

Arthur Westwell

The Carolingian Sacramentaries of Saint-Amand

**Research in Medieval and
Early Modern Culture XXXIX
Studies in Medieval and
Early Modern Culture LXXXVIII**

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The Carolingian Sacramentaries of Saint-Amand



Art, Script, and Liturgical Creativity in an Early
Medieval Monastery

DE GRUYTER

MIP

University Press | Kalamazoo
MIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) –
Projektnummer 442030444

ISBN 978-1-5015-2120-1
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-1-5015-1756-3
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-1-5015-1758-7
DOI <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501517563>



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Library of Congress Control Number: 2024935822

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2024 the author(s), published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston
The book is published open access at www.degruyter.com.

Cover image: Sakramentar (Fragment) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 958, fol. 5v
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Typesetting: Integra Software Services Pvt. Ltd.
Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

For Andi

Abbreviations for Editions and Publications

AfL	Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft
Aug	<i>Liber Sacramentorum Augustodunensis</i> , ed. Otto Heiming. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 159B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984)
Bischoff, <i>Katalog</i>	Bernhard Bischoff, <i>Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der westgotischen)</i> , 4 vols. (Harrosowitz: Wiesbaden, 1998–2017)
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BM	Bibliothèque municipale
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CCMC	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis
CLA	<i>Codices Latini Antiquiores</i> , ed. E. A. Lowe, 12 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–1971)
CLLA	Klaus Gamber, <i>Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores</i> , 2 nd ed., 2 vols. (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1968); <i>Supplementum: Ergänzungs- und Registerband</i> . with Giacomo Bonifacio Baroffio, Ferdinando dell’Oro, Anton Hänggi, José Janini and Achille Maria Triacca (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1988)
CO	<i>Corpus Orationum</i> , eds. Edmond Moeller, Bertrand Coppeters ‘t Wallant and Jean-Marie Clément, 11 vols., Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 160–160J (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992–2020)
CP	<i>Corpus Praefationum</i> , ed. Edmond Moeller, 5 vols., Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 161–161D (Turnhout: Brepols, 1980)
CBP	<i>Corpus Benedictionum Pontificalium</i> , ed. Edmond Moeller, 4 vols., Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 162–162C (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971–1979)
De	<i>Le sacramentaire grégorien: ses principales formes d’après les plus anciens manuscrits</i> , ed. Jean Deshusses, 3 vols., Spicilegium Friburgense 16, 24, 28, 3 rd ed. (Freiburg: Éditions universitaires, 1992)
Eng	<i>Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis</i> , ed. Patrick Saint-Roch, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 159C (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987)
<i>EphLit</i>	<i>Ephemerides Liturgica</i>
Ful	<i>Sacramentarium Fuldense Saeculi X</i> , eds. Gregor Richter and Albert Schönfelder (Fulda: Druck der Fuldaer Actiendruckerei, 1912), repr. Henry Bradshaw Society 110 (Farnborough: Saint Michael’s Abbey Press, 1980)
Gel	<i>Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis</i> , ed. Antoine Dumas, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 159 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981)
GeV	<i>Liber sacramentorum Romanae aecclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Cod.Vat.Reg. lat. 316/ Paris Bibl. Nat.7193, 41 (56) (Sacramentarium Gelasianum)</i> , eds. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Leo Eizenhöfer and Peter Siffrin. Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta. Series Maior Fontes 4 (Rome, Herder, 1960)
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society

