

VARIA

LOOKING AT AND LISTENING TO THE LIMOGES CROZIER IN TOLEDO CATHEDRAL*

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Toledo Cathedral owns an early thirteenth-century crozier from Limoges with unique representations of lions and deacons, indicative of Limoges' rich artistic repertoire. Acknowledging its eye-catching features, this short article presents the crozier as a hand-held object that animated multiple senses through its physical use.

Key words: Toledo; crozier; Limoges enamel; sensory experience; church dedication.

MIRAR Y ESCUCHAR AL BÁCULO DE LIMOGES EN LA CATEDRAL DE TOLEDO

La catedral de Toledo posee un báculo de Limoges de principios del siglo XIII con singulares representaciones de leones y diáconos, indicativo del rico repertorio artístico de Limoges. Reconociendo sus llamativas características, este breve artículo presenta el báculo como un objeto portátil que animaba múltiples sentidos a través de su uso físico.

Palabras clave: Toledo; báculo; esmalte de Limoges; experiencia sensorial; consagración de la iglesia.

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Medieval croziers from Limoges are today presented in museums as frozen in space and time, identified in terms of colour, style, iconography, date, and origin. Such formal identifiers make it all too easy to overlook their most important characteristics: these were hand-held artefacts, which apart from being seen, were also touched, and emitted sound.² A crozier (Lat. *baculus*; Span-

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² I have discussed the sensory qualities of Limoges caskets in two papers: "Caskets and Croziers: Limoges in Toledo," International Symposium *The Medieval Treasury in Iberia and Beyond: Collections, Connections, and Representations*, Madrid, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 28-30 November 2022; and "A Taste for Limoges: Colorful Caskets in Medieval Spain," Cleveland Museum of Art, 9 September 2022.



Fig. 1. Crozier head, ca. 1200, made in Limoges, 29.8 x 14.6 x 7.5 cm. Toledo, Museo de Tapices, inv. nr. 03/1076. Photo: Museo de Tapices.

ish *báculo*) from Toledo Cathedral's treasury, made in Limoges around 1200, is studied here as an agent that stimulated multiple senses of the prelates once using it, as well as their assisting celebrants and lay audiences [fig. 1].³ The upper part (or head) of the Toledo baculus contains a depiction of Michael slaying the dragon, accompanied by unparalleled representations of lions on the knob and deacons on the shaft. As will be shown, the sensory qualities depended on the physical use of the crozier. My research highlights the importance of recognizing the crozier as an object that activated the senses of seeing, touching, and hearing during its liturgical use. As such, it is part of the still growing field of scholarship on the senses and sensory experiences.⁴

The crozier head entered Toledo cathedral in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.⁵ Its original staff and lower tip are missing, characteristic of the fragmented state of many croziers from the central Middle Ages. Some rare surviving specimens, as well as representations of croziers, indicate that the tips were usually made of metal, sometimes with simple engraved embellishments.⁶ Although the Toledo pastoral staff is one of about 235 surviving from Limoges,⁷ its design with lions and deacons is unique, indicative of the rich available artistic repertoire and perhaps the specific

desires of its owner. While its earlier history remains undocumented, there can be no doubt that the decorated crozier head is a medieval product, even though the mid-nineteenth century historian and collector Comte Auguste de Bastard d'Estang thought otherwise.⁸ His view and the uncertain provenance of the crozier have resulted in its exclusion from the standard French work on Limoges enamels, *Corpus des émaux méridionaux. Tome II: L'apogée, 1190-1215 (CEM II)*.⁹ This is all the more remarkable since Spanish scholarship has no hesitation regarding the crozier's authenticity, although to date no in-depth study of the object has been carried out.¹⁰ My detailed analysis supports the Spanish historiography and holds that the Toledo crozier is indeed an authentic Limoges product.

³ Crozier from Limoges, 29.8 x 14.6 x 7.5 cm. Toledo, Museo de Tapices, inv. nr. 03/1076.

⁴ For example: Bagnoli, 2016. Classen, 2012. Corbin, 2005. Griffiths, 2018. Newhauser, 2014. Palazzo, 2014. Woolgar, 2006.

