

How was the Geese Book made?

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Procedure

One can easily imagine the process for fabricating the Geese Book. The cleric in charge, Friedrich Rosendorn lived here in this little alley behind the church. The making of a new gradual presented some strict mandates and many exciting opportunities. The book had to accommodate all of the liturgical changes and additions that had come since the last gradual was made, but it also did much more. If we look at the illuminations we see how the initials and new marginal decoration with bas-de-page representations were used to re-figure the church year.

The older gradual, the predecessor of the Geese Book, of which only the second volume known as the Sanctiorale survives, had fifteen historiated initials bearing representations of saints and the Virgin. The Sanctiorale of the Geese Book has only nine historiated initials but elaborate marginal illumination. In this new book we see that some sections are played down and others are played up. The communal formulae in the older book are marked by historiated initials showing apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins; but in the Geese Book a historiated initial was only created to introduce the first group within the common of saints – that for Apostles and Evangelists [Volume II, fol. 145r]. The other common masses are marked only with decorative foliage in the margins. A major difference occurs in three illuminations for Marian festivals. The image showing Joachim and Anne Meeting at the Golden Gate, that depicting the Birth of the Virgin, and that of the Visitation are all featured not as historiated initials but as medallions framed by the acanthus tendrils in the bas-de-page illumination. On three occasions in Volume I, these lower margin illuminations also show decoration related to the feast day: angels with the Instruments of the Passion for the Feast of the Lance and the Nails; angels with musical instruments for Corpus Christi, and men making merry for Church Dedication. The wide lower margin was utilized for the often enigmatic and sometimes satirical scenes of animals or hybrids involved in life-and-death struggles. These scenes mark seven main holidays in Volume I and eight in Volume II, including the day of the titular patron, Saint Lawrence. This was the space for the eponymous iconography that made the Geese Book famous.

Generally, it can be said of the Geese Book that more effort has gone into the marginal decoration than into the historiated, inhabited, or painted foliate initials. Three of these elaborately illuminated

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folios with *bas-de-pages* relate specifically to the church of St. Lorenz and to Nuremberg. They are the Feast of the Lance and Nails, Church Dedication, and St. Lawrence's Day.

Rosendorn must have planned the new compilation of feast days and collation of the book. This was the most challenging aspect of the project! He had to calculate how many folios he would need, how these would be placed together to form quires, and he had to figure how many calf skins would be necessary. (By the way, the complete codicological description of the manuscript, prepared by Elizabeth Remak-Honnef and Ingeborg Neske is available on this website under "object.") After the heavy high-grade vellum was procured from a parchmenter, the surfaces were prepared for writing by pricking stacks of folded vellum at measured intervals, and then, guided by these tiny holes a scribe or assistant ruled or scored the folios on both sides. Next Rosendorn or another scribe copied the texts. Elisabeth Remak-Honnef and Ingeborg Neske note that several scribes had their hands in the first volume. The texts were copied from the previous gradual as well as from the various *libelli* that had accumulated containing the newly introduced feasts. Any minor mistake could be erased by scraping the surface of the vellum with a pen knife. If the mistake was noticed too late, however, it had to be crossed out as we see here. [Volume I, fol. 212r]. Generally the text was written before the music. One piece of vellum was discarded immediately after the text was lettered. We can see what it looks like without the musical notation because it was recycled – reused upside-down as the paste-down for the back cover of Volume I.

It was always necessary to allow adequate space for the accompanying musical notation. Here we see the offertory "Videbunt in quem" for the feast of the Holy Lance and Nails [Volume I, fol. 178r]. The text is evenly distributed, until we reach the two syllables of the word "terre," which are set apart in order to accommodate the short melisma. In other cases, even more space had to be allotted – such as in the highly melismatic alleluia chants, as we see and hear in the same feast [Volume I, fol. 176v]. It was common practice in the Middle Ages to abbreviate alleluia using only the five vowels "aeuia." In the formula for Easter, which exhibits extremely elaborate processional antiphons leading up to the Mass, Rosendorn neglected to allow enough space, and the notation is forced to continue way out into the margin!

Rosendorn and his successor removed the red lines to provide space for the large initials. Most initials were executed by the scribes themselves. They include the so-called Lombards in black ink, occasionally with red accents, and sometimes containing faces in profile that continue the Nuremberg scribal tradition that we see earlier in the work of Johannes Gredinger and highly developed in the initials of Georg Rayl. The beginnings of chants were marked with one-line initials executed in alternating colors of red and blue, again following common practice. Lead lines indicate that one scribe might have sketched in some initials, and another may have executed them with his pen. In the case of this letter B the outlines were drawn with lead. Then the placement was adjusted with the application of red ink. Initials combining red and blue ink were employed as markers of special sections, for example the Sundays during Lent.

For the historiated initials, the scribes had to provide vertical space normally taken up by two full lines of text and notation. They left notes in German, telling the illuminator which letters to draw and which scenes from salvation history to depict. In Volume II we can barely make out "Petrus" and the letter "D" at the very bottom edge of the folio [Volume 2, fol. 1r] telling the artist to depict the Calling of Peter and Andrew in the initial D. On a later folio we can clearly decipher "Marie Lichtmes S" [Volume 2, fol. 21v] indicating that the artist was to paint a scene appropriate for the feast of Candlemas, which commemorated the Purification of Mary and was usually associated with the iconography showing the

Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, an event, which, according to the second chapter in the Gospel of Luke, occurred on the same day. The folio on which the feast of the Visitation of Mary and Elizabeth began, was also marked with instructions.

It is curious that these three Marian scenes – Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate, the Birth of the Virgin, and the Visitation – are depicted in bas-de-page medallions that are about the size of the historiated initials. I think that in all likelihood this change of design may have resulted from scribal error. In the text above, the scribe has only left room for a one-line initial. In the case of the Visitation, he has even left a note indicating that the initial to be historiated is a G. However, when the illuminator, Jacob Elsner, received the folios from the scribe in charge, he must have discovered that insufficient space was provided for these three initials and so he compensated by including the narratives as bas-de-page illuminations.

In most cases the representation in the bas-de-page is seemingly unrelated to the texts or the liturgical calendar. For some, Elsner, the artist, made use of models available in other manuscripts. For example, the image of the trap in which chicks are used as bait to attract a bird of prey appeared earlier as a bas de page in a breviary and in a prayer book. The margins provided an area within which Elsner was relatively free to design his own abstract decoration, to create solutions that saved time and money for the project, and to adopt or fashion enigmatic animal iconography.

After Elsner finished each volume, it was sewn together by the book binder who followed the catch words to compose the quires, and the signatures to order the quires. He then trimmed the edges of the folios and attached the book cover.

