruulis. Etiam Pater: quia sic placuit ante te. Omnia michi tradita sunt a Patre meo. Et nemo scit quis sit Filius nisi Pater, et quis sit Pater nisi Filius: et cui uoluerit Filius reuelare. Et conuersus ad discipulos suos dixit. Beati oculi qui uident que uos uidetis. Dico enim uobis: quod multi reges et prophete uoluerunt uidere que uos uidetis et non uiderunt, et audire que auditis et non audierunt.

*Credo dicitur**(Missale Vratislouiense)**Euangelium*

In principio erat uerbum. *sup. fo. XII*

*(Missale Misnense)**(Missale Vratislaviense)**Offertorium*

Filius oblatus Patri nos conciliauit idem nempe Deus iam nos ad regna uocauit sed prohibet facinus sibi ne parere queamus pellat delicta facies Christi benedicta.

Secreta

Ad honorem uultus Filii omnipotens Deus suscipe hoc munus oblatum: qui seipsum hostiam placabilem tibi Patri nos reconciliando fideliter libauit. Qui tecum.

Prefatio

Quia per incarnati.

Communio

Qui crucis in ligno pendebas corpore digno in uultus tui signo nos protege Christe benigno.

Complenda

Saginati corpore et sanguine Filii tui omnipotens Pater sub honore faciei sue: cuius memoriale gloriosum nobis reliquit presta: ut eadem nobis proficiant ad corporis animeque salutem. Per eundem.

Offertorium

Filius oblatus Patri nos conciliauit idem uero Deus iam nos ad regna uocat: sed prohibet facinus sibi nos parere: que parcat ergo tua facies nobis pie Christe.

Secreta

Ad honorem uultus Filii tui omnipotens Deus: suscipe hoc munus oblatum: qui seipsum hostiam placabilem: tibi Patri nos sibi conciliando fideliter libauit. Qui tecum.

Communio

Vultum tuum deprecabuntur omnes diuites plebis gloriosum alleluia.

Complenda

Saginati corpore et sanguine Filii tui omnipotens Pater: sub honore faciei sue: cuius gloriosum memoriale nobis reliquit: presta: ut eadem nobis proficiant corporis animeque ad salutem. Per eundem.

The Meissen and Prague missals give a fixed date when “the face of the Saviour” is celebrated, 15 January. The Meissen missal even has an entry to this effect, added by hand, in the liturgical calendar in the opening sec-

tion of the book, and it places the mass within the sanctoral cycle. The Prague missal indicates the date in the title of the mass, which is placed among the votive masses (as is the case in the Merseburg missal). The particular date may have been chosen because it was the closest available day to the second Sunday after the Epiphany, for which the annual procession of the Roman Veronica was instituted by Innocent III.

The introit “*Salve sancta Dei facies*,” a non-scriptural composition, appears to be modelled on the well-known Marian introit “*Salve sancta parens*.”⁶⁸ The Veronica is hailed as the face of God the creator, origin of all good things, who rules over heaven and earth. The antiphon is used with Psalm 66:2, which is also found in the introit of the Passion formulary and includes the petition that God may “cause the light of his countenance to shine upon us.”

The Meissen, Prague and Merseburg missals make a small but significant modification to the familiar collect: the image on the sacred cloth is invoked as a perpetual (“perhenne”) memorial of Christ. This would seem to suggest a stronger focus on the present vision and veneration of the Holy Face than in the Passion formulary. At the same time, this veneration is directed to the person of Christ, rather than the sacred image (the same holds for the Breslau missal). At the end of the prayer, the repetition of “*ualeamus*” in the Meissen and Merseburg missals (also found in the Breslau missal) is avoided in the Prague missal by the use of “*mereamur*.” In the Breslau missal, the conclusion “*Dominum*” is shorthand for “our Lord Jesus Christ, who . . .,” which does not fit well with a prayer addressed to the Son.⁶⁹

The Epistle reading in the Meissen, Prague and Merseburg missals, Zechariah 8:20–23, does not appear to be part of later medieval mass lectionaries and may have been selected specifically for this formulary.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ “*Salve sancta parens enixa puerpera regem qui caelum terramque regit in saecula saeculorum*” (Carl Weyman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie* [Munich, 1926], 121–25).