⁵ Cedillo, 1991 [1919]: 162. Marquet de Vasselot, 1941: 292-293, no. 164. Revuelta, 1989: 265. Llamazares, 2002: 116. Also in *Alfonso X el Sabio* 2022: 441, no. 74 (date, size only):

⁶ A rare example of a complete staff is that of Saint Loup, preserved in the treasury of Sens cathedral, see Gaborit-Chopin 2005: cat. 85. Some drawn examples are in Marquet de Vasselot, 1941: PL. XXXVI.

⁷ For this number, see Gamage, 2021: 1.

⁸ Bastard d'Estang, 1851: 394.

⁹ Dabrowska, 2011: 181 n. 13.

¹⁰ See note 5.

Before addressing the crozier as a sensory item, I present what is actually known about the object. The gaps in the object's history are a reminder of the fragmented traces some artefacts have left.¹¹ In the absence of medieval written sources and properly documented excavations, we turn first to the treasured object itself as our primary site for investigation, and then to an early modern source.

“Un Arcangel que la está metiendo la espada por la boca”

Our crozier head consists of volute, knob, and short shaft, which are all made of copper that has been gilded. The volute and shaft are adorned with radiant blue enamel as well as white, light blue, and black. The spiral, composed of two identical halves that create front and back, is enameled with bright blue lozenges and decorated along its outside edge with crockets that resemble the spikes with which dragons are often represented. In the center of the spiral, the gilt figure of Saint Michael slays the dragon — whose face is visible on both sides — by thrusting his sword into the jaws of the beast. In order to stabilize the delicate sword, the artist made sure to create a tiny hole in the dragon's curved body for its tip. Michael's wings partly overlap the volute, allowing the artists to secure them with small nails. Some 60 crozier heads with Saint Michael are known, but the Toledo specimen is one of only five in which the archangel is bearing a shield on his left arm [fig. 2].¹²

In the earliest written source related to this *báculo*, Antonio Ponz's *Viage de España* (vol. 14, 1788), it is the archangel that allows us to identify the crozier beyond doubt. Ponz included a letter by Toledo's Archbishop Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana y Butrón (1772-1800), who states that upon reading Ponz's first volume, he found that some information on Toledo cathedral was missing and wanted to set the record straight. The archbishop stated:

En mis días se ha logrado la dicha de que cavando unos trabajadores junto á la Basílica de Santa Leocadia, se encontró un Báculo de Prelado sin caña, pero al cayado de especial hechura. El paisano creyó que era de oro, lo guardó por algún tiempo, y después viéndose en necesidad, le llevó á un platero que reconoció con la piedra de toque que era de bronce, muy bien dorado, y esmaltado primorosamente, pues es una figure de serpiente, que en lo corvo del cayado tiene la cabeza, y encima un Arcangel que la está metiendo la espada por la boca. Mandé poner una caña de madera fina á este Báculo, y tuve la complacencia de llevarle procesionalmente vestido de Pontifical en al día de la Purificación, regocijándome con la reflexión de que pudo ser de alguno de mis Santos antecesores, que se enterraron en la Basílica: despues le entregué á mi Santa Iglesia, y se muestra á todos.¹³

We learn that the crozier's volute is decorated with “an archangel who has placed the sword in the mouth [of the serpent]”. This archangel can be no other than Michael. Archbishop Loren-



Fig. 2. Detail, crozier head, Saint Michael. Toledo, Museo de Tapices, inv. nr. 03/1076. Photo: Ana Cabrera Lafuente.

¹¹ Martin, 2020.

¹² Gamage, 2021: 5. Robinson, 1962: 69-71.

¹³ Ponz, 1788: x, which contains the letter from Archbishop Francisco Antonio de Lorenzana y Butrón (1787):

zana also mentions the enamel, which according to him is “exquisite”. Like other early modern observers of medieval Limoges artefacts,¹⁴ the archbishop does not identify the enamel as made in Limoges, although this attribution is evident to current art historians. Rather than viewing it as a museum piece, Lorenzana commissioned a wooden staff to complement the head, so that he could take the baculus in procession on the feast of the Purification (February 2): To him, it was a moveable item, which was to be held, felt, and seen.