VIII — Abbreviations for Editions and Publications

Koehler/Mütherich, DFS	<i>Die karolingischen Miniaturen</i> , vol. 7: <i>Die frankosächsische Schule</i> , eds. Wilhelm Koehler and Florentine Mütherich, with Katharina Bierbauer and Fabrizio Crivello, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2009)
Jum	<i>The Missal of Robert of Jumièges</i> , ed. Henry Wilson, HBS 11 (London: Harrison & Sons, 1896, repr. London: Boydell & Brewer, 1994)
Leof	<i>The Leofric Missal</i> , vol. 2, ed. Nicholas Orchard, HBS 113 (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2002)
LQF	Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina</i> , 221 vols. (Paris: Garnier, 1841–1864)
<i>RevBen</i>	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
Sg	<i>Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Überlieferung (Codex Sangall. No.348)</i> , ed. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 1 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1918)
Tridentinum	<i>Liturgica Ecclesiae Tridentinae Saeculo XIII Antiquiora. Vol. 2/A Fontes Liturgici. Libri Sacramentorum</i> , eds. Ferdinando Dell’Oro and Hyginio Rogger (Trent: Società Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche, 1983)
TuA	<i>Texte und Arbeiten</i>
UB	Universitätsbibliothek
Ve	<i>Sacramentarium Veronense (Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV [80])</i> , eds. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Leo Eizenhöfer and Peter Siffrin, <i>Rerum ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Major, Fontes 1</i> (Rome: Herder, 1966)
Vic	<i>El sacramentario de Vich</i> , ed. Alejandro Olivar, (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto Francisco Suarez, 1953)
Westminster	<i>Missale ad usum ecclesiae Westmonasterium</i> , ed. John Wickham Legg, vols. 1–3, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1, 5, 12 (London: Harrison & Sons, 1891–1896)
Winch	<i>The Winchcombe Sacramentary. Orleans Bibliothèque Municipale 127</i> , ed. Anselme Davril, Henry Bradshaw Society, 109 (London: Boydell & Brewer, 1995)
NewMin	<i>The Missal of the New Minster, Winchester (Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 330)</i> , ed. Derek Howard Turner, Henry Bradshaw Society, 93 (London: Faith Press, 1962)
Wolf	<i>Das Sakramentar-Pontifikale des Bischofs Wolfgang von Regensburg: Verona, Bibl.,. Cap., Cod.LXXXVII</i> , eds. Klaus Gamber and Sieghild Müller-Rehle (Regensburg: Pustet, 1985)

Key to Shorthand for Sacramentary Manuscripts

*These abbreviations are employed throughout for making shorthand reference to the most important manuscripts, and to avoid the confusion of shelf marks that can differ by a single number. They are also used for the apparatus of editions in appendix 4. They will always appear in **bold**.*

Berengar	Monza, Tesoro del Duomo, Ms. 89
Bobbio	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. lat. 958
Cambrai	Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 164
Chelles	New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57
Cologne	Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, cod. 137
Fulda	Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. theol. 231
Jumièges	Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 274 (Y. 4).
Laon	Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale Suzanne Martinet, Ms. 118
Le Mans	Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77
Leofric	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579
Mainz	Mainz, Martinus-Bibliothek, HS 1
Modena	Modena, Biblioteca Capitolare, O II 7
Nonantola	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2292
Noyon	Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie de Reims, Ms. 213, ff.9–16
Reims	Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie de Reims, Ms. 213, fol. 1–8r, 17r– 243v
Rodrade	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 12050
Rouen	Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 257 (A 566)
Saint Eloi	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 12051
Saint-Denis	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2290
Saint-Germain	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2291
Saint-Thierry	Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie de Reims, Ms. 214
Saint-Vaast	Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 162 and 163
San Marino	San Marino, California, The Huntington Library, HM 41785
Senlis	Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 111
Sens	Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A 136
Stavelot	London, British Library, Add. MS 16605
Tournai	Saint Petersburg, Publchnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41
Tours	Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 184 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 9433
Trent	Trent, Castel del Buon Consiglio, cod.1590
Vic	Vich, Museo Episcopale, 66
Winchcombe	Orleans, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 127
Winchester	Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 330