⁶⁹ This may have been modelled on the ancient Roman collect for the Vigil of the Nativity of the Lord on 24 December (“. . . uenientem quoque iudicem securi uideamus, Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum . . .”), which is, however, addressed to God the Father; see *Corpus Orationum*, ed. E. Moeller, J.-M. Clément, and B. Coppeters ‘t Wallant, CCL 160, 14 vols. (Turnhout, 1992–2004), no. 1915.

⁷⁰ The pericope does not appear in the Roman lectionary sources studied by Chavasse, *Les lectionnaires romains de la messe*. Zechariah 8:19–23 is assigned to “In media quadragesima” in the Gallican Lectionary of Sélestat (Northern Italy, ca.

Thus says the Lord of hosts, until people come, and dwell in many cities, and the inhabitants go one to another, saying: Let us go, and entreat the face of the Lord, and let us seek the Lord of hosts: I also will go. And many peoples, and strong nations will come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem, and to entreat the face of the Lord. Thus says the Lord of hosts: In those days, wherein ten men of all languages of the Gentiles will take hold, and hold fast the robe of a Jew, saying: We will go with you: for we have heard that God is with you.

The reasons for choosing this text lie at hand: the people of Israel are joined by the nations in their search for the face of the Lord, the sign of God's presence and blessing. The text is understood as a prophecy of a universal pilgrimage to the Saviour's sacred countenance.

By contrast, the Breslau missal indicates the Epistle of the third mass on Christmas day (entitled "Ad summam missam" in the missal), Hebrews 1:1–12:

Brethren: God, who, at sundry times and in divers manners, spoke in times past to the fathers by the prophets, last of all, in these days has spoken to us by his Son, whom he has appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the world. Who being the splendour of his glory, and the figure of his substance, and upholding all things by the word of his power, making purgation of sins, sits on the right hand of the majesty on high, being made so much better than the angels, as he has inherited a more excellent name than they. For to which of the angels has he said at any time, you are my Son, today have I begotten you? And again, I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son? And again, when he brings in the first-begotten into the world, he says: And let all the angels of God adore him. And to the angels indeed he says: He who makes his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire. But to the Son: Your throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a sceptre of justice is the sceptre of your kingdom. You have loved justice, and hated iniquity: therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness above your fellows. And: You in the beginning, O Lord, founded the earth: and the works of your hands are the heavens. They will perish, but you continue: and they will all grow old as a garment. And as a vesture you will change them,

700); see the table in Pierre Salmon, *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil (Paris, Ms. lat. 9427)*, *Collectanea Biblica Latina* 7 (Rome, 1944), civ–cxxiii [available at <http://www.bombaxo.com/gallican.html>].

and they will be changed: but thou art the self-same, and your years will not fail.

This reading offers a Christological and Trinitarian perspective for the veneration of the Veronica. The Son is presented as reflecting the glory of the Father and bearing the very stamp of his essence or nature;⁷¹ thus the sacred image opens a window into the Trinitarian relations that are at the heart of the Christian understanding of God.