While the archbishop says that the crozier was fortuitously “dug up” by workmen near the basilica of Santa Leocadia, some two centuries later Conde Cedillo suggested the environs of the Roman amphitheatre — located in the same area as the basilica — as its find place, yet without presenting any arguments.¹⁵ More recently, Matilda Revuelta Tubino attributed the finding of the staff near Santa Leocadia to the year 1781, but without further basis for its dating.¹⁶ If we assume that the archbishop read the first edition of the first volume of the *Viage de España*, published in 1772, then a dating of 1781 seems to be a decade too late. For now, we can say that a medieval object discovered in the eighteenth century was recognised as an esteemed attribute by Lorenzana, who says that he rejoiced (“regocijándome”) in bearing it while robed in full episcopal garb, so that it was seen by those who gathered on the streets to witness the procession.

Apparently, Auguste de Bastard d’Estang, writing around 1851, was not aware of Ponz’s *Viage de España* — a multi-volume publication that is now accessible online — when he wrote that it is “easy to see that the wings, hair, and tunic are not from the time of the volute.”¹⁷ However, first-hand analysis of the crozier shows that it fits the corpus of contemporary Limoges staffs perfectly, precisely because of both generic features and individual traits. For example, a crozier now at the Musée du Louvre, but found in 1799 in the tomb of Abbot Bertrand de Malsang at the abbatial church of Montmajour, presents the Archangel Gabriel with wings that are similar to Michael’s in size, shape, decoration, and attachment to the volute.¹⁸ And another crozier head with Michael slaying the dragon, represents the archangel with wings that are ornamented in much the same way as the Toledo crozier.¹⁹ However, there was not just one way of modelling or decorating them. In fact, the inventory of croziers in *CEM II* makes abundantly clear the enormous variety in representations of wings. The rich drapery and decorative bands on Michael’s tunic are present on Limoges plaques with repousse figures, such as the figures of Saint Paul and Saint Thomas from the abbey of Grandmont, now at Petit Palais in Paris. As for the hair, we observe the variety in hairstyles of the figures inhabiting the volutes of Limoges croziers, indicative of the unique character of each item.

It is tempting to label the impressively large surviving corpus of croziers — together with caskets, wash basins, crosses, and other Limoges products — as standardized, perhaps even as mass produced. This, in fact, seems to have been one of the reasons for Auguste de Bastard to consider the image of Michael a modern addition to the Toledo crozier; the figure did not meet his standard Limoges criteria. These croziers share many common features, such as the serpent-shaped volute, applied reptiles in relief decorating the shaft, and — of course — enameled patterns. Yet, the figures placed within the volutes were never routinely put there. The space at the heart of the volute, the placement of the head of the serpent or dragon, and the supporting element attached to the curve of the volute all determined the specific setting for elements like Saint Michael. Legs, heads, wings, flowing garments, and attributes needed to be attached to the volute, which often resulted in the unique positionings.

¹⁴ See also Morales, 1765 [ca. 1572]: 150.

¹⁵ Cedillo, 1991 [1919]: 162. The archaeological evidence for the basilica of Santa Leocadia is complex, see for example Gurt I Esparraguera/Diarte Blasco, 2012.

¹⁶ Revuelta, 1989: 265.

¹⁷ Bastard d’Estang, 1851: 394. A digitized version of vol. 14 of Ponz’s *Viage* can be found here: <https://archive.org/details/viagedeespaa14ponz/>

¹⁸ Paris, Musée du Louvre, département des Objets d’art, inv. MRR 810, see CD-rom *CEM II*, IV F, n° 4.

¹⁹ Cambridge, The Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. M.2.1924, see CD-rom *CEM II*, IV F, n° 8.