The Feast of the Holy Lance and Nails: Image, Text, Music, Gender

By the time the Geese Book was made, Nuremberg was the primary location for the Feast of the Holy Lance and the Nails. It was celebrated here on the main market square every year on the second Friday after Easter. This Mass is marked with elaborate illumination. Friedrich Rosendorn, who planned and compiled the manuscript, decided to foreground this feast. He might have been acting on the advice of one of the provosts, Sixtus Tucher or his successor Anton Kress, who were both of Nuremberg patrician families. The artistic manner in which this was accomplished, resulted from the ideas and skill of the illuminator, whom we believe was Jacob Elsner.

The folio on which the Mass formula begins stands out among all the others. As was the case for important days, leafy intertwining acanthus tendrils in several colors unfurl into the borders – in this case giving particular distinction to the lower portion of the folio where the introit introduces the formula. This border is inhabited by small angels who emerge from buds or blossoms. The typical composition that was used in Volume I to frame the beginnings of Christological feasts is quite different. The standard design combines a historiated initial that labels the feast, with a whimsical moralizing image of animals, hybrids, or humans in the lower margin. On the first Sunday of Advent, Christ as the cosmic ruler inhabits an initial, and a man wrestles with a bear in the border at the bottom of the folio; for Christmas, we see the Adoration of the Child in the initial, and a fox threatening chickens in the bas-de-page scene. For Epiphany the Three Kings adore the Christ child in the initial, and an owl preys upon a smaller bird in the lower margin; for Palm Sunday the initial contains a picture of Christ's Triumphal Entry into Jerusalem, and below a peacock spreads his tail; for Easter, the resurrected Christ is depicted above, while a mallard and a quail fly through the acanthus below; on Ascension, in the initial Christ departs into heaven; and – famously – the choir of geese with the wolf and fox take up the margin below; on Pentecost the biblical scene is framed within an initial above and a stork holds a snake in his bill amid the acanthus below.

The folio for the feast of Corpus Christi likewise boasts an inhabited initial. It contains angels displaying a monstrance with the consecrated host, which would have reminded viewers of the Corpus Christi processions on this day in Nuremberg. This treatment provides the closest parallel to the Feast of the Holy Lance and Nails. On both pages, angels emerge from buds that sprout from the acanthus. In one case the angels play musical instruments; in the other they hold the Instruments of the Passion. The latter suggests the most prominent aspect of this important Nuremberg feast day: the spectacular display of relics and regalia on the main market square. On all of these folios, Rosendorn left enough room for a large two-line initial. For the feast of the Lance and the Nails, however, Elsner fashioned an F of foliage painted with salt-green pigment with additional color accents against a background of gold leaf incised with further foliate motifs. Parallels for this initial can be seen at the beginnings of important sections in the book, for example on the first Sunday after the octave of Pentecost [Volume I, fol. 216r] and at the beginning of the Kyrie and Gloria melodies [Volume I, fol. 257r]. Thus the makers of the Geese Book inventively foregrounded this important new Nuremberg feast, which was not otherwise celebrated in the diocese.

The angels hold objects that are symbols, relics, and the very tools used in Christ's passion. Thus the Feast of the Holy Lance and Nails is framed as actual, real, and metaphoric – but not as a re-enactment or representation of a past narrative event. The rubric reads: "The lance of the Lord and the arms of Christ." Arms can be understood as the weapons of Christ as well as the heraldry of Christ. Thus the marginal decoration renders this rubric explicitly, placing the lance together with the nails (and

hammer), the cross, the crown of thorns, and the sponge with vinegar. An assortment of such objects, known in English as the Instruments of the Passion, in German as the “Passionswerkzeuge” – literally the tools of the Passion, were referenced in Latin as the “arma Christi.” Originally employed in his torture and execution, here they are elevated and celebrated. Thus they are reclaimed like trophies taken from a battlefield. They are not only repurposed to function as weapons of Christianity and of Christians, but also to serve as heraldic devices or signs that identify Christians.

Representations of these objects appear in many media and several iconographic contexts during the late Middle Ages. In their most expanded versions they could encompass many more small sign-like motifs showing things from the story of Christ’s passion: the cock from Peter’s denial, the dice cast for Jesus’ tunic, the switch and the whip from the Flagellation, the lantern from the nocturnal betrayal, a spitting, mocking face, and many more. The angels in the Geese Book hold a very basic set of six objects; the angels sculpted by Adam Kraft in the 1490s above the decorative wreath of nodding arches, that intertwine as filaments and encircle the Crucifixion scene / Passion scenes on the eucharistic tabernacle grasp nine instruments. Later, in 1513, Elsner himself painted nearly the same set of instruments again in the borders framing the Crucifixion group that marks the Mass canon in Provost Anton Kress’s missal of 1513. In each of these cases, it is angels who show them in an ethereal, heavenly sphere, but also suggest their display as relics.

Looking carefully at the lance, we see that the angle of this instrument has been altered, since the first position in an underdrawing is still slightly visible as pentimento. It is not just any lance but the specific object used in the Feast of the Holy Lance and Nails. Its gilt sheath was added in the 14th c. by Emperor Charles IV, whose words are inscribed: “LANCEA ET CLAVVS DOMINI” (the lance and the nail of the Lord). This much altered and manipulated spear head was likewise believed to contain embedded nails. By adding this golden wrapper, Charles covered former changes to the object, damage that had occurred earlier, and an older inscription on a silver band through which the object had been claimed by Emperor Henry II in the 11th century. Charles IV thus appropriated the lance, he authenticated it, and it authorized him. According to pious tradition, the lance had penetrated the body of Christ from the tip to the farthest edge of the gilt sheath. This measure translated the story into embodied, lived reality. The lance in the bottom margin would have been recognized as this specific, unique historical object. After the Lance and other relics came to Nuremberg in 1424, they were displayed publically as they had been earlier by Emperor Charles IV in Prague. This annual public spectacle in Nuremberg was known simply as “heiltum” – literally “holy things.” The show combined some comparatively-speaking mundane relics – among them, the arm bone of Saint Anne, a sliver from the manger and a tooth of John the Baptist; with the imperial regalia – including the crown, sword, and scepter, and also with the foremost objects from the very instruments of the Passion or the Arma Christi. The Holy Lance marked the culmination and climax.