In the Meissen, Prague, and Merseburg missals, the gradual and the alleluia have non-scriptural verses that exalt the Holy Face as a source of divine blessing for the congregation that has come to venerate it. The light of Christ's countenance shining on the worshippers' faces brings healing and salvation.⁷²

The Breslau missal has a twofold alleluia, which is one of the distinctive features of Paschal time. The addition of "alleluia" to some lines of the sequence and to the communion might indicate that this mass was meant to be said during Easter season (although in this case the addition should also be made in the introit as well). The first alleluia verse, "Forma Dei uirtute spei," is a dense poetic composition, and while it is difficult to determine its exact meaning, the Holy Face is invoked as the "form of God" and its present veneration "in the virtue of hope" is seen as an anticipation of the reality of the divine gift, which may have Eucharistic as well as eschatological overtones. The second alleluia verse, "Qui crucis in ligno pendebas," corresponds to the communion verse in the Prague, Meissen, and Merseburg missals, and combines the invocation of Christ's body hanging from the cross with a plea for his blessing with the kindly sign of his countenance.

In the Meissen, Prague, and Merseburg missals the alleluia is followed by the joyful and confident sequence "Magnifica tua festa" (in twenty

⁷¹ The scriptural passage is woven into the prelude of the secret that is part of the mass orations "ad faciem Christi" in *Missale secundum consuetudinem Romane ecclesiae*, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro E.6, fol. 341r (see n. 4 above): "O God, who are the radiance of the Father and the figure of his substance [qui es splendor patris et figura substantie eius] and made your glorious face shine with brightness before the disciples, grant, we pray, that we, who now see you in a mirror dimly, may in the revelation of your glory be worthy to enjoy face to face the contemplation of your sight."

⁷² The gradual "O Deus eterne tutor" is listed in Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum* 4:372 (no. 41847) with a reference to a 1503 Meissen missal.

stanzas of different length),⁷³ which celebrates the Holy Face of Christ as the source of blessings and remedies in this life as well as the sign and pledge of eternal salvation for those who have come to venerate it. The Veronica is also presented to the faithful as a model of virtuous living and inspiration to good works. The sacred image invoked in the sequence stands out for its grace and beauty; suffering and death have been transformed into glory and so offer a foretaste of the beatific vision, which is the hope of all those devoted in their hearts to the Holy Face of Christ.

The Breslau missal offers two options for the sequence: first, an abbreviated and rearranged version of “*Salve sancta facies*” in six stanzas (nos. 1, 11, 3, 7, 4 and 6 of the longer version), beginning with the words “*Salve decus seculi*.” The reworking is clumsy and shows little regard for the form and structure of the earlier composition. The addition of “*alleluia*” at the end of some lines, especially in the first and in the last stanza, would confirm the paschal character of the Breslau mass formulary.

The second option for the sequence consists in just two stanzas of “*Salve sancta facies*.” The first stanza is identical with no. 1 of the longer version; the second stanza corresponds to no. 11, but (by mistake?) leaves out the last verse “and join us to the company of the blessed.”⁷⁴

The Gospel reading Luke 10:21–24 is found as a ferial pericope in some late medieval missals, though not in those that feature the Incarnation-type votive mass of the Holy Face;⁷⁵ hence, the full text is given:

At that time, Jesus in the Holy Spirit and said, “I confess to thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hidden these things from the

⁷³ The Latin text is also found in Guido Maria Dreves, *Sequentiae ineditae: Liturgische Prosen des Mittelalters aus Handschriften und Wiegendruckten*, vol. 1, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* 8 (Leipzig, 1890), 20–21 (no. 14); see Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum* 2:69 (no. 10990).

⁷⁴ *Missale Vratislaviense* (Basel: Thomas Wolff, 1519 [British Library, 461.f.5]), fol. 232r only offers the first sequence, not the alternative one.