Note on the Text

Citation of liturgical editions follows convention by referring to the number of the edited formulae, not the page number. These are always given without the abbreviation “pp./p.” and without a comma (thus, De 91-93; Sg 75-76), whereas references to page numbers, for example to discuss editorial commentary, will use the abbreviation “pp./p.” after a comma (thus, Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, p. 75; Mohlberg, *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, p. 130). In the case of the 1962 edition of the Missal of the New Minster by Turner (abbreviated NewMin), the references have to be made to page numbers with “pp./p.”, as he did not number individual formulae. Citations from *Corpus Orationum* (CO), *Corpus Praefationum* (CP), and *Corpus Benedictionum Pontificalium* (CBP) likewise refer to the individual edited formulae, not to page numbers. The citations of *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores* (CLLA) and *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (CLA), where “pp./p.” is not given, also refer to the numbering of the manuscripts, according to common usage. Diverging from the Chicago Manual of Style, which is otherwise employed, all other references to literature will use “pp./p.”, in order to avoid confusion with the editions. The bibliography follows the Chicago Manual straightforwardly, and thus does not use “pp./p.”.

Note also that short-hand complete words in bold are a short-hand reference always to the manuscript under discussion (**Wolfgang**), while non-bold abbreviations refer to the editions (Wolf). To cite folios, I always use the shelf-mark.

I differentiate in the following way between saints themselves and the institutions dedicated to them. Latin forms with abbreviated form “St.” are used for the saints (thus, St. Amandus, St. Germanus, St. Dionysius, St. Vedastus, St. Theodericus), but where the English form is likely to be familiar, and the potential for confusion with institutions less, I have used that instead (for example, St. Gregory, St. Martin, St. Benedict). St. Eligius refers to the saint of Noyon, but **Saint Eloi** to the manuscript that was taken to be a relic of his. For monastic institutions, I have used the form in the modern language of the country in which they are found. Thus, French forms with “Saint” and hyphen are used for the French medieval monastic institutions (thus, Saint-Amand, Saint-Germain, Saint-Denis, Saint-Vaast, Saint-Martin of Tours, Saint-Thierry, Saint-Riquier, etc.). Unlike the short-hand form for manuscripts **Saint-Denis**, **Saint-Germain**, and **Saint-Thierry**, these are never in bold. I have also used German forms for Sankt Emmeram and Sankt Gallen. Sint-Pietersabdij in Dutch refers to the Abbey of St. Peter in Ghent.

Translations and my editorial interventions in Latin texts are given in square brackets [], while missing text is supplied in round brackets (). Simple *incipits* of prayers and titles of masses are not translated, but, where prayers are quoted in full or in part, these are translated. Where reference is purely to the form of the Latin of the prayer and not to content, these also remain untranslated.

Acknowledgements

This book is the principal result of the position I have held at the Lehrstuhl für Liturgiewissenschaft in the Fakultät für Katholische Theologie at the Universität Regensburg from 2020 to 2024, funded by the generosity of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, who awarded me an individual project “eigene Stelle” with the theme: “Die Sakramentare aus Saint-Amand als Fallstudie in den Prozessen des liturgischen Wandels im 9. Jahrhundert” (“the Sacramentaries of Saint-Amand as a case study in the processes of liturgical change in the ninth century”). I arrived in Germany during the second wave of the Covid-19 pandemic and into a series of lockdowns. Despite these challenges, including restricted access to libraries, the warmth and welcome I have found in Bavaria has been an incredible support. That the DFG would support research on a subject like medieval liturgical books is far from a given, but their generosity has gone far enough to also enable open-access publication, as has further support from the University of Regensburg itself. I am very grateful, as well, to the assessor of my proposal.

