



# The lost Missal of Alcuin and the Carolingian sacramentaries of Tours

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*Letters of Alcuin of York attest that he composed a liturgical book he called a 'missal' while he was abbot of St Martin's basilica in Tours. No manuscripts of this missal survive. It has to be recovered from much later sacramentaries copied in Tours, which have been subject to significant subsequent reworking. This article makes a new attempt to draw out the contents of the missal from these later sources, assuming that the later adjustments by others are an equally valid attempt to improve the usability and comprehensiveness of the book as Alcuin's original endeavour. The discovery of fragments of a much earlier sacramentary from Tours in Solothurn Staatsarchiv also makes a significant contribution to the process.*

In the liturgical history of early medieval Europe, two mass books stand as monuments of the Carolingian period, the sacramentary *Hadrianum* and the supplement to that book under the title *Hucusque*.<sup>1</sup> Both of these books were, in the classic historiography of the liturgy, intimately connected to a once dominant understanding of Carolingian liturgical 'reform', which assumed a centralized agenda of standardization and

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<sup>1</sup> C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. W. Storey and N.K. Rasmussen (Washington, DC, 1986), pp. 79–92. In these notes, the designation *Tridentinum* refers to the edition of the sacramentary of Trent: *Monumenta Liturgica Ecclesiae Tridentinae Saeculo XIII Antiquiora*, vol. 2/A *Fontes Liturgici. Libri Sacramentorum*, ed. F. Dell'Oro and H. Rogger (Trent, 1983). The designation *Hadrianum* refers to the edited Gregorian in the first volume of *Le sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, ed. J. Deshusses (Freiburg, 1992). *Engolismensis* refers to the edition of the sacramentary of Angouleme: *Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis*, ed. P. Saint-Roch, CCSL 159C (Turnhout, 1987). *Gellonensis* refers to *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. A. Dumas, CCSL 159 (Turnhout, 1981). In each case, the number following refers to the numbering of the individual liturgical formulae in these editions.

unification of liturgical practice. It was largely understood that Charlemagne requested the book *Hadrianum* from Rome in order to impose uniformity in the practice of mass across his kingdom, and that Benedict of Aniane (c.747–821) added the supplement *Hucusque* to the *Hadrianum* at the request of Louis the Pious, as a means to complete that endeavour.<sup>2</sup> A complication, however, was the existence of a third book, that could be associated with another luminary of the period. Alcuin of York (c.735–804) compiled his own book of masses while he was abbot at the Basilica of St Martin in Tours from 796. This book is known as the ‘Missal of Alcuin’.<sup>3</sup> But it also seems that the missal differed significantly from the sacramentaries that had been presented as the ‘standard’ or ‘authorized’ forms endorsed or imposed by the Carolingians.

The Missal of Alcuin offers a contemporary but different perspective on how to ‘make liturgy better’. It shows that this imperative led to diverse outcomes even in circles closest to the royal family, thus supporting important revisions to the paradigm of Carolingian liturgical ‘reform’ over the past decades.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, the book itself does not survive. But it can be reconstructed, based on clues in Alcuin’s writing, the book list of the monastery of Saint-Riquier, and, most vitally, the sacramentaries that were produced in Tours after Alcuin’s time, where it seems that Alcuin’s achievement was integrated into a long and comprehensive process of liturgical compilation, which was given new impetus by the Viking attacks in the last decades of the ninth century.

### The Missal of Alcuin and the Tours sacramentaries

Alcuin himself refers to ‘nostro . . . missale’ in a letter to the monks of St Vaast.<sup>5</sup> It is clear that what is meant by the term is what we call today a sacramentary, since Alcuin wrote that he was sending the monks a selection of masses composed by him which the missal contained. Importantly, the masses Alcuin referred to here are to be distinguished from the Missal of Alcuin, the book that contained them.<sup>6</sup> These masses composed by Alcuin appear, in various configurations, in a

<sup>2</sup> C. Vogel, ‘La réforme liturgique sous Charlemagne’, in W. Braunfels (ed.), *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, vol. 2: *Das geistige Leiben* (Düsseldorf, 1966), pp. 217–32.

<sup>3</sup> H. Barré and J. Deshusses, ‘A la recherche du Missal d’Alcuin’, *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 82 (1968), pp. 3–44.

<sup>4</sup> R. McKitterick, ‘Unity and Diversity in the Carolingian Church’, in R.N. Swanson (ed.), *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, Studies in Church History 32 (London, 1997), pp. 59–82; Y. Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (877)* (London, 2001); M. Morard, ‘Sacramentum immixtum et uniformization romaine’, *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 46 (2004), pp. 1–30.

<sup>5</sup> Alcuin of York, Epistle 296, *Monachis S. Vedasti Atrebatensibus*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epistolarum* 4, *Epistolae Karolini Aevi* 2 (Berlin, 1895), pp. 454–5, at p. 455.

<sup>6</sup> J. Deshusses, ‘Les messes d’Alcuin’, *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 14 (1972), pp. 7–41.

range of Carolingian sacramentaries, and it seems Alcuin sent out selections of them widely to the communities and individuals to which he felt connected. The largest range of these masses also appear in sacramentaries from Tours itself. The second piece of evidence for the Missal of Alcuin is the 831 book list from the monastery of Saint-Riquier, one of the institutions to which Alcuin was linked by his friendship with its abbot, Angilbert (c.750–814). Among a collection of numerous sacramentaries of different kinds, the book list refers to a ‘Missalis Gregorianus et Gelasianus modernis temporibus ab Albino ordinatus.’<sup>7</sup> The Saint-Riquier book list therefore informs us that the Missal of Alcuin was a hybrid sacramentary that united recognizably diverse liturgical traditions, and it is in the book list distinguished from both the Gregorian Sacramentary, in the form of *Hadrianum*, and the widespread alternative tradition, the Gelasian of the eighth century.<sup>8</sup>

This evidence was marshalled by Jean Deshusses in his articles concerning the Missal of Alcuin and Tours.<sup>9</sup> Deshusses took the vital step of comparing these references with the available sacramentaries from Tours, where it could be assumed that the missal might have been copied and preserved. However, the surviving sacramentaries were only from much later than Alcuin’s time. Deshusses described three surviving books from Tours: in his numbering they are given as Tu<sub>1</sub>, Tu<sub>2</sub> and Tu<sub>3</sub>. The tenth-century Tu<sub>3</sub> is substantially a copy of Tu<sub>1</sub>, and will therefore not be referred to here.<sup>10</sup> Tu<sub>1</sub> and Tu<sub>2</sub> both belong to the final quarter of the ninth century, and to a time of significant disruption in Tours, which suffered under repeated Viking attacks. In their size and scope, as well as in their organization, they differ markedly. The earlier of them, Tu<sub>1</sub>, was identified by Deshusses as the sacramentary of St Martin’s basilica, and refers both to the patron saint and to the community itself.<sup>11</sup> One might favour a dating between 877

<sup>7</sup> Hariulf of Saint-Riquier, *Chronicon Centulense*, ed. F. Lot, vol. 3 (Paris, 1894), p. 93: ‘A Gregorian and Gelasian missal put in order in recent times by Alcuin.’

<sup>8</sup> On the Gelasian of the eighth century: Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 70–8. Representatives include the sacramentary of Gellone, *Liber sacramentorum Gelloniensis*, ed. Dumas, and Angoulême, *Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis*, ed. St-Roch (see n. 1).

<sup>9</sup> J. Deshusses, ‘Les anciens sacramentaires de Tours’, *Revue Bénédictine* 89 (1979), pp. 281–302.

<sup>10</sup> Tu<sub>1</sub> and Tu<sub>3</sub> were rebound together in great disorder between two manuscripts now Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 184 and Paris, BnF, lat. 9430; the reconstruction of Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, pp. 55–8 is to be preferred to L. Delisle, *Mémoire sur d’anciens sacramentaires* (Paris, 1886), pp. 130–40 and V. Leroquais, *Sacramentaires et missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1924), pp. 43ff.

<sup>11</sup> The name of Saint Martin is written in half-uncial in the Canon and the same technique is applied to only his name in the litanies, in which many Tours saints appear. The saint is also named in the votive masses on Paris, BnF, 9430 fol. 77r a MISSA IN HONORE SANCTI MARTINI EPISCOPI, while fol. 104r has a MISSA IN COMMÉMORATIONE BEATI MARTINI. On Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 184 fol.137v is a votive mass PRO SANCTI MARTINI CONGREGATIONE.

and 887, a brief time of stability when the monks of St Martin were resident again in their basilica, between periods of flight.<sup>12</sup>

Deshusses identified the second book, Tu2, today Paris, BnF, NAL 1589, as the sacramentary of the Cathedral of Tours, which was at this time dedicated to St Maurice. This identification is more difficult to substantiate, since the book actually never refers to St Maurice without also mentioning St Martin as well, e.g. the litany prays for the communities of both saints, and, in fact, only St Martin is highlighted here (fol. 110v). A possible explanation is some collaboration between the canons of St Martin and the cathedral, likely to be linked to the refuge of the St Martin community within the city walls from 887 to 918. But the manuscript was certainly soon put to use in the cathedral, and likely remained there once the canons returned to their newly rebuilt basilica.<sup>13</sup> For the purpose of clarity, this article will refer to Tu1 as the Martin Sacramentary and Tu2 as the Maurice Sacramentary.

Partly Deshusses determined on the identification of the Maurice Sacramentary or Tu2 with the cathedral because of how he interpreted the three books and their relation to the Missal of Alcuin, as he reconstructed it. Because these books were so different in form and organization, Deshusses proposed that there were in fact two original sources, both attributed to Alcuin. The first hypothetical source, Alcuin 1, was the basis for the cathedral book, called here the Maurice Sacramentary. This was a rudimentary first attempt. Alcuin would have then made a second, more complete and more organized book, Alcuin 2, the basis for the basilica's own sacramentary, called here the Martin Sacramentary. Once this second crowning achievement was complete, Alcuin 1 was passed off to the cathedral, where it precedes the Maurice Sacramentary as a lost archetype. Alcuin 2 remained at the basilica, and forms the basis of the Martin Sacramentary.

It must be said, however, that there is little internal evidence in the books themselves for this reconstruction, nor does any of the external evidence for the Missal of Alcuin imply such a complicated process. The discovery of fragments in Solothurn Staatsarchiv of a much earlier sacramentary from St Martin's basilica, unknown to Deshusses, gives impetus to the current reassessment. These fragments allow the reconstruction of the Missal of Alcuin rather as a single achievement, underlying, in different ways, both the Martin and Maurice

<sup>12</sup> P. Gasnault, 'Le tombeau de saint Martin et les invasions normandes dans l'histoire et dans la légende', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 144 (1961), pp. 51–66.