⁷⁵ 1 Timothy 2:1–7 and Luke 10:21–24 are assigned to the Wednesday following the fifth Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost (or after Trinity) in *Liber missalis secundum chorum Patauiensem* (1503), fols. 153v–154r, *Missale Vratislaviense* (1505), fols. 140v–141r, and *Missale Saltzeburgense* (1510), fol. 104r. The Comes of Murbach gives 1 Timothy 2:1–7 and the synoptic parallel Matthew 11:25–30 for the Wednesday after the sixth Sunday after Pentecost; see Wilmart, “Le Comes de Murbach,” 45. For this particular day, the missals from Meissen ([285]), Prague (Pars Estualis, fol. 7v) and Merseburg (Pars Estualis, fols. 32v–33r) have the same Epistle, but a different Gospel pericope (Mark 2:13–17).

wise and prudent ones, and hast revealed them to little ones. Yea, Father, for so it has seemed good in thy sight. All things are delivered to me by my Father; and no one knows who the Son is, but the Father; and who the Father is, but the Son, and to whom the Son will reveal him. And turning to his disciples, he said: Blessed are the eyes that see the things that you see. For I say to you, that many prophets and kings have desired to see the things that you see, and have not seen them; and to hear the things that you hear, and have not heard them.

This passage fittingly complements the other mass texts in their celebration of the present vision of the Saviour's face as the revelation of the Trinitarian God.

The Breslau missal stipulates the Gospel from the third mass of Christmas day, John 1:1–14:

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was made nothing. What was made in him was life. And the life was the light of men, and the light shines in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. This man came for a witness, to give testimony of the light, that all men might believe through him. He was not the light, but was to give testimony of the light. That was the true light, which enlightens every man coming into this world. He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, he gave them power to be made the sons of God, to them that believe in his name. Who are born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us. And we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only-begotten of the Father. Full of grace and truth.

The opening prologue of John contains several themes that resonate with the veneration of the Holy Face: light shining in darkness, enlightening everyone coming into this world, and above all the vision of the glory of the Only-Begotten Son of the Father, which can be read as a reference to the Transfiguration of Christ, as described in the Synoptic Gospels.

The Meissen, Prague, and Merseburg missals prescribe the Creed, which highlights the festive character of the mass.

Both versions of the Incarnation-type formulary share the same offertory and secret (with minor variations in the Breslau missal). The offertory

“Filius oblatus Patri” is a poetic composition that commemorates the Son’s self-offering to the Father to reconcile sinners and gives voice to the worshippers’ prayer that the face of Christ may remove any sin that holds them back from now following his call to enter his Kingdom. The secret “Ad honorem uultus” consists of a typical petition addressed to God the Father for acceptance of the Eucharistic offerings as a memorial of Christ’s sacrifice of reconciliation, with the particular feature that this be done “in honour of the face of your Son.”

The preface of the Nativity is indicated for this mass in the Meissen, Prague, and Merseburg missals (not, however, in the Breslau missal, despite the choice of readings). This rubric cannot simply be explained by the proximity of the celebration to Christmas. In fact, both in the temporal and sanctoral cycles, this preface would be used only until the feast of the Epiphany, which has its own proper preface. The preface of the Nativity may have been chosen for its Eucharistic association, since it formed part of the mass for the feast of Corpus Christi, composed by St. Thomas Aquinas between 1261 and 1264.⁷⁶ The parallels between the veneration of the Holy Face and the visual devotion to the Sacrament of the Altar would support such a suggestion.

As communion, the Meissen, Prague, and Merseburg missal indicate the poetic composition “Qui crucis in ligno pendeas,” which the Breslau missal employs as the second alleluia verse (see above). The Breslau missal features Ps 44:13, “Vultum tuum deprecabuntur,” a psalm verse that invokes the search for the Lord’s face, with an added “alleluia.”

The *complenda* “Saginati corpore et sanguine,” shared by all four missals under investigation, unites a conventional prayer of thanksgiving to God the Father, for feeding the communicants with the body and blood of Christ, with the idea that this spiritual nourishment was given in honour of his face, whose glorious memorial he left in the sacred image.