Manuscript-based research of this kind relies entirely on the further generosity of libraries. Deluxe manuscripts like the sacramentaries and gospel books of Saint-Amand could easily be kept entirely restricted, and I count it a privilege that I was able to spend time with so many glorious examples of early medieval illumination and script. Only the manuscript in Saint Petersburg remained inaccessible, as the pandemic and the Russian invasion of Ukraine led me to cancel my planned research there, regrettably despite the funding I secured from the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, which I had to decline. This also meant I was unable to secure rights to any images of the manuscript. I would like to thank the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, the Pierpoint Morgan Library in New York (and Joshua O’Driscoll for providing further photos of the Franco-Saxon Gospel Book there), the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, the British Library in London, the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, Le Labo of Cambrai (in particular, Sara Pretto), the Bibliothèque Municipale of Douai, the Biblioteca Capitolare of Monza, the Museum of Decorative Arts in Kroměříž (in particular, Cyril Mésíc), the Museum Schnütgen in Cologne (in particular, Karen Straub), the Institut de recherche et d’histoire des textes, the Bibliothèque Mazarine and the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal in Paris, the Médiathèques de Le Mans, the Bibliothèque Carnegie de Reims, the Amiens Bibliothèque Louis Aragon, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, and the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome. Likewise, the resources libraries have poured into digitisation have helped me access manuscripts across the world, and this acquired particular importance during the pandemic. The Institutum Liturgicum at the Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek in Regensburg and the library’s director, Raymond Dittrich, enabled and facilitated the consultation of

rare editions and the notes of Klaus Gamber. They also helped fund the wonderful conference we held in September 2023 in Regensburg on mixed sacramentaries, with additional support from the Vielberth Stiftung and the Center for Advanced Studies Beyond Canon, whose participants and my co-organisers I would also like to thank for their many expert insights, and for proving conclusively that the venerable discipline of sacramentary studies still has much life in it.

The kindness and patience of my colleagues in medieval history, musicology, and liturgical studies have enriched this research and the experience of writing this book extraordinarily. Sarah Hamilton, Susan Rankin, David Ganz, Dan di-Censo, Andrew Irving, Helen Gittos, and Tessa Webber have all merited particular mention for their insights, which have shaped the book for the better. Andrew Irving, Martin Berger, and Miklós Földvály all provided valuable data on sacramentaries. Ongoing discussions with Paweł Figurski during his Humboldt Fellowship in Regensburg have been incredibly helpful, and I hope for many more continued collaborations and exciting projects in the future. Harald Buchinger's tireless work on my behalf, his collegiality and generosity have gone far above and beyond the call of duty. I am hugely grateful for the welcome he gave me in Regensburg, and the warm and intellectually stimulating atmosphere he has cultivated around the Lehrstuhl für Liturgiewissenschaft. Gabrielle Kaiser has likewise done a huge deal to facilitate the project.

I would like to thank also the team at De Gruyter, Christine Henschel, Elisabeth Kempf, and Jakob Brassel and Theresa Whitaker at Medieval Institute Publications, as well as Dymphna Evans for copy-editing and Kowsalya Perumal and her team at Integra for their work on type-setting. The two peer reviewers were inordinately patient and generous. Their work and their insights made this book considerably more user-friendly, precise, and better written, as well as suggesting and shaping some insightful conclusions that gave it broader relevance. I thank them for their efforts and care.

Den Spöttls, Kaisers und Zichettis bin ich sehr dankbar für die Gastfreundschaft, das Willkommen in München und all eure vielen Freundlichkeiten. Hanni und Gerald, danke, dass ihr euer Haus für mich geöffnet habt.

While living in a different country to my family during times of considerable upheaval has been difficult at times, I am very aware that I have always been able to count on their support, without which I certainly would not have been able to build a career that brings me such fulfilment. To my father, Steven, my mother, Chantry, my siblings, Anna, Thomas, and George, and my sister-in-law, Ella, thank you for everything.