<sup>13</sup> On Paris, BnF, NAL 1589, fol. 14v, a mass was added for St Gatiien, first bishop of Tours and subsequent patron of the cathedral. On fols 1v–2r, another hand of the tenth century added an untitled mass concerning invasions, spoliations and murder in the sanctuaries of God, mentioning the patrons 'sanctae tuae genetricis et sancti Mauricii'.



sacramentaries, and providing significant material for each. But they also allow us to identify more clearly the creative achievements of those who came after Alcuin, who adapted the liturgical material from the missal in these two quite distinct ways.

### The Gregorian Sacramentary in the Frankish realms

In traditional methodologies for examining medieval liturgy, the dimension and extent of individual and local creativity, as well as the reasons behind it, tended to fall aside as a secondary matter. Despite his thorough presentation of individual variance as a fact in the transmission of the sacramentary, Deshusses still gave it as a 'law of liturgical evolution' that the normal state of liturgy was the conservative maintenance of tradition, and it was only very particular events of significance that gave rise to the truly noteworthy changes.<sup>14</sup> These truly significant changes were to be linked to the *force majeure* of central power, for example the request of Charlemagne for the *Hadrianum* Sacramentary. It is presented as fact in the influential handbooks of liturgical studies that Charlemagne required this Roman exemplar in order to impose over his realms the standardization or uniformization of the liturgy, a point of view that was endorsed by Deshusses.<sup>15</sup> In this classic narrative of liturgical reform, the *Hadrianum* would have been intended to replace all previous liturgical books as the only authorized version to use in any church it was copied in (reflecting a modern understanding of how liturgy changes). This was a role for which *Hadrianum* was plainly deficient. One might argue instead that copying of the *Hadrianum*, which is by no means widely witnessed, was undertaken by varied bishoprics and monasteries on their own initiative and could in fact have been the expression of broader devotional and intellectual interests.<sup>16</sup> Notably, the copying of the

<sup>14</sup> J. Deshusses, 'Les Sacramentaires: Etat Actuel de la Recherche', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 24 (1982), pp. 19–46, at p. 34: 'C'est en effet une loi de l'évolution liturgique; normalement on conserve ce qu'on a, à moins qu'un événement particulier ne vienne à réclamer un changement.'

<sup>15</sup> Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, pp. 80–92; E. Palazzo, 'La liturgie carolingienne: vieux débats, nouvelles questions, publications récentes', in W. Falkowski and Y. Sasser (eds), *Le monde carolingien: Bilan, Perspectives, champs de recherches, Actes de colloque international de Poitiers, Centre d'Études Supérieures de civilisation médiévale, 18–20 novembre* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 219–41, at p. 235; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 61.

<sup>16</sup> R. Schieffer "Redeamus ad fontem". Rom als Hort authentischer Überlieferung im frühen Mittelalter', in A. Angenendt and R. Schieffer (eds), *Roma — Caput et Fons: Zwei Vorträge über das päpstliche Rom zwischen Altertum und Mittelalter* (Opladen, 1989), pp. 45–70, pp. 68–9 expresses the very interesting possibility that the Gregorian was valued as a 'relic' of its author, and of Rome itself, rather than as a straightforward liturgical exemplar.

*Hadrianum* in any one centre is not, in itself, evidence that the book had replaced all others, or that liturgical practice had been ‘reformed’ or even changed in any way.

When Deshusses organized his monumental edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary based on Carolingian manuscripts, he was primarily concerned to differentiate the authorized version from its later contaminations and accretions.<sup>17</sup> Even though no law that survived imposed either the Gregorian *Hadrianum* or the supplement, Deshusses spoke for this widely shared understanding when, after the completion of the edition, he asserted in an article that such laws simply must have existed.<sup>18</sup> Deshusses had himself first questioned the attribution to Alcuin of the *Hucusque* supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary, then a broadly accepted theory.<sup>19</sup> He identified it instead as the work of Benedict of Aniane. Because of the deficiencies of the Gregorian Sacramentary as it was received from Rome in the form of the *Hadrianum*, this *Hucusque* supplement supplied necessary complements to make the Gregorian usable in Francia. The supplement made use of the alternative sacramentary tradition, the Gelasian, as well as various votive masses from diverse sources. It was distinguished by the preface to the supplementary material, which gives the title *Hucusque*.

The resulting authoritative edition of the supplemented Gregorian by Deshusses based on Carolingian manuscripts presented the *Hucusque* supplement as the work of one mind at one time, for one purpose. The clarity and substance of Deshusses’ scholarship meant this has been broadly accepted even by those who questioned his conclusions.<sup>20</sup> While editions like this have been necessary to impose order upon a very variable manuscript corpus, we are becoming more aware of their limitations.<sup>21</sup> Recent contributions have shown how little the manuscripts reflect a unitary conception of *Hucusque*, but rather show one that is far more gradual, collaborative, and with various provisional stages in evidence, many of which lack the *Hucusque* preface or any

<sup>17</sup> *Le sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, ed. J. Deshusses, 3rd edn, 3 vols (Freiburg, 1992).

<sup>18</sup> Deshusses, ‘Les sacramentaires: Etat actuel de la recherche’, p. 39: ‘Si on n’a pas conservé le texte d’édits royaux imposant dans le royaume carolingien l’usage du sacramentaire romain, on sent que de tels décrets ont dû exister.’

<sup>19</sup> J. Deshusses, ‘Le “Supplément” au sacramentaire grégorien. Alcuin ou Saint Benoît d’Aniane’, *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 9 (1965), pp. 48–71; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 61–70.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. Hen, *Royal Patronage*, pp. 77–80.

<sup>21</sup> H. Parkes, ‘Questioning the Authority of Vogel and Elze’s *Pontifical Romano-Germanique*’, in H. Gittos and S. Hamilton (eds), *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (Ashgate, 2016), pp. 75–102.

knowledge of it.<sup>22</sup> It had always been acknowledged, moreover, that the supplemented Gregorian did not long endure in its original state. It was subject to dislocation, further supplemented, and ever more closely intermingled with the Gelasian (which had never ceased to be copied and employed), creating what scholarship has imperfectly categorized as ‘fused’, then ‘Gelasianized’ Gregorians.<sup>23</sup>

This important fact leads to a consequential conclusion, that the *Hucusque* supplement was only one particularly confident and assertive expression of tendencies broadly visible in the copying of sacramentaries. A compiler did not need the reforming fire of Benedict of Aniane to make use of varied, available traditions to meet his or her purposes. Thus, we should not see the endeavours to improve liturgy in this period as being based on any one single, ‘authoritative’ type of book, but rather as various and varied local initiatives to improve the sacramentary’s usefulness and comprehensiveness. Liturgy did not change by fiat, but rather by gradual collective endeavour, building on what came before, but also by taking advantage of new sources, new materials, and new personal and institutional networks that the Carolingian period opened up. It thus appears that the widely felt impulse to improve liturgy was expressed substantially in local and individualized ways. The liturgy of the Carolingian period could thus still be called a ‘living literature’, in the term used by Paul Bradshaw.<sup>24</sup>

What, then, was the nature of Alcuin’s contribution to this atmosphere, and the contribution of those who worked in Tours after him? The supplement *Hucusque* had previously been attributed to Alcuin and was once identified with the ‘Missal of Alcuin’, but it is evident he had no direct role in it. The supplement *Hucusque* does not contain the particular masses of Alcuin that he sent to the monks of St Vaast, and which were identified specifically as coming from ‘our missal’. In his letter, the masses are precisely listed, and these can be found in a number of manuscripts, but *Hucusque* contains only four and not the full set. Deshusses also identified some festal masses as the work of Alcuin, for, among other times, All Saints’ Day and Martin of Tours, which are also not present in *Hucusque*.

Furthermore, Alcuin seems not to have known or accepted the *Hadrianum* (again a sign of its limited initial impact even in the circles

<sup>22</sup> J. Décréaux, *Le Sacramentaire de Marmoutier (Autun 19 bis) dans l’histoire des sacramentaires carolingiens du IXe siècle*, 2 vols (Rome, 1985); F. Heinzer, ‘Ex authentico libro scriptus: Zur liturgiehistorischen Stellung des Karolingischen Sakramentars Cod. Donaueschingen 191 der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart’, in *Klosterreform und mittelalterliche Buchkultur im deutschen südwestern* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 32–63.

<sup>23</sup> Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 102–5.

<sup>24</sup> P.F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 5–6.

closest to Charlemagne), and the supplement *Hucusque* is always found associated with that type of Gregorian Sacramentary. In his refutation of the Adoptionist theology of Elipandus of Toldeo, Alcuin quoted several orations whose authorship he ascribed to Gregory the Great, including a collect for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. This collect is not found in the *Hadrianum*, but belongs to a pre-Hadrianic version of the Gregorian Sacramentary. (Alcuin then used the same collect in his own votive mass for the Cross).<sup>25</sup> We can today recover the text from the Carolingian manuscript in Trent, Castel del Buon Consiglio, M.N. 1590, evidence of the exact collect Alcuin used, and a vital witness of what the Gregorian in Rome looked like about a century before the *Hadrianum*.<sup>26</sup> The actual Trent manuscript that survives is to be distinguished from a pre-Hadrianic Gregorian Sacramentary that underlies it, the *Tridentinum* (a Roman original that pre-dates the *Hadrianum*, from around 680). Just like the *Hadrianum*, this pre-Hadrianic Gregorian was subject to processing and supplementation in Francia to give us the actual Trent manuscript. This manuscript, of c.825, is associated, perhaps via a source manuscript, with Salzburg, and it contains the special mass Alcuin had written for a patronal saint, in this case adapted for Rupert of Salzburg.<sup>27</sup> It thus seems to represent a copy of a sacramentary from Alcuin's orbit, likely one he shared with Archbishop Arn of Salzburg (c.740–821).<sup>28</sup>

While it has been argued that Alcuin's use of the *Tridentinum* represented an active rejection of the new *Hadrianum*, this relies on the idea that *Hadrianum* was pushed as the definitive version of the Gregorian by Charlemagne, for which there is no evidence.<sup>29</sup> In Alcuin's letter to Eanbald of York (d. 796), he stressed to the archbishop the necessity to impress the authority of the Roman order on his clergy, but at the same time chided Eanbald for apparently requesting a new (Roman?) sacramentary: 'of what use is the new when the old would suffice?'.<sup>30</sup> While the exact meaning of Alcuin and Eanbald's exchange over liturgical books remains unclear, the letter

<sup>25</sup> Alcuin of York, *Adversus Elipandum*, PL 101 (Paris, 1844–64), cols 243–300, at cols 266–7.