Poetic liturgical texts set to elaborate melodic lines fashion these passion relics as extraordinarily significant in salvation history. Constantly changing the direction of address, the texts employ extreme metaphors of penetration and violence. The Mass begins with the words of the introit, a paraphrase from Psalm 22, “They pierced my hands and my feet,” continuing with a text that connotes relics with the notions of “bones,” but then suggests dismemberment and mutilation: “They have numbered all my bones, and I am poured out like water. My heart is like wax, it is melted in the midst of my bowels.” The alleluia verse references the Archangel Michael, who “descends with glorious signs and praise of the Lord’s passion.” And it is indeed angels who hold the signs of Christ’s passion in the margins.

The detailed and highly poetic sequence is most instructive. The words imply military might: “the conquering lance” and the “triumphant sword,” but also salvation and redemption: “Let us sing and praise him, transfixed instead of the guilty by this spear of salvation.” The Lance is markedly sexualized, becoming a phallus as the choir addresses Christ singing: “everyone of both sexes wounded you.” Then as a kind of gender bending so common in medieval texts, the positions are reversed as the listeners and singers empathize with the body of Christ, they welcome the wounding spear and long to be penetrated, “Hail triumphant sword, entering the living breast,” or “made fertile by blood, happy spear wounding us with love through you so pierced.” They even sing out “happy blood.” The metaphors are certainly related to the pictures and visionary devotional literature centering on Christ’s side wound as suggestive of a vaginal opening. This late-medieval imagery has received much scholarly attention ranging from Jesus’ feminine role as birthing and nurturing mother proposed by Caroline Walker Bynum to the expositions on variously gendered understandings of the sexual implications of Christ’s wound suggested by Flora Lewis and Martha Easton to Karma Lochrie’s notion of the “dark side” of the metaphor’s implied sexual violence. Evidence shows that the visual isolation or magnification of the wound occurred first and appeared in the context of devotional art and literature. Our research demonstrates that the foregrounding or amplification of the lance took place later and resulted from the public display in Prague, framed by innovative celebratory liturgy – which moved to Nuremberg along with the objects. The lance belonged to the masculine ethos of the knight, in which Emperor Charles IV had recognized great potential for establishing power on a geopolitical scale founded on his official state piety.

Throughout the late Middle Ages some provocative although figurative images combine the agencies of the lance and the wound. Manuscript illuminations proliferated in which personifications of the Virtues pierce the crucified Christ. In the Wienhausen nunnery, a 14th-century stained-glass window in the cloister walk shows a striking image in which love and violence mingle: Caritas and the crucified Christ are locked in an intimate embrace and stare into each other’s eyes as she plunges her dagger into his side. In all of these images we see the medieval confounding of what Laura Mulvey themetized for film studies, when she identified the female body as the object of the phallic or male gaze. The texts sung for this Mass in the Geese Book take up the vulnerable wounded body and the powerful penetrating lance.

The Geese Book lingers to show the promotional value of multimedia liturgy in the public square. The words in the Geese Book carry the biblical analogy of the relationship between the church and Christ as that of bride and bridegroom from an erotic metaphor to a picture of violent sexuality. Such liturgical texts, fully understood by the choir of school boys and young men who sang them, have long been ignored by scholars. The makers of the Geese Book understood how to combine several media to present a message that was unabashedly sensational but still subject to the codified constraints of a communally used liturgical book. The verbal metaphors are indeed arresting, yet the sequences are packed into regular rhythmic verses that when sung, soar melodically out into public space. The words are arousing, passionate, erotic, violent; yet the voices of the school boys are sweet, young and innocent, and the faces of the angels are androgynous, youthful, and charming. The angels hold aloft terrible weapons and instruments of torture, but they do so as if they were trophies or even highly charged, precious treasures of Nuremberg. With this viral stately display, Nuremberg sought to bolster the city’s sacred and secular authority.

The Feast of the Holy Lance: History, Politics, and Liturgy

The entry for the Feast of the Holy Lance and the Nails in the Geese Book was made by reusing and repurposing an older imperial liturgy from Prague. The liturgy encoded in the Geese Book demonstrates how violent instruments came to be venerated as precious, beautiful treasures. It demonstrates the connection of political and religious interests.

In the year 1424 the regalia and relics of the Holy Roman Empire were secretly transported to Nuremberg. If we believe the narrative in the chronicles they were hidden under a load of fish and only the few accompanying council members knew that something so ancient, so valuable and so important lay buried under this smelly perishable commodity. The iconic collection of treasured objects had grown significantly since the crowning of the first emperor, Charlemagne. It not only consisted of the imperial crown, scepter, sword, and other ceremonial objects employed during the coronation of German kings, but also a number of important relics.

Many of the latter had been collected by Emperor Charles IV in the middle of 14th century as part of his quest to transform and legitimize himself as the epitome of the Christian ruler. The centerpiece of the collection was the Holy Lance, recognized by Charles and his theological advisors as the spear that had penetrated the side of Christ during the Crucifixion. Charles employed the Holy Lance as a crucial element in his strategy to popularize the new imperial cult. The Lance was shown as the culmination of the annual display of relics that he initiated, which took place on the second Friday after Easter in Prague, his capital. In 1350, Clement VI authorized the event by granting a papal indulgence of seven years to every person in attendance. Charles also initiated a trade fair that took place at the same time clearly hoping that the combination of religious festivities with a mercantile forum would draw pilgrims and merchants from all over Europe.

For about fifty years, the Feast of the Holy Lance with its public display attracted throngs of visitors to the cattle market in Prague's new town. Then, at the beginning of the 15th century, when the successors of Charles IV were challenged by Jan Hus and his followers political turmoil ensued. In 1422 Emperor Sigismund was forced to take the regalia and relics to a safe haven in Hungary.

At that point the city council of Nuremberg must have realized that the guardianship of the collection could offer many advantages for the city. Even though the council records do not divulge any details, it becomes clear that a complex master plan for the acquisition of the objects was drawn up in the inner circle of government: Nuremberg sought to become the permanent keeper of the imperial regalia and relics and also to assume the associated celebrations of the cult in order to reap the accompanying benefits. If the emperor could be persuaded, this would not only enhance the standing of the city within the empire, but – more importantly – insert a *de facto* constitutional linkage of Nuremberg to the traditional election and crowning procedure for emperors. The city that hosted the college of electors was Frankfurt, whereas the investiture occurred in Aachen. Now Nuremberg sought to take up a position in what they wished to be regarded as part of an imperial triangle of cities, by guaranteeing safe keeping and delivery of the imperial crown and ceremonial objects to the location of investiture, thereby ensuring the validity of the coronation process. Without the regalia and relics the legality of the emperor could be called into question, a fate that emperor Charles IV had experienced himself when his main adversaries, the Wittelsbach family, refused to surrender the crown and regalia, and Charles had to make do with second-rate replacements.