Andi, there is absolutely no way to say here all that I owe to you. I know how lonely it can be to travel abroad as an academic on a temporary position, and it is

entirely due to you that my arrival in Bavaria became a true homecoming. Thank you for accompanying me on research and conference trips, including driving, acting as confidant, and sounding board for my ideas, indulging me by visiting a seemingly endless series of Romanesque churches across Europe, all the wonderful meals, concerts, and operas, and patiently listening to me working out varied puzzles, while always contributing your insights and good sense. I look forward to many more years together.

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Introduction

Medieval manuscripts allow us to uncover the creativity and vibrancy of Europe's scribes and scribal workshops. These men and women were not unthinking replicators of tradition, but creative agents of its transmission, who consequentially shaped how we see and understand the texts which they preserved. This concerns the manuscripts made for the liturgy in a special way. Several recent publications have shown us that manuscripts which are in modern times categorised as "liturgical" offer vital and unique insight into the social, political, intellectual, and cultural atmosphere of an age which was intensely preoccupied with the "right" ways of performing ritual.¹ Critiques of previous classifications of liturgical books have also been mustered in several recent collections, stressing the need to engage with manuscripts as a whole, within a local context of creative and continual re-use and re-organisation.² But this conversation has largely concerned ceremonies and books used in contexts other than the central ritual of medieval Christianity, the Eucharist, or Mass, for which mass books are our main sources, and for which manuscripts survive in greater abundance than in any other liturgical genre.³ Such books have been variously catalogued, but the vast majority have never been the subject of any sustained scholarly investigation.⁴ While their decoration and musical elements have attracted more attention, though these subjects are far from ex-

1 Henry Parkes, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950–1050* (Cambridge: University Press, 2015); Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton, eds., *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Julia Exarchos, *Liturgy, Society and Politics. Liturgical Performance and Codification in the High Middle Ages* (Husum: Matthiesen, 2021).

2 Andrew Irving and Harald Buchinger, eds., *On the Typology of Liturgical Books from the Western Middle Ages*, LQF, 115 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2023); Laura Albiero and Eleonora Celora, eds., *Décrire le manuscrit liturgique. Méthodes, problématiques, perspectives* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021).

3 On its centrality see Ian Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen van Ausdall, eds., *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

4 Catalogues of manuscripts in Leopold Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires* (Paris, 1886); Victor Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1924); Adalbert Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Missale Romanum: Iter Italicum* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herd'sche Verlagshandlung, 1896); Emmanuel Bourque, *Études sur les sacramentaires romains* vol. 1: *Les textes primitifs* (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1949), vol. 2/1: *Les textes remainiés. Le Gélasien du VIII^e Siècle* (Quebec: Presses Universitaires Laval, 1949), vol. 2/2: *Le sacramentaire d'Hadrien. Le Supplément d'Alcuin et les Grégoriens mixtes* (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1958); Klaus Gamber, *Sakramentartypen: Versuch einer Gruppierung der Handschriften und Fragmente bis zur Jahrtausendwende*. TuA 49/50 (Beuron: Kunstverlag, 1958); Klaus Gamber, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1968), henceforth CLLA;

hausted, this neglect is especially true of the principal content of these books, the thousands of mass prayers that were read out in a continual cycle of devotion in every one of Western Europe's thousands of religious institutions.⁵ The composition, sharing, and organisation of masses in these books, as undertaken by monks and clerics of the early Middle Ages, has rarely been the subject of study in its own right. Here, the need particularly arises for more extensive local studies, that consider closely from varied disciplinary perspectives the output of individual monasteries and cathedrals, within a specific, historical context. This has been fruitfully undertaken for a handful of single, largely unique manuscripts, but there are many other corpora that would also benefit from study.⁶