<sup>26</sup> J. Deshusses, 'Le sacramentaire grégorien de Trente', *Revue Bénédictine* 78 (1968), pp. 261–82; J. Deshusses, 'Le sacramentaire grégorien pré-hadrianique', *Revue Bénédictine* 80 (1970), pp. 213–37; it was edited in *Monumenta Liturgica Ecclesiae Tridentinae* 2/A, ed. Dell'Oro and H. Rogger (see note 1).

<sup>27</sup> *Tridentinum*, 1300–4.

<sup>28</sup> For their friendship, M. Disenburger and H. Wolfram, 'Arn und Alkuin 790 bis 804: zwei Freunde und ihre Schriften', in M. Niederkorn-Bruck and A. Scharer (eds), *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg* (Vienna and Munich, 2004), pp. 81–106.

<sup>29</sup> Y. Hen, 'When Liturgy gets out of Hand', in E. Screen and C. West (eds), *Writing the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 2018), pp. 203–12, at p. 206.

<sup>30</sup> Alcuin of York, Epistle 226, *Eanbaldum II archiepiscopum Eboracensam*, ed. Dümmler, pp. 369–70, at p. 370: 'Quid opus est nova condere, dum vetera sufficiunt . . . Aliquid voluissem tuam incepisse auctoritatem Romani ordinis in clero tuo.'

certainly shows that Alcuin's idea of liturgical improvement was connected with the employment of a broad base of tradition. (Apparently Eanbald should be able to accomplish his aims with both *libellos sacratariorum* ordered in the Roman fashion, which he had in abundance, and also several *sacramentaria maiora* of the old custom.)

### The ninth-century sacramentaries from Tours

Therefore, the *Hucusque* was not to be identified with Alcuin's missal. But the sacramentaries from Tours present some distinctive peculiarities that line up with its known characteristics, in particular their agreements with a pre-Hadrianic tradition represented by the sacramentary of Trent. We can identify the 'type' of a Gregorian Sacramentary (whether it ultimately goes back to the *Hadrianum* or to one of the earlier Roman forms that pre-date it), by using the *Liber Pontificalis* to track developments in the Roman liturgy, as Carolingian liturgists also did. One of the most important developments was the addition of stational masses to the Thursdays of Lent, undertaken by order of Pope Gregory II (715–31).<sup>31</sup> Thursdays in Lent had previously been non-liturgical. But, with Gregory's intervention, several masses were created in Rome for the Thursdays, drawing on formulae elsewhere, and these were given their own stations at churches in Rome.<sup>32</sup> These particular masses from Gregory's time can be found in the *Hadrianum* and are a particular sign of manuscripts depending upon it, but they are not in the Trent manuscript. The archetype of this latter, the *Tridentinum*, therefore left Rome before the updates of Gregory II could be applied. But the Carolingian manuscript of the *Tridentinum* in Trent does still have Thursday masses, but just not those given by the *Hadrianum* (the ones invented in Rome). Instead, Frankish copyists had apparently supplied alternative Thursday masses once the pre-Hadrianic Gregorian had come into Francia, using other formulae (generally from the alternative sacramentary tradition, the Gelasian).<sup>33</sup>

Other significant interventions for the history of the Gregorian include the Marian feasts added by Pope Sergius (687–701),

<sup>31</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, vol. 1 (Paris, 1886), p. 402; M. Andrieu, 'Les messes des jeudis de Carême et les anciens sacramentaires', *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 9 (1929), pp. 343–75, 451–5.

<sup>32</sup> *Hadrianum* 184–7 (Ad Sanctum Laurentium in formosum); 217–20 (Ad Sanctam Mariam trans Tiberim); 244–7 (Ad Sanctos Cosmam et Damianum); 273–6 (Ad Sanctum Silvestrum); 300–3 (Ad Sanctum Apollonarem). On the Roman stations: J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome, 1987).

<sup>33</sup> *Tridentinum* 214–17; 240–3; 273–6; 300–3; 329–32; 356–9.

distinguished by a collect in one church and a station in another.<sup>34</sup> Again these are found in the *Hadrianum* and manuscripts descending from it. In the Trent manuscript, we have masses for these days, but again those were added by Franks from the Gelasian.<sup>35</sup> The Franks therefore checked the sacramentary against what they could know of Roman history and supplied new masses for the gaps they found, revealing their active and creative engagement with Roman liturgical sources. Nowhere mentioned in *Liber Pontificalis* is the creation of masses for Gregory the Great (12/03) and Leo the Great (28/06) but the Trent manuscript also lacks both of these feasts.<sup>36</sup> They too must have been added to the Roman calendar sometime between the *Tridentinum* and the *Hadrianum*.

In general, the first Tours book, the Maurice Sacramentary, can be said to follow the *Hadrianum* in most of these distinguishing features, showing that a *Hadrianum* was used in its creation. The Annunciation, Assumption and Nativity of Mary are masses from the *Hadrianum*.<sup>37</sup> For the third, fourth, and fifth Thursday in Lent, as well as the Saturday before Palm Sunday (another mass which is added late in the Gregorian tradition), the Maurice Sacramentary gives us the *Hadrianum* masses.<sup>38</sup> But there are signs of a more complex relationship to the tradition. In at least three important cases, the Maurice Sacramentary has the Gelasian mass, not the Gregorian. These are the first and second Thursday in Lent, and the feast day of St Gregory.<sup>39</sup> What we seem to have here are marks of an older pre-Hadrianic tradition, in which the gaps were filled from the Gelasian initially, but later almost entirely brought into line with the *Hadrianum*. In none of these three cases was the solution identical to that applied in the Trent manuscript, which lacked Gregory entirely, and had somewhat different solutions for the Thursdays in Lent (Deshusses uncharacteristically erred when he claimed the manuscripts were identical).<sup>40</sup> In Trent, the formulae that differ (*Super Oblata*, *Ad Complendum* and *Super Populum* of the first Thursday and the *Super*

<sup>34</sup> *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, p. 376; *Hadrianum* 140–3 (Annunciation); 661–4 (Assumption); 680–863 (Nativity).

<sup>35</sup> *Tridentinum* 196–9 (Annunciation); 701–3 (Assumption); 719–21 (Nativity).

<sup>36</sup> *Hadrianum* 137–9 (Gregory); 586–8 (Leo).

<sup>37</sup> Paris, BnF, NAL 1589, fols 24v (Annunciation), 63v (Assumption), 66r (Nativity).

<sup>38</sup> Paris, BnF, NAL 1589, fols 31r, 32v, 33v–34r, 34r–v.

<sup>39</sup> Paris, BnF, NAL 1589, fols 26v–27r (Gregory), 28r, 29v.

<sup>40</sup> Deshusses, 'Les anciens sacramentaires de Tours', p. 301: 'Les messes de jeudis de la première et de la seconde semaine de Carême sont identiques à celles du sacramentaire grégorien de Trente.' But in fact compare Paris, BnF, NAL 1589, fols 28r, 29v and *Tridentinum* 240–3, 273–6. The *Super Oblata* and *Ad Complendum* prayers for the first Thursday differ (in the Maurice Sacramentary: '*Super Oblata*. Suscipe creator omnipotens deus qui ieiunantes de tuae magnificentiae . . .' and '*Ad complendum*. Percipientes domine gloriosa misteria referimus gratias . . .'; in Trent: '*Super Oblata*. Concede, quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut huius



*Populum* of the second Thursday) were supplied from the miscellaneous masses *in cotidianis diebus*. The Maurice Sacramentary simply replicates the masses from the Gelasian of the eighth century.<sup>41</sup> This suggests two different minds independently undertaking the same task to fill in these Thursdays (thus, an original pre-Hadrianic sacramentary without any masses for these Thursdays was a source separately for Tours and for Salzburg/Trent). The Maurice Sacramentary also made use of the more ample Gelasian to enrich its Sanctoral, interventions not seen in the sacramentary of Trent. The additions reflect Frankish devotional tastes, including masses of the Apostles, Gallic saints and native feasts (Passion of John the Baptist (29/08), *Cathedra* of Peter (22/02), and the cathedral's own patron, St Maurice and companions (22/09)).

And what of the sacramentary produced for Alcuin's own abbey of St Martin? There are clear signs of its relation to the Maurice Sacramentary but a huge amount of additional material has been added, and the formatting and presentation of the masses are different.<sup>42</sup> The Martin Sacramentary is almost 300 folios to the 122 of the Maurice Sacramentary. This fearsome work of compilation contains almost all of the mass sets attested in extant manuscripts of both Gregorian and Gelasian traditions and an order of magnitude more than the Maurice Sacramentary. The Sanctoral and Temporal are here divided into their own particular sections, including the title on Paris, BnF, lat.9430, fol. 181v: *INCIPIUNT SOLLEMNITATES SANCTORUM MARTYRUM CONFESSORUM ATQUE UIRGINUM A PASCHA USQUE A NATALE DOMINI*, opening a section including these feasts. An almost unique phenomenon of its compilation is that where there were two or more known alternative masses (e.g. for St Benedict and St Martin and the octave of Christmas) the two masses are given side by side, with double the texts. Thus, a strong desire to preserve even the contrasting, or competing, sacramentary traditions is manifest.

An important distinguishing feature of the Martin Sacramentary is the Sunday masses of the Temporal (Sundays after Epiphany, after Pentecost, in Advent etc.). For the Franks, the lack of these Sunday masses was one of the critical deficiencies of the papal Gregorian, and had to be immediately added to it, usually using the alternatives taken from the Gelasian. The Gelasian Sunday masses are one critical

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sacrificii . . .' and *Ad complendum*. *Suscipientes, domine, sacra mysteria suppliciter deprecamur . . .*). Trent also supplies a prayer *Super Populum* lacking in the Maurice Sacramentary (*Averte, quaesumus, domine iram . . .*). For the second Thursday, the *Super Populum* prayer differs (in Maurice Sacramentary: *'Adesto domine famulis tuis . . .*'; in Trent: *'Respice, domine quaesumus . . .*).