Within the corpus of Limoges croziers, the Toledo specimen is an exceptional piece. Its knob, of which each half is decorated with an openwork pattern of four lions *passant* whose curved tails with tufted tips trail over their backs [fig. 3].²⁰ Their elegantly shaped legs, raised paws, and turned heads make them appear to be in motion; even more so if we imagine the crozier to be a moving item as well. The lions' presence on the knob indeed is unusual. No other examples are known to me; instead, entwined serpents or dragons are most frequently found on croziers with figural decoration executed during the first half of the thirteenth century. As a motif, however, the lion regularly appears on Limoges enamels in the volutes of croziers.

The knob of the Toledo crozier is visually buttressed by the slender bodies of three torsured and barefoot appliqué figures. They can be identified as deacons because of their liturgical vestments: an alb indicated by the tight sleeves, which is covered by the wide-sleeved dalmatic with its straight band of ornament at the hem and neck.²¹ While the deacons' bare feet may strike us as odd, on Limoges enamels this is not a rare feature. For example, on a Thomas Becket chasse one of the two deacons standing next to the altar is barefoot.²² Christ, his apostles, saints and biblical figures such as Joseph are represented this way too, both as engraved and appliqué figures.²³ Like the lions, our clerics are a unique feature; reptiles are commonly represented.

Based on the striking presence of lions and assistant clerics I suggest that the crozier was likely to have been a special commission, even though at present it cannot be put in the hands of a specific person. If we accept the site near the basilica of Santa Leocadia just outside Toledo's walls at its find place, then one of its abbots may have owned it.²⁴ Yet the town's dense ecclesiastical landscape allows for other owners as well, such as the abbesses of the convent of Santo Domingo el Antiguo and the archbishops of Toledo. And it may have been used for generations before it was probably buried.²⁵ The frequent burial of Limoges croziers, together with the relative low material value when compared with croziers made of gold, silver, or ivory, has been taken as explanation for their absence from inventories.²⁶ Yet their occasional appearance in inventories²⁷ and the gen-



Fig. 3. Detail, crozier head, lions on knob with deacons below. Toledo, Museo de Tapices, inv. nr. 03/1076. Photo: Ana Cabrera Lafuente.

²⁰ Marquet de Vasselot wrongly identifies the lions as dragons, 1941: 292-293 no. 164.

²¹ I owe this identification to Juliette Calvarin. But see also Miller, 2014: 190, 249, and fig. 25 for the dalmatic worn by deacons.

²² London, Victoria & Albert Museum, M.66-1997.

²³ An exception is the Virgin Mary, who always wears shoes.

²⁴ For the abbey of Santa Leocadia and its close ties to the cathedral of Toledo between 1162 and ca. 1300, see Pérez, 2002.

²⁵ Of the 72 croziers listed in *CEM II*, 17 are found in church treasuries, 30 were found in tombs or excavated in churches, while 25 are in public and private collections with unclear provenance. See Dabrowska, 2011: 177. Angela Franco Mata has pointed out that some croziers were used by successive bishops and were thus not buried immediately, Franco, 2022: 10.

²⁶ Marquet de Vasselot, 1941: 13-14. Dabrowska, 2011: 181. Español, 2001: 93.

²⁷ Córdoba Cathedral (1294) lists three croziers; two of ivory and one from Limoges. See Español, 2001: 104, no. 12. A baculus from Limoges was also recorded in the inventory of Sant Cugat de Vallés (Barcelona), stating that its abbot Pedro de Amenys brought it from Rome together with another crozier. See Duran-Portan 2015, vol. 1: 161.

eral appreciation of enamel work for its combination of rich gilding and vibrantly coloured glass paste, challenges the assumption that enamelled pastoral staffs were purely burial items.

Scholarly focus on Limoges croziers' burial has overshadowed their agency as representative objects to be seen and touched by the living. How might we understand croziers, like the one at Toledo, not just as the embodiment of power, but also as items that were experienced bodily? In what follows next I argue for an understanding of croziers as objects that animate multiple senses, demonstrating that the modern-day visual experience would originally have been intertwined with medieval touch and sound.