The prospect of inheriting a trade fair might have played an equally important role for the city council. Re-routing commerce to Nuremberg was a major coup for the patrician council members,

most of whom were closely associated with family trading companies that secured their income and bourgeois lifestyle.

It seems not to have been difficult for the Nuremberg delegation to reach an accord with Sigismund who was in dire need of financial backing for his ongoing campaigns in Bohemia. On September 29, 1423 the emperor issued a charter that guaranteed the city of Nuremberg the privileged role of custodian for the regalia and relics for all eternity — the only condition being that the city had to remain loyal to the emperor. Since matters relating to relics, especially the implementation of religious festivities formally fell within the authority of the Bamberg bishop — a relationship that had been fraught with constant tensions over the years — a paragraph was included in the charter that forbade any control over the objects by church authorities. We may assume that the specific wording, including the regulation that the collection was not to be kept in a parish or monastic church, was indeed provided by the Nuremberg authorities. The city council selected a civic institution for the permanent housing of the objects — the sizeable church, belonging to a municipal hospital — the Heilig-Geist-Spital,

More than eighty years later the Geese Book became one of the primary manifestations of the presence of the Holy Lance in Nuremberg. When Friedrich Rosendorn compiled the material for this new gradual he not only incorporated the Feast of the Holy Lance and the Nails but he gave it special prominence.

The established liturgy accompanied the objects from Prague. The civic authorities of Nuremberg must have received a complete “starter package” with all instructions and permissions necessary to perform the feast, including the liturgy for both office and mass. Two copies of a booklet — not with the mass liturgy but the office liturgy — possibly written in Prague, have survived. Similarly another booklet must have contained the mass liturgy. We may assume that a copy of this libellus was bound into or kept with the now missing first volume of the gradual [Landeskirchliches Archiv,] St. Lorenz 3, which was in use at St. Lorenz before the Geese Book. Neither the template from Prague nor any of the copies of such a booklet have survived, making the Geese Book the only known source for the mass chants of the feast of the Holy Lance in Nuremberg.

The story of this liturgy has many facets, most of them related to legitimation and power or the lack thereof. In the year 1354 a papal bull had authorized Emperor Charles IV to select a group of theologians to compose a special liturgy for mass and office that could be performed throughout the Holy Roman Empire. This committee, which supposedly included the emperor himself, made every effort to promote an imperial view of the object.

The direct divine initiation of the ruler as an authority independently empowered by God to enforce order among humankind is a common theme encoded in many texts originating at Charles’s court. This bold notion further called into question the already unstable division of power between the papacy and the German kings, which had evolved over the years. By portraying himself as the priestly king — indeed Charles received ordination as deacon as part of the preparatory rites for the crowning ceremony as emperor — Charles challenged the pope in an area that hitherto was under the sole purview of the church, the control of the immediate line of ministerial succession. This “state piety,” as Charles’s overarching strategy was termed by the historian Franz Machilek, affected practically all areas of artistic production, ranging from his interest in shaping the liturgical practices within his realm to the building of his castle Karlstein. The chapel at Karlstein became the focal point of these endeavors. Here the priest-like king fashioned a cult that allowed him to touch and interact directly with the relics he had amassed.

The liturgy of the Feast of the Holy Lance and the Nails is no exception in projecting powers onto the emperor that are otherwise reserved for the priesthood, and in some respects even for God.

In Prague, the ritual had taken place on one of the largest squares in the empire. In Nuremberg the festivities focused on the main market square, a much smaller space that must have been crowded with visitors and locals, as we can extrapolate from the civic records detailing the various measures to achieve public safety and crowd control. For every public viewing a pre-assembled two-story wooden scaffolding was erected on the west side of the Nuremberg market square in front of one of the burgher houses. A walkway connected a window in this house with the top floor of the scaffolding. Access to this central stage was only possible for those allowed to enter the house, rented by the city for the occasion. Participants climbed the stairs to a heavily guarded room with cabinets that held all the objects before they were taken onto the platform. The city guards watched over the spectacle and kept all too nosy members of the public from climbing onto the structure. On the top level, underneath a high canopy roof fitted with a bell, aldermen, clerics, and important guests gathered for the display. A crier, who was a cleric selected for his loud voice, explained the individual relics to the masses, reading from a scroll containing the official text for the ritual, authorized by the city council.

At the beginning of the ceremony the mass for the Holy Lance and Nails was performed by a high-ranking priest selected by the city council. It was a special honor for visiting ecclesiastical dignitaries to be asked to celebrate mass on this occasion. We may assume that the Geese Book was used here at least on some occasions since the parish churches of Nuremberg supplied the necessary *vasa sacra*, liturgical vestments and books from their treasuries. Also, a choir needed to be present on the platform in order to perform the choral mass chants, directed by a cantor. The four church schools at St. Sebald, St. Lorenz, Heilig-Geist-Spital, and St. Egidien took turns to provide this service. Due to the limited space available on the scaffolding the choir was probably quite small.

One of the mass chants in particular picks up many of the motives that we already observed in the hymns and readings of the offices. It is the rhymed sequence *Hodiernae festum lucis* following the Alleluia. What sets apart sequences from other mass chants are their original texts that do not copy or reassemble passages taken from scripture. Also, their structure and musical form are unique: the short phrases — the so-called versicles — are set in pairs. Each pair, or double versicle, is sung on one identical melodic strophe. Many of the later sequences were rhymed and they thus provided a place for creative intellectual input and artistry within the otherwise largely regulated mass canon. Here their authors could show off their literary skills and theological knowledge. Since many medieval masses were performed without a sermon the sequence became the main exegetical moment, even though the audience was restricted to those capable of understanding complex Latin texts.

The sequence *Hodiernae festum lucis* is no exception. All the versicles consist of three lines built from twice seven and a concluding line of eight syllables that rhyme in an a-a-b pattern. The theologians at the court in Prague had fine-tuned the rhymed text to project their specific interpretations of the Holy Lance into the core of the mass liturgy, and thus – mediated through the performance on the scaffolding – also at the very center of the annual display in Nuremberg. In the fifth and sixth verse, for example, the correlation of love and violence validates the spear as object with redeeming powers that was supercharged through the contact with the blood of Jesus.

*“Fecundata tu cruore,
felix hasta, nos amore
per te fixi saucia”*

“Hail triumphant iron;
entering the vital breast,
you open the gates of heaven.

You, made fecund by blood,
you happy spear, wound us
with love to him, who was
pierced by you.”