<sup>41</sup> Compare e.g. *Engolismensis*, 330, 332, 334 and 389, 391, 392.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. we can still see the same Gelasian masses for Maurice and companions (Paris, BnF, 9430, fols 200v–201r), Amand (fols 205r–v) and Hilary (fols 209r–v).

component of the *Hucusque* supplement, in which their Latin has been consistently corrected. But even in several Gregorian sacramentaries earlier than, and independent from, *Hucusque*, Gelasian Sunday masses were added to the end of the Gregorian Sacramentary. This is the case in the pre-Hadrianic sacramentary of Trent and some early manuscripts like Modena, Biblioteca Capitolare, O II 7.<sup>43</sup> Both the Tours manuscripts have the Sunday masses from the *Hucusque*, but Deshusses noticed that the texts occasionally depart from the corrected form we can see in *Hucusque* and agree with Sunday masses in the original, earlier manuscripts, revealing thereby a Gelasian underlayer.<sup>44</sup> Thus, though the texts have been largely corrected with the help of *Hucusque*, they were not originally copied from that text, but from an earlier collection of Sunday masses found also in Trent and Modena manuscripts, which itself was a source for *Hucusque*. In the Maurice Sacramentary, the Sundays are laced through the calendar, appearing among the saints' feasts in an order that might apply in a theoretical year.

However, in the Martin Sacramentary the masses appear in distinct blocks entirely distinct from the Sanctoral, respectively giving the Sundays after Epiphany, the Sundays after Easter, and, in one extensive sequence that comes after the end of the rest of the calendar, all the Sundays between Pentecost and Christmas. This section thus offers material originating both in the supplement and in the original Gregorian and shows organization by theme, rather than by the origin of the texts (Paris, BnF, lat. 9430, fols 225r–232v then Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 184, fols 111r–122v). The latter block has still the form and position of a 'supplement' to the Gregorian, with its own title *INCIPIUNT DOMINICA A PENTECOSTEN USQUE NATIUITATE DOMINI* (Paris, BnF, lat. 9430, fol. 225r). But the Martin Sacramentary also offers an even more singular feature, whereby almost all of the Sunday masses have

<sup>43</sup> Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, pp. 26–7; Modena, Biblioteca Capitolare, O II 7 is another early sacramentary with some pre-Hadrianic features and a supplement of its own design, including Sunday masses and a collection of votive masses in which masses of Alcuin play a preponderant role; Deshusses, 'Le sacramentaire grégorien pré-hadriannique', p. 223 indicated the sacramentary had 'points de contacts évidents avec celui de Tours'. It may therefore be of interest that B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 2004), p. 192 suggested a French scribe: 'wohl mittleres Frankreich, IX. Jh., ca.1/2 Viertel'. If so, it was nevertheless written for a church in Reggio-Emilia, whose saint, Prosper, appears in the canon.

<sup>44</sup> The most obvious sign is in the Maurice Sacramentary, where individual mass prayers very often still have titles from the Gelasian, *SECRETATA* and *POST COMMUNIONEM*, as all the Sundays do in the Trent or in Modena manuscripts. In *Hucusque*, these had been edited to the Gregorian prayer titles *SUPER OBLATA* and *AD COMPLENDUM*. The compiler of the Maurice Sacramentary has sometimes changed the prayer titles, but in other cases neglected to change one or both (Paris, BnF, NAL 1589 fol. 48v, 50v, 57r, 61r, 62v etc.).

a second mass as an alternative, something unknown in other sacramentaries. The second, alternative Sunday masses are also unique to this manuscript. They differ entirely in their content and conception from the *Hucusque* texts. Rather than being taken from the Gelasian, these masses were independently created by taking formulae systematically out of certain places in the Gregorian and combining them in a methodical way, as is shown by Deshusses.<sup>45</sup> For example, the compiler has taken two prayers (SUPER OBLATA and AD COMPLENDUM) from each of the days of Lent in their order, except that the compiler only misses the Thursdays of Lent, a key absence in the pre-Hadrianic Gregorian. Once again, this points to a clearly pre-Hadrianic source for the sacramentary, one in which the Thursdays of Lent were absent. In other cases, the distinguishing peculiarities of the Maurice Sacramentary have been here replaced by the updated forms from the *Hadrianum*: this is the case for the first and second Thursday of Lent, and the feast day of St Gregory.<sup>46</sup>

Finally, an extraordinary feature of the Martin Sacramentary is the copying of the appropriate antiphons within the body of many of the masses, alongside and in continuity with the mass prayers. As Susan Rankin has identified, the appearance of this format in the Martin Sacramentary, and in a number of other Carolingian sacramentaires and fragments, questions traditional understandings of the evolution of the mass book.<sup>47</sup> Antiphons within the individual masses are one important signal for the next stage of this evolution, the so-called plenary missal, which was often said to only appear in the tenth century. The inclusion of the antiphons here indicates that Carolingian compilers were capable of advancing beyond the constraints of genres, as these were defined in modern liturgical studies.<sup>48</sup> It is possible they did so in reaction to historical circumstance, as will be discussed in the conclusion.

### The Solothurn fragments

As more fragments of liturgical books come to light, they clarify our picture of the varied choices these compilers were able to make. One

<sup>45</sup> Deshusses, 'Les anciens sacramentaires de Tours', p. 298; Deshusses, 'Le sacramentaire grégorien pré-hadrianique', p. 221.

<sup>46</sup> Tours, BM, 184, fols 32v–33r, 49r–v; Paris, BnF, lat. 9430, fols 235r–v.

<sup>47</sup> Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 105–6; S. Rankin, 'Carolingian Liturgical Books: Problems of Categorization', *Gazette du Livre Médiéval* 62 (2016), pp. 21–33.

<sup>48</sup> When the Martin Sacramentary was itself re-copied for the Cathedral of St Maurice in the early tenth century, to make the second manuscript today bound up in disorder with it (Deshusses' Tu3), the copyists returned the antiphons to marginal incipits. The 'progress' from sacramentary to missal was neither therefore one way, nor inevitable.

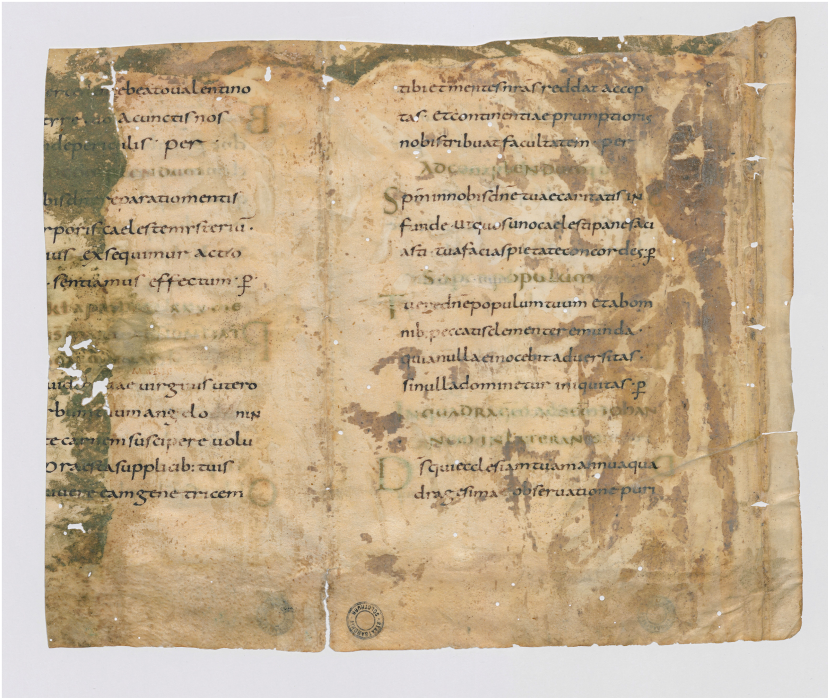


Fig. 1 Bifolium of a fragmentary sacramentary created in Tours in the second quarter of the ninth century. Solothurn, Staatsarchiv, R1.3.200 (verso) [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]

set in particular pertains to the Tours sacramentaries, today in Solothurn Staatsarchiv, with the shelfmarks R1.3.198, R1.3.199 and R1.3.200. They together comprise four folios from the same quire, a quaternion. Two folios (numbers 2 and 7 of the original) survive bound together as R1.3.200 (see Fig. 1), and two each also survive as single sheets (numbers 3 and 6). The outermost and innermost folios are lost. The fragments were trimmed, but have lost only a few letters per line or one line from the top. It was hazarded by cataloguer Ambros Kocher that the fragments had come to Solothurn from the Abbey of St Leodegar in Schönenwerd, where they might have been used as covers for sets of bills.<sup>49</sup> Damage only to the outer folios would support this, while the inner folios are in better condition. Kocher was not current with developments in liturgical studies since the publication in *Patrologia Latina* of Ménard's 1642 edition of Gregory

<sup>49</sup> A. Kocher, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften aus Solothurn Staatsarchiv* (Solothurn, 1974), pp. 18–19.

the Great's sacramentary, actually a particularly idiosyncratic Frankish 'Gelasianized' Gregorian. References for the content in his catalogue are to the *Patrologia*, and not to any of the more updated editions. The fragments were then briefly mentioned in Klaus Gamber's liturgical and Bernhard Bischoff's palaeographical catalogues.<sup>50</sup> The palaeographer confidently ascribed the fragments to Tours, but no date was supplied in the printed catalogue. Edward Kennard Rand's study of Tours manuscripts offers, however, many valuable points of comparison.<sup>51</sup>

Where they are complete, the dimension of the fragments is 24.5 x 18.5cm, with a written area of 17 x 11 cm (smaller than the other two Tours sacramentaries). It is immediately clear our fragment would fall within the period after Alcuin that Rand characterized as the Regular Style under the abbots succeeding Alcuin: Fridugisus (807–34), Adalard (834–44) and Vivian (844–51).<sup>52</sup> Characteristic of Tours is the half uncial, in the Regular form, written in gold for the titles of each feast and for the titles of the individual prayers for each feast. The first letter of each prayer is also a gold capital, the rest written in minuscule. This ample use of gold reveals a sacramentary finer than either our Martin or Maurice sacramentaries. In the minuscule, abbreviations and ligatures are few. The scribe uses the 'new method' of punctuation that came in with Fridugisus.<sup>53</sup> However, even within these few pages, he displays quirks that suggest a dating before the 'perfection' of the minuscule in the mid-century. Commonly using an uncial 'N' alongside a minuscule one, he also displays an uncial 'T' at the end of the word *respiret*, and even more noteworthy is his deployment of cursive features, cursive 's' at the end of lines four times on *cordes*, *nobis*, *prumptioris* and *precibus* and a cursive 'i' going well below the line, e.g. *colimus*.<sup>54</sup> In these traits, our manuscripts could be compared with products of the Tours scriptorium in the last years of Fridugisus or early in the period under Adalardus (830s).