Croziers as Sites of Sense

An early mention of the episcopal staff is found in Isidoro of Sevilla, who tells us that when the bishop is consecrated, “he is given the staff as his indication that he is either to rule or correct the people subject to him and support the infirmities of the sick.”²⁸ This passage underscores the physical presence of the crozier in the investiture ritual and explains its visual symbolism; however, is not very informative about how croziers were experienced as material things. To this end we turn, once more, to the object as well as to the description of rituals and spaces connected with it. The visual experience (e.g., seeing and understanding the iconography) dominates the historiography, and the crozier should be understood as part of an ecclesiastical ritual space filled with sounds and smells, as has been stressed by Éric Palazzo;²⁹ here I further suggest conceiving of croziers themselves as sensory agents.³⁰

Of course, croziers invite the gaze because of their size, shape, colour, and decoration as well as their ritual display near altars and in processions. For example, in the thirteenth century, the abbess of Holy Trinity in Poitiers had her crozier — together with the nuns' reliquary of the Holy Cross — laid on the high altar of the nearby Cathedral of Saint-Pierre on Tuesday and Wednesday of the Rogation Days (fasting days in preparation of Ascension):³¹ The canons thus visually and physically experienced the authority of the abbess. The many representations of croziers in illuminated manuscripts, such as the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Escorial, Códice Rico, ca. 1280-1284), confirm that they were highly visible items: their physical characteristics underscore the presence and prominence of the bearer, setting him or her apart from other clerics as well as lay people.

What these illuminations also show is that croziers are haptic objects. Bishops, abbots and abbesses receiving and handling them — as well as lesser clergy and other assistants — had the opportunity to see up close what was represented.³² In addition, the croziers' weight — rarely recorded on museum websites or in catalogues — must have been felt while they were carried in procession, or when used by the bishop during the consecration of a church. Their fixed placement in modern showcases raises the question of how were croziers balanced when in movement: how difficult would it have been to keep them upright, to place them steadily? How the staff was physically experienced, depended not only on weight and material — of wood, metal, or ivory which warms when touched — but also on the possible use of protective textiles: gloves and later pieces of cloth (*sudarium* or *pannisellus*).

Apart from sight and touch, which other senses may a crozier have enticed? The dedication of a church, which was an episcopal privilege, helps us understand the crozier as an audible item. Dominique Iogna-Prat rightly labelled this event as a “multi-sensory spectacle.”³³ In the earliest

²⁸ Isidore of Seville, 2008: 74. Töbelmann, 2011: 102 and 104 (for the abbatial staff):

²⁹ Palazzo, 2014. For “seeing”, see Töbelmann, 2011: 140-142. Gamage, 2021: 8-9.

³⁰ See also Dempsey/Jasperse, 2020: 249-270.

³¹ Johnson, 1993: 189.

³² See also Töbelmann, 2011: 140-142.

³³ Iogna-Prat, 2006: 266. Palazzo, 1999.

moments of the elaborate dedicatory ritual — which is documented especially in pontificals — the crozier emits a sound when the bishop in the presence of clerics and lay people strikes with his staff (*cambuta* or *baculus*) the threshold or lintel of the church door.³⁴ This is also how it is described in a pontifical produced in the diocese of Toledo (Toledo, B.C. Ms 39-12, fols. 92r-125v.), and which Mercedes López-Mayán dated to the early thirteenth-century date based on internal evidence.³⁵

With this finished, let the bishop approach the door of the church, striking upon the lintel with his staff once, and let him say this verse: “Raise your gates, o Princes, and be raised, o eternal doors, and the King of Glory will enter.”³⁶ The archdeacon and deacon, who are the only ones remaining in the church after all have been expelled, fastened twelve lit candles around its perimeter. Then they respond.³⁷ “Who is this King of Glory?” And the bishop says: “The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord powerful in battle.”³⁸ And withdrawing from the door let him go around this same church with the clergy, sprinkling water³⁹ in the middle, singing this response.⁴⁰

The instructive part of the text, explaining here when the staff is used and that candles need to be lit, is written down in red ink, whereas the sung or spoken parts appear in black ink, thus visually supporting the reading and performance of the ordo. The sound of the crozier was accompanied by the voices of the bishop, archdeacon, and deacon. This ritual of knocking on the door’s lintel and circumventing the church was then repeated once more. Upon the third arrival at the church entrance, the bishop would strike one last time above the lintel.⁴¹ And after another recital from Psalm 23 the doors were finally opened to let the bishop and two or three clerics in.