⁷⁶ “Quia per incarnati Verbi mysterium noua mentis nostrae oculis lux tuae claritatis infulsit: ut dum uisibiliter Deum cognoscimus per hunc in inuisibilium amorem rapiamur” (*Corpus Praefationum*, ed. E. Moeller, CCL 161, 4 vols. (Turnhout, 1980–81), no. 1322. See Pierre-Marie Gy, “L’office du Corpus Christi et s. Thomas d’Aquin. État d’une recherche,” *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 64 (1980): 491–507; and Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, vol. 1: *The Person and His Work*, trans. R. Royal (Washington, D.C., 1996), 129–36. On the Eucharistic connotations of devotion to the Holy Face, see Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation*, 28–29 and 54–58.

CONCLUSION

The presence of a votive mass of the Holy Face of Christ in early printed diocesan missals from central Europe in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries confirms the broad reach and appeal of devotion to the Veronica, the “true image” of the Saviour. The mass formularies present a range of spiritual and theological motives: the miraculous image, not made by human hands but left by Jesus himself in response to the work of love by the woman who took pity on him as he was carrying his cross to Calvary, is presented as a visible memorial of the saving Passion of Christ. The present veneration of his sacred countenance gives solace and support in trials and tribulations of this life, offers forgiveness of sins and assurance for the moment of judgment after death, and even anticipates the beatific vision of God that is the goal of the Christian’s earthly pilgrimage.

As this study shows, the mass texts fall into two groups: the Passion formulary, attested in missals from Basel, Olomouc, Krakow, Passau, Mainz, Augsburg, Salzburg, and Esztergom, follows as a template the mass of the Holy Cross. It is above all the face of the suffering and crucified Christ that is seen in the sacred image. There is a stronger emphasis on Christ’s work of redemption and on the eschatological vision of him as judge at his Second Coming.

By contrast, the Incarnation formulary, found in missals from Meissen, Prague, Merseburg, and Breslau, tends to focus on the representation of the Son of God made flesh in the sacred image. This type of mass formulary stands out for its particular choice of scriptural readings and its poetic compositions for the chants. The vicinity to the Christmas cycle gives this formulary a festive and joyous character. It is above all the face of the glorified Christ that is presented to the faithful.

The votive mass of either type appears both in missals that were printed with episcopal commission and in those that were produced at the initiative of a master printer. While it is impossible to draw further-reaching conclusions without more detailed knowledge of particular circumstances, the insertion of the mass formulary into a diocesan missal would suggest a local veneration of the Holy Face.⁷⁷ It will require a research effort that

⁷⁷ Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York, 1998), 373–75, identifies Prague as a centre of devotion to the Holy Face, as shown in paintings of the Veronica commissioned in the middle of the fourteenth century by Emperor Charles IV († 1378). See also *Die*

engages a variety of disciplines to shed light on this flourishing feature of Christian spirituality, liturgy, and art at the threshold of the early modern period.

Heythrop College, University of London.

Kunst der Gotik aus Böhmen präsentiert von der Nationalgalerie Prag (Cologne, 1985), 90–91. The veneration of the Holy Face may even go back to the thirteenth century. The icon modeled on an image in Rome, however, in the account of Johann Butzbach (1476–1526) which Hamburger cites is not the Veronica but rather an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary attributed to the Evangelist Luke; see Alwin Schultz, “Johannes Butzbach’s ‘Libellus de preclaris picture professoribus’ aus der Bonenser Handschrift veröffentlicht,” *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft* 2 (1869): 60–72, at 71, available at http://www.digizeitschriften.de/dms/img/?PID=PPN487713249_0002|log11: “Lucas etiam beatissimus ille euangelista cuius laus est in euangelio medicus et pictor insignis fuit, qui inter cetera beatissime virginis marie dei genetricis effigiem mirificis ymaginibus expressisse legitur. Quarum quidem ymaginum quedam rhome ostenditur, quedam vero in monte divi wenteslai martiris apud civitatem pragensem in bohemia reseruatur, que quottannis populo ostenditur, quam et frater Vittus moraus donatus noster se ibidem vidisse affirmat. Quibus etiam infinita leguntur facta miracula.”