In the range and number of cursive and uncial traits, one might place them between a manuscript of Jerome and Augustine by the scribe Adalbaldu (divided between Paris and Tours), where these traits abound, and the Rorigo Bible (Paris, BnF, lat. 3), with a *terminus ante quem* of 841, which is more disciplined and employs these features only

<sup>50</sup> K. Gamber, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*, 2nd edn, vol. 2 (Freiburg, 1968), p. 335: 'elegante Schrift . . . noch nicht näher bestimmt'; B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, vol. 3 (Wiesbaden, 2014), p. 349.

<sup>51</sup> E.K. Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA, 1929).

<sup>52</sup> Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, vol. 1, pp. 49–59.

<sup>53</sup> Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, vol. 1, p. 30.

<sup>54</sup> Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, vol. 1, pp. 56–8.



occasionally at the end of lines.<sup>55</sup> With these, our sacramentary shares other diagnostic letters (the *quod* abbreviation is also used by Adalbaldus, ‘nt’ ligature, the minuscule ‘s’ whose headstroke extends strongly over the following letter, ‘g’). I verified these conclusions by consulting the *Nachlass* of Bernhard Bischoff in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. In his notes, he supplied a date to the fragments exactly in line with the comparisons I have made: ‘Prototyp Turon. Schrift, IX 2/4’.<sup>56</sup>

The folios in Solothurn cover masses from the end of the feast of St Agatha (05/02) over the beginning of Lent to end most of the way through Quadragesima Sunday. Table 1 provides a summary, but most can simply be read from Deshusses’ edition *Le sacramentaire grégorien*. The two missing innermost folios would have covered most of Septuagesima Sunday, Sexagesima Sunday and most of Ash Wednesday. We see the limited Gregorian Sanctoral, with only St Valentine (14/03) and the Annunciation of Mary (25/03). One important feast is missing: that of St Gregory. In *Hadrianum*, this feast follows St Valentine.<sup>57</sup> Gregory’s presence distinguished *Hadrianum* from pre-Hadrianic Gregorians like *Tridentinum*.

In Table 2, this content is compared with the main representatives of the Gregorian, and the two Tours sacramentaries. As can be seen, the Maurice Sacramentary also did not present its own mass of Gregory after Valentine. However, this sacramentary had the Gelasian mass of St Gregory a few folios later, between the Friday after Ash Wednesday (*ad sanctos Iohannem et Paulum*) and Quadragesima Sunday. In the Maurice Sacramentary, Gregory is found at the end of a group of Gelasian masses: the Saturday before Quadragesima (incorrectly given a station at the Lateran since the feast was not celebrated in Rome as a station and is not present in the original, Gregorian Sacramentary) and four Sanctoral masses (Sts Mary, Martha, Audifax and Abacuc (19/01); Zoticus, Hyacinth and Ireneus (10/02); the *Cathedra* of St Peter (22/02); and Gregory (12/03)).<sup>58</sup> This is obviously a wholesale, and rather clumsy, insertion of masses into the body of the sacramentary, since it disrupts the timing of the Sanctoral by going back to January, after we had already crossed into March for the Annunciation. None of

<sup>55</sup> The Adalbaldus manuscript is now Tours, BM, 281 (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100327987/f1>) and Paris, BnF, NAL 445 (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10024568m/f2>); Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, vol. 1, pp. 144–5. For the Rorigo Bible (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8426789n>), *ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>56</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ana 553 A.I. Solothurn: ‘An archetype of the Tours script from the second quarter of the ninth century’.

<sup>57</sup> *Hadrianum* 137–9.

<sup>58</sup> Saturday: *Engolismensis* 292–6; Sts Mary *et al.*: *Engolismensis* 147–50; Sts Zoticus *et al.*: *Engolismensis*, 222–4; *Cathedra Engolismensis*: 238–42; Gregory *Engolismensis*: 246–9.



Table 1 Contents of the Solothurn fragments with numberings from Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1

R1.3.200r (half page)	<p><i>(Saint Agatha)</i>  <b>132</b> ‘. . . exemplo. per.’  <b>133</b> ‘ALIA. Beatae agathae marytris . . .’  XVI KALENDAS MARTIAS ID EST (XIII) DIE MENSIS  FEBRUARII NATA (LE SANCTI) UALENTINI.  <b>134</b> ‘Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus . . .’  <b>135</b> ‘Oblatis quaesumus domine placare mu (neribus) . . .’</p>
R1.3.200v (half page)	<p>‘. . . (inter)cedente beato ualentino . . .’  <b>136</b> ‘. . . (no)bis domine reperatio mentis . . .’  (VII) KALENDAS APRILES. (ID EST) XXV DIE (MEN)SIS  MARTII ADNUNTIATIO (SANC)TAE MARIAE  <b>140</b> ‘(Deus qui de) beatae uirginis utero . . .’</p>
R1.3.198r	<p>‘. . . (inter)cessionibus adiuuemur. per.’  <b>141</b> ‘AD MISSAS. Deus qui hodierna die uerbum . . .’  <b>142</b> ‘SUPER OBLATA. In mentibus nostris domine uerae . . .’  <b>143</b> ‘AD COMPLENDUM.’</p>
R1.3.198v	<p>‘(Gratiam tuam dom)ine mentibus nostris (infu)nde. ut qui  angelo nuntian (te) . . .’ (ORA)TIONES IN SEPTUAGESIMA  (AD) SANCTUM LAURENTIUM (F)ORIS MURUM  <b>144</b> ‘(Praeces) populi tui quaesumus domine clemen (ter) . . .’  <b>145</b> ‘(Mune)ribus nostros quaesumus domine precibus . . .’</p>
{Gap of two folios}	
R1.3.199v	<p><i>(Ash Wednesday)</i>  <b>157</b> ‘. . . (diu)no munere sunt relecti. Caelestibus . . .’  FERIA V AD SANCTUM GEORGIUM  <b>158</b> ‘Deus qui culpa offenderis paenitentia placaris . . .’  <b>159</b> ‘SUPER OBLATA. Sacrificiis praesentibus domine  quaesumus intende . . .’  <b>160</b> ‘AD COMPLENDUM. Caelestis doni benedictione . . .’</p>
R1.3.199r	<p>‘. . . percepta supplices te deus omnipotens . . .’  <b>161</b> ‘SUPER POPULUM. Parce domine parce populo tuo, ut . . .’  FERIA VI AD SANCTOS IOHANNEM ET PAULUM.  <b>162</b> ‘Inchoata ieiunia quaesumus deus benigno . . .’  <b>163</b> ‘SUPER OBLATA. Sacrificium domine obseruantiae  paschalis . . .’  ‘. . . tibi et mentes nostras reddat acceptas . . .’</p>

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R1.3.200v (full page)	<p><b>164</b> 'AD COMPLENDUM. Spiritum in nobis domine tuae . . .'  <b>165</b> 'SUPER POPULUM. Tuere domine populum tuum . . .'          QUADRAGESIMA AD SANCTUM IOHANNEM IN          LATERANIS  <b>166</b> 'Deus qui ecclesiam tuam annua quadragesima . . .'</p>
R1.3.200r (full page)	<p>' . . . ficas praesta familiae tuae ut quod . . .'  <b>167</b> 'SUPER OBLATAM. Sacrificium domine quadragesimalis          initii . . .'  <b>168</b> 'AD COMPLENDUM. Tui nos domine sacramenti libatio          sancta . . .'  <b>169</b> 'AD UESPERAS. Da nobis quaesumus omnipotens deus          aeternae . . .'</p>

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these feasts is found in the Solothurn fragments, which cross smoothly from the Friday to Quadragesima Sunday without interruption, as the *Hadrianum* and *Tridentinum* both do. The Solothurn fragments therefore have no mass of Gregory at all, just like the *Tridentinum*. However, Solothurn does not follow the *Tridentinum* in the other distinguishing feature of that sacramentary. Its mass for the Annunciation of Mary is the *Hadrianum* mass (the one composed in Rome when Sergius enhanced the feast), exactly as the Maurice Sacramentary has, not the Gelasian mass that Trent uses to fill the gap in the pre-Hadrianic Roman sacramentary.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, the Trent manuscript has another peculiarity in the Thursday after Ash Wednesday, *ad Sanctum Giorgium*. The first prayer of this mass here is the prayer 'Da quaesumus domine fidelibus tuis ieiuniis paschalibus' (from Gelasian tradition).<sup>60</sup> In *Hadrianum*, this prayer is: 'Deus qui culpa offenderis'.<sup>61</sup> Both Solothurn fragments and the Maurice Sacramentary have the *Hadrianum* form.

The Maurice Sacramentary is based on a sacramentary comparable to, or descended from, the original book that gave us the Solothurn fragments, with some interventions applied in the intervening years. This original sacramentary, like the *Tridentinum*, had no mass for St Gregory at all. In a later intervention that gives us the Maurice Sacramentary, that mass was inserted (in the Gelasian form) in a block with several other Gelasian masses. The extraordinary absence of Gregory is a sign of a pre-Hadrianic origin for our fragments, despite

<sup>59</sup> *Hadrianum* 140–3; *Tridentinum* 196–9.

<sup>60</sup> In *Gellonensis* 280, *Engolismensis* 282; otherwise *Tridentinum* and *Hadrianum* agree here.

<sup>61</sup> *Hadrianum* 158.