The pontifical details nothing about the handling of the staff, but in order to avoid damage to its precious ornamental materials, it seems likely that the crozier’s head would not have been used. Crozier tips, on the other hand, were usually made of durable metals. The sound of a crozier’s metal tip against the wooden doors, their metal mounts, or the stone threshold certainly would be audible to the bishop and his entourage. For the bishop, who had the most intimate view of the crozier, the active movement of his staff may have also set the sword of Saint Michael into motion. The figures depicted on the crozier became animated through the movement of the episcopal body.

When the bishop and other clerics entered the church, the rest of the audience remained outside the building, beyond the privileged sight and hearing of the celebrants. After a collective prayer said by the bishop, deacon, and subdeacon, the bishop uses his crozier to draw a cross in ash on the floor, whose diagonals are to be inscribed with the letters of the Latin and Greek alphabets.⁴²

³⁴ See Iogna-Prat, 2006: 265-273. Töbelmann, 2011: 130-131, with reference to the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* (PRG) I, XXXIII 4, 83: “Et cum venerit ad ostium aecclisae, percutiis ter super liminare cum cambuta sua, dicit antiphonam istam: Tollite portas, principes vestras et elevamini, portae aeternales, et introibit rex gloriae”. “liminare” can be translated as threshold and lintel, making it hard to establish exactly which part of the entrance was touched by the staff.

³⁵ López-Mayán, 2014: 341-359.

³⁶ PRG I, XL 14, 131-132.

³⁷ This phrasing is not in PRG I, XL 14, but partly in PRG XL 11, 131; and PRG I, XXXIII 3b, 82.

³⁸ This is partly PRG I, XL 14, 131-132.

³⁹ PRG I, XL 15, 132.

⁴⁰ [fol. 97v] Hoc finito accedens pontifex ad hostium ecclesiae percutiat cum baculo suo super liminare semel et dicat. *Tollite portas, principes vestras et elevamini portae* [fol. 98r] *aeternales, et introibit rex gloriae*. Archidiaconus et diaconus: qui eiectis omnibus solus in ecclesia debet remanere et duodecim cereos per circuitum ecclesiae accensus affigere: deintus respondat. *Quis est iste rex gloriae?* Et pontifex *dominus fortis et potens: dominus potens in praelio*. Et recedens ab hostio circumeat ipsam ecclesiam cum clero aquam aspargendoper medium altius quam prius: cantando hec respondat.

⁴¹ All the responses in cursive are from Psalm 23:7-8.

⁴² The baculo is only mentioned the first time, but “striking of the lintel” the second and third time when the bishop approaches the door suggests that he used his crozier on all three occasions.

⁴³ PRG I, XL 25, 135-136. Also Palazzo, 1999: 345-246.



Fig. 4. Greek and Latin alphabet. Pontifical, early thirteenth century, Toledo, Biblioteca Capitulare, Ms 39-12, fols. 101v-102r. Photo: Biblioteca Capitulare.

Meanwhile, one of the ministers sprinkles the ashes on the floor of the church. Then the bishop begins from the left-hand corner in the east to write the Greek alphabet on the floor with his staff until he reaches the right-hand western corner: in this mode [drawing of Greek alphabet]. He begins again similarly from the right-hand western corner [of the church] to write the Latin alphabet until he reaches the left-hand corner [of the eastern end]: in this mode [drawing of Latin alphabet].⁴³

This text from the Toledo pontifical is accompanied by two rectangular diagrams that represent first the Greek and then the Latin alphabet, both in alternating blue and red letters embellished with elegant penwork [fig. 4]. Each diagram comes after the phrase “hoc modo” (in this mode), which does not refer to the layout of the ash cross (two diagonals), but to the way the letters of each alphabet are written. This writing had a didactic function, as few clerics would have been familiar with Greek. At the same time, Didier Méhu has emphasized that these alphabets (both represented and real) “construct the place where they are inscribed (either the book or the dedicating church building) as a locus from which the cognitive journey will emerge.”⁴⁴