Alone by listening to the melody of the sequence it becomes evident that these verses form the center of the chant. The melody that was written in the second mode, centering on the tone F, ascends in several steps to the highest point of its ambitus, the note D. The parallel phrases “intrans pectus” — into the breast — and “felix hasta” — happy lance — clearly stand out, since they are intoned, following an obtrusive leap of a fourth, a sparingly used interval that — due to its mildly dissonant character — makes the “incision” mentioned in the text audible. This synesthetic effect is furthered by the larger effort of the singers to “hit” the highest note precisely and also by the single notes employed for the two syllables of the word “in-trans” that accentuate the stabbing alluded in the text.

In the seventh verse of the sequence, the blood of Christ nourishes the hearts of the believers. They are also fortified and virtually “held together” by the nails. It is this unabashed glorification of violence that is characteristic for the theological underpinnings of the arma christi in Prague and Nuremberg: the narrative turns the instruments employed to harm and kill into the objects that enabled salvation. The original sin, committed by both sexes — as the text of the sequences clearly stresses —, was expunged with the lance:

“Omnis utriusque sexus
te stringebat culpae nexus
et mortis angustia

Psalle illi qui resolvit
culpam, poenam pro te solvit
vitae dans remedia”

“Both sexes
wounded you, bound in sin
and in the pangs of death.

Sing to him who redeemed you from sin,
who suffered punishment for you
giving the cures of life.”

On yet another level of abstraction the spear of salvation becomes the triumphant lance, the “ferum triumphale,” that defends the pious. On a more concrete level the relic has also morphed into the weapon and sign of the emperor, whose God-given task it is to defend the people of his realm and eradicate evil.

The *Communio Apprehende arma et scutum* not only ends the series of proper chants for the feast of the Lance and Nails, but it also sums up Charles's appropriation of the Holy Lance in a nutshell. In order to achieve this the text mirrors lines two and three of Psalm 34:2.

"Apprehende arma et scutum,
clavos et lanceam, domine, et
dic animae meae: salus tua
ego sum, alleluia."

"Take arms and shield, nails
and lance, O Lord, and say to
my soul: I am your salvation,
alleluia."

At first sight, the psalm transmits the words of David as he begs for the intervention of God on behalf of his people. The militant nature of this intervention is very concrete, since David seeks the help of the godly warrior, armed and protected by a shield, who is to destroy the enemies and assure David of salvation. Throughout the Middle Ages, the identity of the protagonist was constantly redefined. Based on the exegesis of Saint Augustine, Psalm 34 was re-inscribed as Christ's cry for help. In this context Augustine interprets the arms and shield of God as abstractions, standing for the faith of the people, whereas the text of the *communio* turns the arms and shield into the *arma Christi* and connects them to salvation through the framing psalm. For those aware of the need of legitimation that Charles IV sought through the Feast of the Holy Lance, yet another interpretation came to mind: the text alludes to the emperor who seeks the help of God against his enemies.

How was the connection of the feast of the Holy Lance and the nails to the institution of the emperor seen in Nuremberg about 150 years later, when the Geese Book was produced? The tie to Charles IV and the court in Prague was certainly not foregrounded in the Nuremberg festivities or in the Geese Book, even though the liturgy and rituals employed in Nuremberg must have closely followed the templates from Prague. One reason for these severed ties to the "makers" of the feast in Prague was already built into the feast. All notions projected onto the objects and especially the Holy Lance were encoded as having been present since the time of Christ's crucifixion, so that the authorship of the panoply of meanings at the 14th-century imperial court could not be openly acknowledged. This notion of the "always already," as the projection of dominant current meanings onto the past has been termed by the philosopher Paul Ricoeur, is a phenomenon that affects many, if not all, iconic objects. It even continues to shape the interpretation of the Holy Lance to this day.

The diminished importance of Charles IV for the Nuremberg city council and consequently the makers of the Geese Book, must have also resulted from the fact that the imperial crown had passed on from the Luxemburg dynasty of Bohemia to the Habsburg family, centered in Vienna. The *realpolitik* of the city council had quickly adjusted to the given situation, which made a focus on the past events localized in Prague less important.

Nonetheless, in Nuremberg the link between the regalia and relics and the institution of the emperor remained crucial, especially since the independence of the city was largely based on a favorable relationship to the imperial court. The status of "free imperial city," bestowed upon and backed by the authority of the emperor, often stood as last legal buffer between the city and its adversaries in times of conflict.

In this sense the importance of the arma Christi, encoded in the liturgical texts as power-laden objects that, in the hands of the archangel and other heavenly commissioned helpers, not only protect all Christians from evil but, furthermore, safeguard Nuremberg and its inhabitants. In addition, the councilors may have hoped that the keeping of the Holy Lance within the city walls would help to bestow some heavenly authority onto the ruling civic body. Because the making of the Geese Book was a project controlled and financed by the Nuremberg City council, this conglomerate of underlying motives that was attached to the Feast of the Holy Lance and Nails, resulted in the prominent visual representation of this liturgy on the folios of this manuscript and its acoustic presentation that left the surfaces of the book and filled the market square.

Saint Monica

The liturgy of one feast allows us to find interesting details about the compilation of the Geese Book. St. Monica's Day was probably the most recent addition to the liturgy of St. Lorenz prior to the making of the Geese Book.

For much of the Middle Ages, the cult of Saint Monica, the mother of the church father Augustine, was centered at the monastery of Arrouaise in the North of France. In the 12th century, one of the canons claimed to have found Monica's relics while visiting the old Roman seaport of Ostia, her known place of death. He took parts of the body back with him to the monastery, but the impact of this incident must have been rather limited since we do not read about large numbers of pilgrims flocking to her tomb.

It would take another 200 years until the cult of Saint Monica gathered momentum. In the year 1430 it was reported that a different body belonging to the saint had been discovered at the same location, the ruins of Ostia. It was not uncommon in the Middle Ages that several bodies or body parts of a saint were uncovered, often under questionable circumstances and sometimes by shady characters. Based on the limited attraction of the first body one might suppose that the new find would suffer a similar fate, but this time the tides of time had changed in favor of St. Monica: On the order of Pope Martin V, the relics were taken to Rome with great pomp and buried in a marble sarcophagus in the church San Trifone (later renamed San Agostino).

The new interest in Monica did not originate by chance: In the 15th century members of the Italian humanist elite began to re-evaluate the texts of classical antiquity under Christian auspices. Before that, many of these texts had been frowned upon as relics of pagan ideas. What these humanists wanted to achieve was a symbiosis of classical philosophy and Christian doctrine. The colonization of antiquity as either the foreshadowing or the acknowledgment of the role of Christ as son of god and savior brought those authors into the limelight who themselves had recognized (at least according to the teachings of the medieval church) the "ultimate truth" and undergone a conversion. The foremost example was the son of Monica, Saint Augustine.