Table 2. The Tours sacramentaries and the Gregorian

Solothurn fragments	<b>Maurice</b> (Paris, BnF, NAL 1589 fols 241r–271r)	<b>Martin</b> (Tours, BM, 184 fols 291r–411r)	<i>Hadrianum</i> . Deshusses, <i>Le sacramentaire grégorien</i> vol. 1, pp. 125–35	<i>Tridentinum</i> (Trent, Castel del Buon Consiglio, M.N. 1589, fols 34v–38r)
Agatha (last two prayers)	Agatha (05/02)	Agatha (05/02)	Agatha (05/02)	Agatha (05/02) (minus last prayer)
		Scholastica (10/02) Sts Zoticus, Hyacinth and Ireneus (11/02) Sotera (11/02)		
Valentine (14/02)	Valentine (14/02)	Valentine (14/02)	Valentine (14/02)	Valentine (14/02)
		Sts Valentinus, Vitalis, Felicula and Zeno (14/02) Juliana (16/02) Cathedra Sancti Petri (22/02) Sts Perpetua and Felicitas (07/03) Gregory (12/03) Vigil of Benedict (20/03) Benedict. 2 masses (21/03)		
			Gregory (12/03)	



Table 2. (Continued)

Solothurn fragments	<b>Maurice</b> (Paris, BnF, NAL 1589 fols 24r–27r)	<b>Martin</b> (Tours, BM, 184 fols 29r–41r)	<i>Hadrianum</i> . Deshusses, <i>Le sacramentaire grégorien</i> vol. 1, pp. 125–35	<i>Tridentinum</i> (Trent, Castel del Buon Consiglio, M.N. 1589, fols 34v–38r)
<i>Ash Wednesday</i> . Last prayer	Ash Wednesday (Santa Sabina)	Ash Wednesday (Santa Sabina)	Ash Wednesday (Santa Anastasia-Santa Sabina)	Ash Wednesday (Santa Anastasia-Santa Sabina)
Thursday (San Giorgio in Velabro) <b>I. Deus qui culpa</b> culpa offenderis . . .	Thursday (San Giorgio in Velabro) <b>I. Deus qui culpa</b> offenderis . . .	Thursday (San Giorgio in Velabro) <b>I. Deus qui culpa</b> offenderis . . .	Thursday (San Giorgio in Velabro) <b>I. Deus qui culpa</b> offenderis . . .	Thursday (San Giorgio in Velabro) <b>I. Da quaesumus</b> domine fidelibus tuis icituniis . . .
Friday (SS Giovanni e Paolo)	Friday (SS Giovanni e Paolo)	Friday (SS Giovanni e Paolo)	Friday (SS Giovanni e Paolo)	Friday (SS Giovanni e Paolo)
Saturday before Quadragesima (San Giovanni Laterano) Sts Mary, Martha, Audifax and Abacuc (19/01)	Saturday before Quadragesima (San Giovanni Laterano) Sts Mary, Martha, Audifax and Abacuc (19/01)	Saturday before Quadragesima		

Table 2. (Continued)

Solothurn fragments	<b>Maurice</b> (Paris, BnF, NAL 1589 fols 24r–27t)	<b>Martin</b> (Tours, BM, 184 fols 29r–41r)	<i>Hadrianum</i> . Deshusses, <i>Le sacramentaire grégorien</i> vol. 1, pp. 125–35	<i>Tridentinum</i> (Trent, Castel del Buon Consiglio, M.N. 1589, fols 34v–38r)
	Sts Zoticus, Hyacinth and Ireneus (10/02)	Cathedra Sancti Petri (22/02)	Gregory (12/03)	
Quadragesima Sunday (San Giovanni Laterano)	Quadragesima Sunday (San Giovanni Laterano)	Quadragesima Sunday (San Giovanni Laterano)	Quadragesima Sunday (San Giovanni Laterano)	Quadragesima Sunday (San Giovanni Laterano)
First four prayers				



the influence of the *Hadrianum* elsewhere.<sup>62</sup> This pre-Hadrianic sacramentary has been brought into line with the *Hadrianum* in most respects. However, the Maurice Sacramentary maintains clear survivals of this original tradition, most notably the two Thursday masses where it offers the Gelasian form and not the Gregorian one. We can surmise that the complete Solothurn sacramentary probably had the same peculiarities.

What is more, the Solothurn fragments have very little to do with the second Tours sacramentary, the one from St Martin's basilica. In the Martin Sacramentary, this same period of the year is supplied with even more Gelasian masses, which follow the proper sequence of the temporal (Sts Zoticus, Hyacinth and Ireneus, Sotera; Sts Valentinus, Vitalis, Felicula and Zeno, Juliana; *Cathedra* of Peter; Sts Perpetua and Felicitas).<sup>63</sup> Instead of the Gelasian mass of St Gregory, however, the Martin Sacramentary provides the *Hadrianum* one in its proper place immediately before the Annunciation.<sup>64</sup> The Gelasian masses of Leo (11/04) and Eufemia (13/04) then follow the Annunciation – in the Maurice Sacramentary these are all the way after Easter. In addition, the masses identified by Deshusses as the work of Alcuin for St Scholastica (10/02) and the Vigil and mass of St Benedict (20–21/03) are found in this section in the Martin Sacramentary, but they are not in the Maurice Sacramentary or the Solothurn fragments.

### Recovering Alcuin's missal

The Solothurn fragments reveal to us the existence of one earlier sacramentary of Tours, which resembled the Maurice Sacramentary but without the insertion of five Gelasian masses mentioned above. This insertion is thus confirmed to have occurred at a late stage. While, according to Deshusses, Alcuin would have created Alcuin 2 for St Martin's basilica some decades earlier, the Solothurn fragments show no knowledge of a book like that would have been. From palaeography, our fragments clearly came from within St Martin's scriptorium, probably from the early 830s. It is impossible to reconcile these two facts with the narrative that Deshusses built. On the basis of the Solothurn fragments we must discard his idea that Alcuin created two versions of his missal, with the second one as that for St Martin's basilica. Instead, the Martin Sacramentary must be a later creation, a

<sup>62</sup> It is of no small interest that this is also true of a number of sacramentaries produced in the second half of the ninth century around Reichenau (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Donaueschingen 191 and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. lat.1815), for which see Heinzer, 'Ex authentico libro scriptus'. Clearly the complete *Hadrianum* tradition, as edited by Deshusses, was not as universally influential as supposed.

<sup>63</sup> This is the exact sequence we see in *Gellonensis*, 212–246.

<sup>64</sup> *Hadrianum*, 137–9.

complete reworking of the Solothurn original into something new, independent of the Maurice Sacramentary. It belongs with the ‘Gelasianized’ Gregorians of the later ninth century, and a sacramentary of such extent would be quite incredible in the early ninth century. Responsibility for it lies with later monks of the Basilica of St Martin, during a time of significant disruption. Nevertheless, the Martin Sacramentary still preserves features of Alcuin’s missal that the Maurice Sacramentary does not, since the latter has also been reworked independently by other anonymous scribes, to adapt it for Tours Cathedral.

To reiterate, three facts are known about Alcuin’s missal. First, it can be assumed it was based on a pre-Hadrianic Gregorian. Alcuin quoted a collect for the Exaltation of the Cross (14/09) present in the pre-Hadrianic sacramentary of Trent but not in *Hadrianum*: ‘Deus qui unigeniti filii tui pretioso sanguine vivifice crucis’.<sup>65</sup> Yet in the Maurice Sacramentary, that identifying text had already been replaced by the *Hadrianum*’s collect: ‘Deus qui unigeniti tui domini nostri iesu christi pretioso sanguine humanum genus’.<sup>66</sup> In most other cases, the Maurice Sacramentary presents an almost total realignment with the *Hadrianum*. The Solothurn fragments show us, further, that surrender to the *Hadrianum* had already happened in the period of the abbots following Alcuin, by the 830s, and it had happened at St Martin’s. The possibility that Solothurn and the Maurice Sacramentary point us to vestigial components of Alcuin’s missal is surely significant, but it is equally true that the absorption of the *Hadrianum* is another significant intervention. Alcuin’s work was thereby updated. It means we stand at a distance from Alcuin’s missal, but not an entirely unbridgeable one. Since the Maurice Sacramentary has the Gelasian masses for two Thursdays in Lent, we can assume Alcuin had originally worked the same way for all of the Thursdays, providing Gelasian masses for these gaps in the pre-Hadrianic sacramentary.

A second characteristic of Alcuin’s missal is that it contained the masses written by Alcuin. Alcuin sent the monks of Fulda and St Vaast booklets with a selection of his masses, extracted, he said, ‘from our missal’. Alcuin must have sent these more widely, including to Arn of Salzburg as well.<sup>67</sup> In Deshusses’ first article, he identified as the work

<sup>65</sup> *Tridentinum* 728.

<sup>66</sup> Paris, BnF, NAL 1589, fol. 67r; *Hadrianum* 690.

<sup>67</sup> Eighteen of Alcuin’s masses are found among other votive masses in the supplement added by the Frankish copyists to the Gregorian in the sacramentary of Trent, Trent Museo del Buonconsiglio, M.N.1590, fols 165v–189r, including the patronal mass for Rupert of Salzburg and masses for the Vigil and feast of All Saints. Alcuin recommended the celebration of both vigil and feast to Arn of Salzburg (Alcuin of York, Epistle 193, *Arnoni archiepiscopo Salisburgensi*, ed. Dümmler, pp. 319–21).

of Alcuin nineteen votive masses, plus a number of festal masses: the vigil and feast day of All Saints (01/11), two for patron saints, as well as a vigil mass for a Marian feast, a vigil for an apostle's feast and a feast day mass and octave for St Martin's feast in July (03/07).<sup>68</sup> Deshusses would later add five more masses to the count – St Scholastica (10/02), the Vigil and feast of St Benedict (21/03), the vigil of St Martin and a second mass of All Saints – leading to a total of thirty-two masses.<sup>69</sup> Thirteen are verified by Alcuin's letters, the rest were added by Deshusses based on their stylistic similarities.

One might be sceptical that all of these masses are to be numbered among genuine works of Alcuin, since a number appear only in books that are so much later (and thus question Deshusses' assertion that the creation of new mass sets was the province of only those like Alcuin because 'the gift of creativity was not widespread among liturgists of this age'). However, these masses certainly represent a special and unique deposit present in a particular abundance in the Martin Sacramentary and much more sporadically employed elsewhere (until further work can be undertaken, I refer to them as Alcuin's masses for convenience).<sup>70</sup> Thirty-one of thirty-two are found in the Martin Sacramentary (including twelve mentioned by Alcuin), but most are not in the Maurice Sacramentary. For example, the Maurice Sacramentary provides Alcuin's mass for the feast of St Martin in July, but without his masses for the vigil or octave. The Martin Sacramentary has all three.<sup>71</sup> The Martin Sacramentary also, as above, provides the masses for Sts Benedict and Scholastica in the Sanctoral, but the Maurice Sacramentary does not. Both sacramentaries contain the vigil and feast day masses of All Saints. Celebration of this feast and vigil were recommended by Alcuin himself to Arn of Salzburg.<sup>72</sup>

Otherwise, the Maurice Sacramentary offers a selection of seven of Alcuin's votive masses, reordered for seven days of the week. This comes at the opening of the sacramentary (Paris, BnF, NAL 1589, fols 5r–8v). This was a particular application of Alcuin's masses visible in other sacramentaries, and the material could be used by an individual or by the community to practise masses on days in which there was no given saint or feast to celebrate, but it was not, it seems, part of Alcuin's original framing of the masses.<sup>73</sup> In the Martin Sacramentary,

<sup>68</sup> Deshusses, 'Les messes d'Alcuin'.

<sup>69</sup> Deshusses, 'Les anciens sacramentaires de Tours', pp. 286–8.