The damaged cover of the Toledo pontifical, the absence of the first quire, and the multiple marginal notes of contemporary and later date, indicate that the book was frequently used. Perhaps

⁴³ [fol. 101r] *Interim unus de ministris aspergat cinerem per pavimentum cum ecclesia. Deinde incipiat pontifex de sinistro angulo ab oriente scribere per pavimentum* [fol. 101v] *cum cambuta sua alphabetum grecum et scribat usque in dextrum angulum occidentum: hoc modo.* [drawing] *Incipiensque similiter iterum de dextro angulo orientali latinum alphabetum usque in sinistrum angulum scribat hoc modo.* [fol. 102r drawing].

⁴⁴ Méhu 2016: 276.



Fig. 5. A bishop and acolyte
 writing the alphabet.
 Missale Senonense ad
 usum Melodunensem, ca.
 1500. Paris, Bibliothèque
 National de France, Ms lat.
 880 (1), fol. 234v. Photo:
 Bibliothèque National de
 France.

also for the dedication of churches, when the bishop and his assistants could seek visual and spiri
 tual guidance when undertaking the laborious task of composing the cross.

While pontificals prescribe the action in terms of the bishop's and his assistants' spatial
 choreography, they reveal nothing about the corporeal experience involved. It must have been a
 physical challenge to use the episcopal crozier as a large writing utensil. We can easily imagine
 that it would involve both arms, putting pressure on shoulders and back. The corporeal nature of
 writing on a stone floor is beautifully demonstrated in a miniature from a late fifteenth-century
 French missal, in which the writing of the alphabet is a collaborative act carried out by acolyte
 and bishop [fig. 5].⁴⁵ The physical element of the dedication is further underscored by the lad-

⁴⁵ Gallart 2013: 85.

der, which was used to mark the cross signs on the wall. And the barrel with a clear substance that perhaps is the anointing water (a mixture of water, salt, ashes, and wine) used for purifying the outside and inside of the building also serves as reminders of bodily action. Yet were the utensils for marking crosses and dispersing water evoked little or no sound, the metal point of the crozier must have made scraping sounds as the letters were written in the ash (which if fresh, would certainly have smelled), perhaps even one that was unpleasant to the ears. So, in all these actions, the crozier as an object in motion conjured the involvement of sight and touch and sound.

Conclusion: the Toledo crozier unmuted

Today, our approach to the stunning crozier at Toledo Cathedral is exclusively a visual one. The gilded and blue serpent who is slain by Michael, whose act is visually supported by expressive lions and contemplative deacons, catches our eyes. Through seeing we try to make sense of the object. Here, detailed analysis of the material and visual features of Toledo's crozier supports its authenticity as a Limoges product that should be included in the *CEM II*.

However, references to croziers in pontificals, their portrayals in manuscripts, and the processing of the Toledo crozier by Archbishop Lorenzana in the eighteenth century are important reminders that pastoral staffs were animated artefacts. Rather than passively viewed, they were actively used on multiple occasions, including processions and church consecrations. This insignia established and re-established the power of its owner through repeated ritual use, a matter of seeing, feeling, and hearing. The senses evoked by the object in the hands of the presiding ecclesiastic figure resonated with his or her right to rule the church and guide its community.

Combined with the ritual uses recorded in pontificals, such as the one at Toledo with its colourful alphabet diagrams, we can better understand the physical and multi-sensorial agency of croziers, situating them as dynamic medieval actors.⁴⁶ For art historians, who are trained to inspect with the eyes, it is important to engage as well with artefacts' haptic, sonic and even olfactory qualities. Such essential aspects are too easily forgotten when objects are observed as static works in museums or as 'mute' representations on parchment.

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⁴⁶ Medieval dedications were not uniformly practised or enforced, so we cannot assume that all croziers would have been used in identical ways. See Birkedal Bruun/Hamilton, 2016: 177-204.

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