Augustine was born in Roman Africa in the 4th century and was educated in classical rhetoric. He took up the profession of orator, a combination of teacher, politician, and lawyer. In his early career he became attracted to Manichaeism, a cult that originated in Persia in the 3rd century and quickly spread within the Roman empire. It combined elements of several Eastern beliefs, including Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Christianity, but also light metaphysics. What was even more fundamental for Augustine's faith was Neoplatonism, formulated by the philosopher Plotinus. The idea of absolute transcendence and a depersonalized deity appealed to many intellectuals. After an interlude in Rome, Augustine moved to the imperial court in Milan as teacher of rhetoric, where he became acquainted with the charismatic bishop Ambrose, converted to Christianity, and was baptized. When he returned to Africa he was ordained as priest and became bishop of Hippo. Later in his life he described the whole process in masterly Latin prose. This book, his *Confessions*, became one of the "must-reads" of those seeking a Renaissance of classical ideas and learning.

As for Monica, it was mainly one universally interested humanist in the first half of the 15th century who created her image as the perfect Christian mother: Maffeo Vegio (1406-1458), secretary of papal briefs, later apostolic datary, and canon at St. Peter's, was renowned for his knowledge of classical Roman literature, especially Virgil. Vegio was most influential in pedagogy, a discipline that had received only limited attention during the Middle Ages. With his book *On the Education of Children and their Moral Foundations* from 1443, he led the way for the use of classical texts for educational purposes.

Vegio transformed Monica into the motherly teacher since her child-rearing had laid the foundation for Augustine's professional success and, more importantly, his conversion. According to Veggio, Monica's Christian belief – in contrast to the background of his “pagan” father – enabled Augustine to recognize the right path. She never gave up on her son and followed him wherever he went to exercise her positive influence. When Augustine decided to return to Africa in the year 388, Monica accompanied him but died during her journey.

The picture that Maffeo Vegio had created was there to stay, and it has hardly changed over the centuries. For Monica's translation and canonization in the year 1430, Vegio compiled a biography and also two offices (one for her feast day, the other for the translation of her relics), thus providing the necessary liturgical framework to initiate and promote her cult. Vegio also donated a gilt head reliquary and the white marble sarcophagus into which pope Martin V himself placed her relics. Others would follow Vegio's example to advance the veneration of Monica, among them Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville (ca. 1403-1483), a wealthy power broker at the heart of the Roman curia. The papal chamberlain and protector of the Augustinian Hermits provided the adequate edifice by building the church of S. Agostino in the style of the Roman Renaissance, relying solely on his own extensive funds. Despite these concerted efforts and her canonization, it would take another hundred years until in 1576 her office was finally entered into the Roman breviary.

If we shift our focus to Nuremberg we realize that the arrival of Monica in this merchant city north of the Alps fell into the period when her cult was spreading quickly in northern Italy. The adoption of Monica as one of the patrons of the Augustinian Hermits must have quickened the dissemination of her cult. Monica made her first high profile appearance in Nuremberg in the church of the Augustinian monastery St. Veit. The hermits commissioned a splendid new main altar between 1440 and 1450. Augustine and Monica play a prominent role in the visual program of the altar. The artist placed them here on the wing, visible when the altar was open on feast days.

The text presented by the angel quotes from the vita of Augustine, written by the monk Jordan of Quedlinburg in the 14th century. Jordan condensed a central passage taken from the *Confessiones* (liber IX, 10): After a long and hard journey Augustine and Monica had reached Ostia, waiting to embark for Africa. In a quiet moment mother and son stand together at a window, overlooking the serene garden in the center of the house where they were lodging. They “speak in private but in sweet words” [*colloquebantur soli valde dulciter*] about the eternal life of saints.

About fifty years later, in 1504, Sixtus Tucher signed a donation charter. This was one of the last documents Sixtus issued at end of his eight-year tenure as provost of the church of St. Lorenz. The contract stipulated that for all eternity the feast of St. Monica was to be celebrated on every fourth of May with festive vespers and a series of masses at his church. According to Sixtus's stipulations, the mass was to be endowed with all the splendor otherwise reserved for patron saints: All the clerics were instructed to attend; choir boys from the school of St. Lorenz sang the choral parts of the mass under the supervision of the schoolmaster, and the organist further embellished the liturgy, performing on the famous swallow-nest organ clinging to the wall of the nave. So that the celebration of this new feast would not occur unnoticed it was announced publicly on the preceding Sunday. When the day and hour for the mass had come, the tolling of the large bell of St. Lorenz signaled to every person in town that the festivities of Saint Monica were about to begin.

If we compare the elaborate festivities in Nuremberg with the official Bamberg church calendars [in the printed missals], we notice a discrepancy. The feast of St. Monica in Nuremberg does not find any counterpart at the cathedral of Bamberg. We must conclude that Saint Monica was not venerated

on the diocesan level. In light of this discrepancy, Sixtus's decree that elevates all parts of the festivities to the status of the other patron saints of the church is even more surprising. One would not expect to find the de facto expansion of the number of patrons formulated in a donation charter. Under normal circumstances the introduction of an additional patron was connected to the erection of a new altar or chapel. According to canonical law it would have been necessary to involve the diocesan authorities in the process, since this rite was restricted to episcopal authority.

We thus may conclude that Sixtus Tucher almost singlehandedly introduced a major feast in "his" church. He was aided by the Nuremberg city council – occupied and controlled by many friends and relatives from the patrician cast. The council not only administered the 90 guilders of capital provided by Sixtus to cover the costs, but – as part of a package deal – also approved the liturgical stipulations set forth in the contract. In authorizing this liturgy, the council clearly overstepped its bounds. On the other hand, the city owned the church buildings and furnishings and also salaried the sacristan and church master. Thus, the city council took control over many issues that we would expect today to be the sole purview of the parish.

In light of this disregard for episcopal authority (although it is unclear how openly the whole procedure was handled), it is remarkable that the other Nuremberg churches also introduced the feast of Saint Monica. Thus, Nuremberg collectively deviated from the diocesan calendar. It must have been the goal of the two Nuremberg parishes to create a largely homogenous liturgy within the city. In order to achieve uniformity, a leaflet was printed that contained the texts of two mass formulas for Monica. These leaflets were inserted into the missals used at the Nuremberg parishes.

This is one of the two copies of the missal for the Bamberg diocese purchased for the parish of St. Sebald by the church master Sebald Schreyer. It was printed by Johann Sensenschmidt in 1490. The bifolium with the liturgy for Saint Monica was glued into the binding.