<sup>70</sup> Deshusses, 'Les anciens sacramentaires de Tours', p. 282: 'le don de créativité n'était guère répandu chez les liturgistes du temps'.

<sup>71</sup> Tours, BM, 184, fols 79r–80v, 81r–v.

<sup>72</sup> Paris, BnF, NAL 1589, fol. 72r; Paris, BnF, lat. 9430, fols 206v–207r.

<sup>73</sup> Deshusses, 'Les messes d'Alcuin', p. 10.

these same masses are found among the large selection of votive masses at the end of the book, which mixes Alcuin's with others.<sup>74</sup> In this case, the Martin Sacramentary better represents the disposition of Alcuin, but perhaps not with perfect faithfulness. Firstly, one mass Alcuin mentioned to the monks of St Vaast *pro elemosinariis*, cannot be found in the Martin Sacramentary.<sup>75</sup> Secondly, it is likely that all of Alcuin's masses, both the festal and votive masses, were in a supplement separate to the Gregorian, not intermingled in the Sanctoral as the Martin Sacramentary has done for the festal masses (Benedict, Scholastica, Martin, All Saints). This is what the earlier Trent manuscript, associated with Alcuin, does with its selection of Alcuin's masses, presenting the feast of All Saints and the feast of St Rupert in the supplement among votive masses and not in their place in the Sanctoral as we find them in the Martin and Maurice sacramentaries.<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, the Solothurn fragments, which would seem to be much closer to Alcuin's missal than the Martin sacramentary, do not have Alcuin's masses of Sts Scholastica and Benedict in the Sanctoral where they appear in the Martin sacramentary. If these masses were in the original Solothurn Sacramentary, they must have been in a separate section. Therefore, Alcuin's missal may have had a separate supplement containing a list of his votive and festal masses. If Alcuin composed some masses later than the missal itself, or if some were the work of other liturgists, such masses could have been kept in separate *libelli* and later themselves incorporated into the Tours books. Such adjustments later placed the festal masses within the Sanctoral itself. The Martin Sacramentary absorbed them all, the Maurice one a select few.

The third known characteristic of Alcuin's missal was that the Saint-Riquier book list claimed it was both Gregorian and Gelasian. From the Maurice Sacramentary, this characteristic can still be perceived in the two Thursday masses of Lent (first and second), but there is also additional Gelasian content in the Sanctoral of the Maurice Sacramentary that distinguishes it from both the Trent Sacramentary and the *Hadrianum*. Some of this Gelasian Sanctoral goes back to Alcuin, as Deshusses suspected. However the Solothurn fragments show, by their lack of these feasts, that certain Gelasian elements (the Saturday of Quadragesima, feasts of Mary *et al.*, Zoticus *et al.*, the *Cathedra* of St Peter, and the Gelasian mass of Gregory) were inserted in the Maurice Sacramentary at a later stage. There are, therefore, at

<sup>74</sup> In the divided state of the sacramentary, this is now: Paris, BnF, lat. 9430, fols 74–97, 230–5 and Tours, BM, 184, fols 135–50.

<sup>75</sup> Deshusses, 'Les messes d'Alcuin', p. 30, it can be found in three other manuscripts.

<sup>76</sup> Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire gregorien*, vol. 3, pp. 53–4.

least two layers of ‘Gelasianization’ visible in this sacramentary, the responsibility of two later compilers. Deshusses’ argument gives the impression that every single Gelasian mass (over sixty-one masses in total) found in either of the Tours sacramentaries would be Alcuin’s own initiative.<sup>77</sup> However, the Solothurn fragments also prove that the superabundance of Gelasian masses added to the Martin Sacramentary were not present in the strata of the Gregorian in Tours that are closest in time to Alcuin. Those fragments would suggest, rather, that Alcuin had provided only limited Gelasian masses. Once the block of Gelasian feasts that appeared discordantly between Ash Wednesday and Quadragesima Sunday are removed, there remain thirty-one masses of Gelasian origin in the Maurice Sacramentary’s Sanctoral. A small group of masses for Gallic patrons – Amand (26/10), Hillary (01/11) and Maurice and companions (22/10) – are uniquely found in the Gelasian Sacramentary of Angoulême, which gives us an idea of the form of Gelasian Sacramentary used (the Gelasian mass for St Martin of Tours (04/07) employed by the Martin Sacramentary as an alternative *MISSA DE ORDINATIONE EPISCOPATUS ATQUE TRANSLATIONE CORPORIS* is also present in Angoulême).<sup>78</sup>

We have added evidence for Alcuin’s interest in a select few Gelasian feasts, in another liturgical book Alcuin compiled, his lectionary, which is also based on a Roman calendar earlier than the *Hadrianum*.<sup>79</sup> The Sanctoral is quite sparse (it lacks St Gregory) but it is striking that Alcuin himself added to it readings for non-Gregorian feasts: a vigil for Epiphany (05/01), the passion of John the Baptist (29/08), a reading for feast days of evangelists (Matthew on 21/09 and Luke 18/10), a vigil for the feast day of St Martin (10/11), and a vigil and feast day of All Saints (31/10–01/11). We can find masses for these feasts among Gelasian additions or Alcuin’s own masses, in both Martin and Maurice sacramentaries. In Alcuin’s lectionary, readings for two Rogation days and a vigil prior to Ascension were also added, and three masses for the same purpose appear in the Maurice Sacramentary.<sup>80</sup> In both the lectionary and the sacramentaries of Tours, the Gregorian mass for the Roman *Litania Maiore* is no longer associated with its Roman date of 25 April, but appears prior to Ascension, and thus its material is

<sup>77</sup> Deshusses, ‘Les anciens sacramentaires de Tours’, p. 285.

<sup>78</sup> *Engolismensis* 1355–8, 1428–34, 1454–7, 1100–5.

<sup>79</sup> A. Wilmart, ‘Le lectionnaire d’Alcuin’, *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 51 (1937), pp. 136–97; W.H Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*, vol. 3: *The Roman Epistle-Lectionary* (London, 1935), pp. 28, 40–8. Alcuin’s lectionary was also at Saint-Riquier: Hariulf of Saint-Riquier, *Chronicon Centulense* ed. by Lot, p. 85: ‘lectionarius plenarius a supradicto Albino ordinatus’. It survives in the original state in one manuscript (Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 553) and in one supplemented manuscript (Paris, BnF, lat. 9452).

<sup>80</sup> Paris, BnF, NAL 1589, fols 48v–50r.

incorporated and adapted to the Gallican *Litaniae Minores*, though the two had very different origins and different original purposes.<sup>81</sup>

The Solothurn fragments have allowed us a better understanding of the outline of Alcuin's missal, about which the following conclusions can be made:

1. That Missal did not resemble the Martin Sacramentary, which is a superabundant 'Gelasianized' Gregorian of the later ninth-century type, in scope and comprehensiveness. Nevertheless, the Martin Sacramentary still presents some traits that can be identified with Alcuin's missal, while the Maurice Sacramentary has some others.
2. The Maurice Sacramentary is therefore the complete book closest to Alcuin's Missal in form. It preserves a few traces of the pre-Hadrianic outline of Alcuin's missal and some Gelasian additions probably made by Alcuin himself (the Gelasian masses for two Thursday in Lent, original absence of the mass for St Gregory's feast).
3. Having been updated by later hands, the Maurice Sacramentary mostly gives us a *Hadrianum* with a number of Gelasian masses in the Sanctoral. It is possible that some of these Gelasian masses reflect additions made by Alcuin. Certainly after Alcuin (and after the Solothurn fragments were written), a handful of extra Gelasian masses were added before Quadragesima Sunday in the creation of the Maurice Sacramentary. Thus, adaptation was continually ongoing.
4. Alcuin's votive and festal masses were likely provided in a supplement to the Gregorian, as in the related sacramentary of Trent today. Many of Alcuin's masses are no longer in the Maurice Sacramentary, but the Martin Sacramentary preserves an (almost) complete list.
5. It is probable the Sunday masses were also in a supplement, as they are in Benedict's supplement and the sacramentary of Trent, and the Martin Sacramentary has largely maintained a format where the Sundays are thus kept apart. Because the alternative Sunday masses that appear uniquely in the Martin Sacramentary were created from a pre-Hadrianic Gregorian, they can probably be identified as Alcuin's

<sup>81</sup> In the Maurice Sacramentary, these masses have the titles FERIA II COLLECTA IN LAETANIA MAIORE (the Roman one), FERIA III IN LAETANIA MAIORE and FERIA IIII IN LAETANIA MAIORE, which are both the Gelasian masses for the Frankish minor litanies. In the Martin Sacramentary, the same masses are IN LETANIA MAIORE, DIE SECUNDO AD MISSA, and DIE TERTIO AD MISSA. For these feasts, J. Hill, 'The *Litaniae maiores* and *minores* in Rome, Francia and Anglo-Saxon England: Terminology, Texts and Traditions', *EME* 9 (2000), pp. 211–46, at pp. 232–3. Briefly, the Roman procession of the *Litania Maiore* was fixed to one day, 25/04. The Gallican *Litaniae Minores* (or Rogation days) were three days of fasting and procession inaugurated by Mamertus of Vienne c.470 and applied to the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, before Ascension on Thursday, and they thus moved in the year as that feast did. As in these Tours books, the Franks very quickly adapted the Roman practice to their own custom, by using the material originally meant for the Great Litany for one of the Rogation days.



work.<sup>82</sup> Both sacramentaries subsequently absorbed the Gelasian Sunday masses (the Maurice Sacramentary has them in preference to the Alcuin Sunday masses, Martin has them in addition) that were used as a source in *Hucusque*, and both show signs of these masses being subsequently corrected on the basis of *Hucusque*. These Sunday masses attest to several layers of correction and consultation of various sources.