Sixtus's donation charter gives us additional details about his intention to have the leaflet included in the missal and about the specifics of use.

"And [all the prebendaries] shall read one of the special masses for Saint Monica as they are included in printed form in all missals with three collects [prayers] and otherwise as they are found there."

The prescribed veneration went beyond the ritual endowed by Sixtus and was extended to all prebendaries serving at altars in the church. Even though these prebends were independent institutions not bound to the liturgy of the parish but to the charters drawn up by their donors, the prebendaries were thus obligated to perform the mass for Monica. We may assume that also the books belonging to the prebends were upgraded with the leaflet, which speaks for a larger number of copies.

Only two surviving liturgical manuscripts from Nuremberg transmit the first of these mass formulas with musical notation: The gradual Nuremberg, Landeskirchliches Archiv der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in Bayern, Nbg. St. Lorenz, St. Lorenz 3 and the Geese Book. The oldest part of St. Lorenz 3 was completed by the Dominican monk Johannes Gredinger in the year 1421. By the end of the 15th century his gradual had been extended through the addition of several quires. It now seems likely to me that the original Gredinger manuscript had been bound as one volume. It was then the many additions that necessitated a rebinding as two volumes, in the 1470s. Only the second volume survives today. [See the video: Why was the Geese Book made?]

The mass for Saint Monica is the first of four formulas that were inserted between a quire containing ordinary chants and the sequentiary. The insertions include not only the mass for Monica but also

alleluias and sequences for Saint Ulrich, the patron saint of the diocese of Augsburg, the church father Saint Jerome, and Saint Wolfgang, patron saint of the diocese of Regensburg. Since the ruling of the three leaves with the mass for Monica differs from the preceding and following leaves, we must conclude that the mass formula was produced as an independent self-contained entity, a so called libellus. It is even thinkable that it was initially written as a stand-alone booklet reserved for the feast of Monica and was only added to the gradual when it was rebound.

When was this libellus with the mass for Monica written? The style, layout, and binding indicate that the collection of four formulas was a significantly later addition to the manuscript. When we peruse the formulas to identify scribal hands, we note that the formulas were copied by the same person. It is once again the style of the initials that allows us to attach a name: The initial “o” at the beginning of the Alleluia verse in the formula for Saint Wolfgang [fol. 186v] contains one of the faces that are characteristic for the work of Georg Rayl. We found these unique drawings in another Nuremberg manuscript that he signed.

This discovery raises new questions. Georg Rayl died in the year 1494, ten years before Sixtus Tucher donated the mass. This is even more puzzling if we consider that Sixtus received his call to Nuremberg in 1496, two years after the death of Rayl. How could Sixtus introduce a feast that was already part of the liturgical books?

Perhaps Sixtus sought to codify a feast that had been celebrated more or less informally and probably without much pomp. Based on the evidence in St. Lorenz 3, we must assume that the veneration of Monica at St. Lorenz started during the tenure of Sixtus’s cousin Lorenz Tucher, who had held the provostship of St. Lorenz since 1482. Perhaps familial continuity strengthened the interest of Sixtus in the saint.

Sixtus was about to retire. This was the time to settle matters – and of course Sixtus still held the authority to make decisions. What becomes clear though is that Sixtus made St. Monica a cause of his own. If we ask the question where and when Sixtus made an acquaintance with the saint, we have to focus on his student years in Italy at the university of Bologna. The canons regular of Santa Maria di Reno served as a kind of pastoral center for the university students. Since the canons lived according to the rule of Saint Augustine, his mother Monica played a significant role in their liturgy. Santa Maria di Reno also became a center for religious reform that influenced many other collegiate institutions. The “Renana” congregation of Augustinian houses was especially prominent in Italy, and the cult of Saint Monica must have spread parallel to this reform movement. Even though St. Lorenz was not a collegiate church but a parish, the communal life of priests and deacons in the large rectory must have been very similar to that of canons.

Sixtus’s vital interest in the writings of the church fathers must have played an even greater role for his admiration of Monica. Since he made a first career as university teacher, they may have been his role models in devoting energy to scholarship. Not only Sixtus’s letters but also his vita tells us that he was especially drawn to Jerome and Augustine, whose works he wished to study following his retirement.

Inserting a feast day was no easy task. However, as long as it held an informal status and its liturgical profile was kept low it could be celebrated in coexistence with established feasts. In case of conflict, it might even be moved to another day. The common feast day for Monica on May 4th was occupied in Bamberg and Nuremberg by the feasts of the martyrs Godehard and Florian. Replacing these saints with Monica was no option, both from the standpoint of the provost of St. Lorenz, who had to take care

not to deviate too drastically from the mandatory cathedral liturgy, as well as from the standpoint of the donor, who did not want to “devalue” his investment by placing “his” saint in a competitive situation with other popular saints.

Sixtus Tucher indeed took this problem seriously, as we again see from the charter: The feast of Saint Monica was to be moved to the day after May fourth. If additional conflicts arose in respect to Sundays or other feast days it was to be postponed even further. Also, no memorial services were to be performed that necessitated the voicing of the name of any other donor, thus reserving the day exclusively to the remembrance of Sixtus Tucher. Indeed, one problem was already foreseeable: The dedication of the cathedral of Bamberg, one of the most prominent feast days at the bishop’s church, was celebrated on May 6th. Even though the dedication of the cathedral was not celebrated in Nuremberg, the possible performance of an unapproved new feast on that very day at St. Lorenz that was to receive the equivalent emphasis could have been seen as competition by the bishop and the cathedral chapter.

Interestingly Sixtus stipulates that solutions were to be worked out by the sacristan and not his successor in the office of provost. Today we would not expect a sacristan to make decisions about the liturgy. Might Sixtus have wanted a member of the fabric of the church, a civic employee rather than a cleric bound by obedience to the bishop to enforce his wishes? We will never know, nonetheless the self-confidence of Sixtus Tucher shines through the lines of the charter that not only seeks to shape the liturgy of his parish but also to secure his eternal memory.

As the location for the performance of his donation, Sixtus selected the “Vierlehrer Altar,” dedicated to the Four Church Fathers, thus choosing the altar already associated with Monica’s son Augustine. This altar no longer exists, but placement is known: It stood here on the south side of the main altar at the fourth pier of the outer wall of the hall choir, a privileged position in the church’s hierarchy of places. Sixtus stipulated that the wings of the altar were to be opened so that the festive panels were visible, a view of the altar that was restricted to only a few days every year. In addition, the charter contains the following passage: “...the altar shall be adorned with the image of a widow.” Sacristans’ manuals including that from St. Lorenz in Nuremberg often remark that on a particular saint’s day the available reliquaries with the remains of that saint were to be displayed on the altar. Some of these reliquaries had the form of a bust or a figure, but this is not what Sixtus had in mind when he wrote the charter.

The illuminator Nikolaus Glodendon depicted a feast day at the Neue Stift in Halle showing what an altar may have looked like when figures of saints were placed in the retable. Albrecht Dürer, who made the sketch used by Glockendon, was familiar with rituals in the Nuremberg parishes and must have used them as a model. Much like the Barbie doll of our time, these figures could take on different roles through their inclusion in varied ritualized settings. Thus, the generic figure of a widow became Saint Monica on her feast day. On other days the figure placed on a different altar could stand for another holy widow. It is even possible that these figures were adapted to the setting through their modulation with characteristic elements, such as removable attributes or even clothing, thus making them even more comparable to the different scenarios to which Barbie has been adjusted by the manufacturers who market accessories, ranging from those of nurses to those of astronauts.

Which role does the feast of Saint Monica play in the Geese Book? It is immediately evident that the feast was not entered in the correct place according to the calendar. Instead, we find it at the end of the sanctorale in the second volume. It is preceded by the mass for the Fifteen Holy Helpers, a group of saints who enjoyed special veneration in the diocese of Bamberg and in the city of Nuremberg on November 14. This feast had only been recently added to the Bamberg Missal. The mass for Saint Monica is followed by a collection of alleluia chants for the Easter cycle. This isolated placement at the very end

of the sanctorale might indicate that the mass was not part of the initial layout but was included at a later stage of the production process. On the other hand, the continuous foliation throughout the volume is proof that the formula was not added after the completion of the manuscript through the insertion of additional leaves. Does this placement “on the edge” express that the feast was still considered not fully accepted into the liturgy, or was the late insertion the result of an oversight of the compiler? We must not forget that the mastermind of the Geese Book project, Friedrich Rosendorn, had died after finishing the first volume.

Perhaps the answer is rather simple. If we peruse the oldest portion of the sanctorale of the manuscript St. Lorenz 3 for added cross-references, we note that the mass formulas for Ulrich and Wolfgang were already part of the oldest layer written by Johannes Gredinger. A later hand, probably that of Georg Rayl, inserted rubrics that point to the chants in the added quire. For Saint Ulrich we find cues to the sequence “Udalrici benedicti,” [fol. 41, new foliation], for Saint Jerome the alleluia “Doctor dei eremiae” and the sequence “O qui declaro genere” [fol. 60]. The original sanctorale does not contain a mass for Saint Wolfgang, but a rubric was entered in the lower margin [fol. 62] of the page corresponding to the correct placement in the church year. This rubric refers to the alleluia “O sancte Wolfgange” and the sequence “in Wolfgangi canamus” [on folio 186v]. In addition, it notes that the rest of the formula was to follow the mass for Saint Nicolas [on fol. 16v-17]. If we search for cross-references for Monica in the sanctorale, we find no trace. To sum up: Rubrics added to the margins of the sanctorale telling the singers when to turn to a later section of the manuscript exist for three of the four formulas added by Georg Rayl. Alone the mass for Saint Monica is not cross-referenced.

Looking at the Geese Book we note that the scribe faithfully followed the various links provided by Georg Rayl: The scribe integrated the alleluias and sequences for Wolfgang and Jerome into the existing mass formulas. For Wolfgang an extended formula was generated by combining the alleluia and sequence from the libellus with the proper chants for the feast of Saint Nicolas.

In respect to Monica the following mishap must have occurred: The scribe integrated material as long as the place of insertion was clearly marked in his template. In this rather mechanical approach to copying we miss Rosendorn’s careful planning and collation which we observed in the first volume. It appears that the second scribe was not aware that a formula for Saint Monica existed in another place while working his way through the sanctorale. He did not realize his mistake until he had completed the entire section. Having reserved no space for the insertion, he was forced to add the mass at the end.

In fact, this observation reveals another scribal error, again corroborating that he had not planned his task properly: The scribe did not realize that the mass for the Fifteen Holy Helpers was placed incorrectly in the manuscript St. Lorenz 3. This feast must have been the first addition to the gradual copied by Gredinger himself at the very end of the sanctorale. The scribe of the Geese Book should have inserted the mass between the feasts of bishops Brice and Othmar. Instead, he maintained the incorrect placement by simply copying it from the older gradual that was his template.

More and more the suspicion is confirmed that the scribe of the second volume of the Geese Book must have been rather inexperienced. Perhaps it was a student of Rosendorn’s, a young cleric at St. Lorenz. On the other hand, if we compare the variants of the chants in the two manuscripts we observe that his scribal skills were quite good; the melodies and texts are virtually identical.

Many new mass formulas were not original compositions but were pieced together as a combination from pre-existing material and newly written chants. What are the origins of the mass for Saint Monica? The festive introit *Gaudeamus omnes* with its memorable melody was a pre-existing chant,

widely employed for feasts of female saints – such as Agatha, Catherine, Barbara, Martha, Elizabeth – but also for Marian feasts. It was a logical step to resort to this well-known introit for a new feast for a female saint. The same can be said about the *communio Dilexisti iusticiam*, which we also find in many other masses. Whereas introit and *communio* are part of a widely disseminated standard repertory, the alleluia, sequence, and offertory are clearly not. None of these chants are found in South Germany.

The offertory *Iesu transfixi vulnera* in the fifth mode is written in a late-medieval chant style. The rhymed text of seven stanzas reaches its climax on the fourth stanza that ends with the saint's name. It connects Monica to Christ's sacrifice and attests to the saint's compassion and her determination to influence and improve detrimental behavior:

“Jesus, pierced, your wounds enter within, and while you, Monica, rest by the cross, the rivers of your tears flow over the earth; make us avoid sins and all the evils of the world.”

The formulaic melody with recurring transposed segments reaches its culmination on a melisma on the closing phrase “mundi lubrica” – “evils of the world” – employing a series of descents by fourths and fifths, followed by counter-movement to the octave. This passage symbolizes the dramatic outcry addressed to Monica, which implores the saint for help in order to stay free of all sin. Through his donation, this became the personal plea of Sixtus Tucher in his ongoing quest for the hereafter.

The feast of Saint Monica demonstrates that personal motivations could initiate the inclusion of a new saint into the liturgy of a parish church. It also highlights the complexity of a major book project, such as the Geese Book, that was challenged with a liturgy in constant flux.

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Audio-CD

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