Therefore the recovery of Alcuin's missal is simpler than Deshusses presented. We can trace a pre-Hadrianic Gregorian, like the sacramentary of Trent, but with fully Gelasian masses for the Thursdays in Lent and a supplement of Alcuin's design including his own Sunday masses, as well as the votive and festal masses he wrote. Since the *Hucusque* supplement used some of Alcuin's votive masses, it is likely that Alcuin's missal helped to inspire that work. Rather than the singular exertion of Benedict's reforming genius found in Deshusses' edition, that work was a dynamic confluence of a multitude of influences, and various collaborators.<sup>83</sup>

### Conclusion

As we can see in the Solothurn fragments, Alcuin's missal was then submitted to the *Hadrianum*, probably some decades later in Tours. It was from a manuscript like the original manuscript from which the fragments came, perhaps the very manuscript, that the creators of the Martin and Maurice sacramentaries each independently worked towards the end of the ninth century. The Appendix gives a simplified representation of the process that led up to them in Tours. The creators of the two sacramentaries had different goals and different techniques. The Maurice Sacramentary kept the structure of the Sanctoral of Alcuin generally intact, but reduced Alcuin's votive masses. The Martin Sacramentary kept most of the Sunday masses in one of its set of supplements, and kept Alcuin's masses nearly intact in another, among a vast collection of votive masses from other sources. Both compilers also independently returned to the Gelasian. In the Maurice Sacramentary, some extra Gelasian masses were inserted just before Lent, somewhat clumsily. But in the Martin Sacramentary the full Gelasian Sanctoral was folded into the manuscript, creating a vast chorus of saints. The compilers of the Martin Sacramentary also added the chants from the antiphoner to most masses of the year.

<sup>82</sup> These masses also have the four-prayer format that was one of the features Deshusses used to distinguish masses of Alcuin, including a SUPER POPULUM prayer. The *Hucusque* Sunday masses do not have this last prayer, and are thus made of only three prayers (plus the prefaces).

<sup>83</sup> *Hadrianum* 1293–6, 1304–7, 1448–50.

The process was even more complicated than the Appendix can represent since there were other sources put to use too, including the supplement *Hucusque*. The supplemented Gregorian with *Hucusque* had itself been copied at least once in Tours in 844, the deluxe Sacramentary of Marmoutier now Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale, 19 (19 bis). This was given to the abbot of the Benedictine monastery nearby, Marmoutier.<sup>84</sup> It remains one of the best copies of the supplemented Gregorian, and was used by Deshusses as a standard, but it still had an extra suite of Gelasian additions unique to this manuscript – the supplement ‘propre de Marmoutier’ added to the end of the *Hucusque*, including a number of masses also found in our Martin and Maurice books.<sup>85</sup> The influence of the *Hucusque* copied there can be assumed in that the *commune sanctorum* in the Maurice Sacramentary is the one from the *Hucusque* supplement. The Sunday masses of the *Hucusque* supplement also played some role in the compilation of the Sunday masses of both Martin and Maurice sacramentaries. That supplement was not seen as definitive by the compilers in Tours, but was another source to be integrated as they made new strides. Their special, local inheritance from Alcuin was likewise another resource, but not one to be reverently preserved. The integration of traditions was therefore a constant part of the process of copying sacramentaries at Tours, and not the exception.

We can only recover the achievements of luminaries like Alcuin or Benedict properly once we acknowledge that the many copyists in this field, whose names we will never know, were equally engaged in making liturgy work better for them in their own circumstances, and left their own lasting marks on these traditions, equally engaged as these great figures, if not always so able. Acknowledging these compilers as active in the process also helps us appreciate the potential for liturgical manuscripts to perform various functions and respond to diverse needs (which is not strongly present in the analysis of Deshusses, or Vogel).

For example, it is quite conceivable that different uses and purposes might be hazarded for a sacramentary nearly three times the size of another, as the Martin Sacramentary is to the Maurice. The Maurice Sacramentary has a monogram of a person in gold as part of the decoration of the canon, next to the *Tē Igitur* on fol. 10r. While it is rather difficult to decipher, the most likely reading that I have reconstructed is ZACHARIAS PRESBYTER DEI, while Greek letters

<sup>84</sup> Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, vol. 1, pp. 62, 150. Rand assumed the sacramentary was written at Marmoutier but admits the script and decoration is basically identical to St Martin's products, so a production by St Martin's for Marmoutier is quite probable.

<sup>85</sup> Décréaux, *Le Sacramentaire de Marmoutier (Autun 19 bis)*, vol. 1, pp. 173–7; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, p. 28.

on this side read ΛΩΝΓΩΒΑΡΔΟC CΑΚΗΡΔΩC (LONGOBARDOS SACERDOS), which might refer to his ethnicity.<sup>86</sup> Unfortunately, no person of the name appears in surviving records of St Martin's basilica.<sup>87</sup> Was this beautiful Sacramentary with the lavish purple background on the canon missae perhaps made as a gift to a high-ranking clergyman?<sup>88</sup> Perhaps it never reached its intended recipient, since it did not leave Tours. The introductory series of seven of Alcuin's masses for seven days of the week notably supplies readings for each mass, so that an individual celebrant could perform the mass without need of a separate lectionary, suggesting their use for 'private' masses.<sup>89</sup>

It is difficult to see the Martin Sacramentary being created for a single recipient, weighty as it is. That sacramentary presents itself more as the archive of a community, holding masses for every conceivable need from all the traditions they had available, perhaps to be consulted and excerpted into *libelli* and smaller books when it was actually necessary to perform the liturgy. Is it possible that the 'compiling mania' detected in books like the Martin Sacramentary is, in fact, a fully understandable desperation to collect and collate all available liturgical material in a form that could be safely transported at a time when the monks of St Martin had been repeatedly forced from their monastery by the Vikings, and ultimately would see it completely destroyed in 905?<sup>90</sup> Such a 'portable archive' would allow the monks to save material from an entire library, here likely including several sacramentaries, as well as chant books.<sup>91</sup> Given the weight of material, the Martin Sacramentary is still well planned and organized, with different sections for Temporal and Sanctoral, the Sunday masses held apart, and with the votive masses clearly divided up thematically.<sup>92</sup> There are signs that this planning was directed by an overseeing mind, in the titles for the texts in the margins for a significant proportion of the Martin Sacramentary, where the placement of the rubrics is indicated in

<sup>86</sup> Paris, BnF, NAL 1589, fol. 10r.

<sup>87</sup> É. Mabille, *La pancarte noire de Saint-Martin de Tours, brûlée en 1793. Restituée d'après les textes imprimés et manuscrits* (Paris, 1886), p. 30.

<sup>88</sup> A Zacharias was bishop of Säben/Brixen at this time (890–907), and appears several times in charters of Louis the Child: e.g. *MGH Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger 4: Zwentibold and Ludwig das Kind*, ed. T. Schieffer (Berlin, 1960), pp. 113–15. In Alcuin's time Säben and Tours were certainly linked by his friendship with Bishop Alim (769–800), but it is impossible to say if his successor Zacharias had any relation to Tours.

<sup>89</sup> A. Angenendt, 'Missa specialis. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privatmessen', *Frühmittelalterlichen Studien* 17 (1983), pp. 153–221.

<sup>90</sup> Y. Hen, 'When Liturgy gets out of Hand', p. 209.

<sup>91</sup> Compare H. Parkes, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950–1050* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 198.

<sup>92</sup> A very similar scheme is also offered by another grand 'Gelasianized' Gregorian sacramentary of the late ninth century, though one not quite so extensive, Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, from another monastery similarly harried by the Vikings, Saint-Amand. Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, pp. 41–3.

Tironian notes.<sup>93</sup> Who directed this work remains difficult to say, though it is unlikely to have been the abbot, who was by then a powerful layman. Was it the dean of the basilica (one named Guichardus *sacerdos et decanus* is witnessed in 878), whom we might assume was responsible for spiritual life and discipline?<sup>94</sup> The schoolmaster was another powerful figure, who had his own financial resources to draw on.<sup>95</sup>

One last sign of the expansiveness of the sources mustered in the Martin Sacramentary can be found in the feasts for varied Frankish patrons. There are not only those mentioned as present in the Gelasian Sacramentary of Angoulême (Maurice, Hilary and Amand), but also Frankish patrons like Sts Medard (08/06), Germanus (13/07), Radegunda (13/08), Leodegar (02/10), and the feast of the Translation of Germanus and Deposition of Remigius (01/10).<sup>96</sup> While these masses were probably filtered through witnesses of the Gelasian of the eighth century that are mostly no longer extant, we can find them in a range of later ‘Gelasianized’ Gregorians written across France. Their presence in the Martin Sacramentary shows us that the monks of St Martin’s basilica had access to a wide range of liturgical books from various centres, potentially a collection as expansive as that of Saint-Riquier, which they collated into one book for the vast Sacramentary of St Martin’s basilica. Like the Hilary, Amand and the old mass for St Martin’s ordination in June, many of these feasts have the hallmarks of pre-Carolingian, Gallican compositions (including their lengthy prefaces with local and narrative detail). The mass of St Germanus, for example, is certainly present in the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, palat. lat. 483), a book that pre-dates known Roman sacramentaries in France.<sup>97</sup> Among the sources marshalled by our Tours monks were therefore likely those that went back even further than Alcuin’s missal. In light of the integration of these ‘Merovingian’ sources, it is interesting that, unlike other great churches, the monks of St Martin maintained the layout and structure of the late antique basilica intact and did not rebuild it according to the new style *more romano*.<sup>98</sup> According to Amalarius of Metz (c.775–850) the

<sup>93</sup> E.g. Tours, BM, 184, fols 127v–147v.

<sup>94</sup> H. Noizet, *La fabrique de la ville: espaces et sociétés à Tours, IXe–XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2007), pp. 72–3.

<sup>95</sup> Noizet, *La fabrique de la ville*, pp. 75–7.

<sup>96</sup> Deshusses, ‘Les anciens sacramentaires de Tours’, p. 284. Another Frankish patron, St Martial of Limoges (30/06), has a mass only in the Maurice Sacramentary, and not in the Martin one. It can be identified as the reworking of the Gelasian mass for Pope Marcellus or Pope Leo.

<sup>97</sup> *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal.lat.493), ed. L.C. Mohlberg, L. Eizenhöfer and P. Siffrin (Rome, 1958), pp. 1–12.

<sup>98</sup> W. Jacobson, ‘Saints’ Tombs in Frankish Church Architecture’, *Speculum* 72 (1997), pp. 1107–43, at pp. 1138, 1141.

*Benedicite domine* (the song of the three Hebrew youths in the furnace from the Book of Daniel) was still performed in Tours on Holy Saturday, sufficiently remarkable for him to note it.<sup>99</sup> This was an indigenous liturgical custom, unknown in the Roman rites for this day, and the kind which Carolingian ‘reform’ was supposed to have swept away. The preservation of such a range of sources in Tours might also therefore express this same reverence for past custom, of which Alcuin himself might have approved.

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<sup>99</sup> Amalarius of Metz, *Liber Officialis* IV.17.13, ed. J.M. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omni*, vol. 2 (Vatican City, 1939), p. 464: ‘Propter hoc sacramentum, ut opinor, audivi cantare in vigilia Paschae in ecclesia Turonensi post lectiones: Benedicite.’

## Appendix

## The creation of the sacramentaries of Tours (simplified)