From the ninth century onwards, increased manuscript survival means that we begin to have a broader picture of what Latin mass books looked like, a picture that runs entirely contrary to once prevailing assumptions that early medieval copyists and authorities made serious efforts to “uniformise” the text of the mass book according to one standard model, and to eradicate diversity. Since the study of these manuscripts began in earnest, the ninth century has always been recognised as critical to the establishment of mass book formats that shaped Latin Christianity's ritual life to this day.⁷ That recognition largely, however, attributed the only consequential changes to the centre of the Catholic Church, the Roman papacy, and to the Carolingian monarchs, especially Charlemagne (747–814), and their closest advisors. There was little or no recognition in such scholarship that manuscript compilers themselves, and day-to-day liturgical practitioners, offered any consequential contribution to this tradition, which stood at the centre of ecclesiastical life in the Middle Ages. With the ninth century, enough manuscripts survive that a new narrative can

Andrzej Suski and Manlio Sodi, *Messali Manoscritti Pretridentini (secc.VIII–XVI)*, Monumenta Studia Instrumenta Liturgica, 79 (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2019).

5 Paweł Figurski and I with Andrew Irving have thus identified over 1000 manuscripts and fragments of the mass book before 1100. We aim to publish this list soon.

6 Yitzhak Hen and Rob Meens, eds., *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious culture in Merovingian Gaul* (Cambridge: University Press, 2004); Max Diesenberger, Rob Meens, and Els Rose, eds., *The Prague Sacramentary* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016); also Klaus Gereon Beuckers and Andreas Bihrer, eds., *Das Sakramentar aus Tyniec. Eine Prachthandschrift des 11. Jahrhunderts und die Beziehungen zwischen Köln und Polen in der Zeit Kasimirs des Erneuerers*, Forschungen zu Kunst, Geschichte und Literatur des Mittelalters, 3 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2018).

7 Josef Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, vol. 1, 3rd ed. (Vienna: Herder, 1952), pp. 98–122; trans. Francis A. Brunner, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, vol. 1 (New York: Benziger, 1986), pp. 74–92; Henri Netzer, *L'introduction de la Messe romaine en France sous les Carolingiens* (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1910); also the commentary in *Le sacramentaire grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, ed. Jean Deshusses, 3 vols, Spicilegium Friburgense 16, 24, 28, 3rd ed. (Freiburg: Éditions universitaires, 1971–1982).

begin to be written which attributes initiative to the copyists of mass books, and rediscovers that they actually wrote, organised, and transmitted the liturgy in creative ways. This especially vibrant literature can disclose what they valued, how they wrote and used Latin, and their relations and ties to others. The series of beautiful and complex manuscripts made at the monastery of Saint-Amand-les-Eaux in the second half of the ninth century, allow this to a singular extent.

Introducing the Manuscripts

Six complete sacramentaries, one booklet of masses (commonly termed a *libellus missae*), three fragments of varied length and additions to two other manuscripts, comprise the known and surviving output from the production of mass books at the monastery of Saint-Amand, sometimes also known as Elnon, from the year 850 to the end of the ninth century.⁸ There is also no other *scriptorium* to which such a wealth of liturgical material can be so firmly attributed as early as the ninth century or any point prior, and which can be dated to so narrow a time scale, as newly established here. Several lost exemplars or copies can be reconstructed as well, available at Corbie in the ninth and tenth century, Fulda and England in the tenth and eleventh century, or at Ghent or Utrecht in the sixteenth. These sacramentaries offer to us the most complete and comprehensive vision of how one exemplary and particularly creative *scriptorium* worked with and processed the mass liturgy during a period in which very consequential, yet almost completely unstudied, innovations were undertaken in the mass book's organisation and presentation. The sacramentaries of Saint-Amand also represent brilliant monuments of Carolingian manuscript decoration, in the striking forms described as the "Franco-Saxon" style.⁹ They are written primarily in an accomplished and masterful Caroline minuscule script. Both aspects are given an innovative new treatment in this book.

8 For Carolingian Saint-Amand see Henri Platelle, "L'abbaye de Saint-Amand au IX^e siècle," in *La Cantilène de sainte Eulalie. Actes du Colloque de Valenciennes 21 mars 1989*, ed. Marie-Pierre Don (Lille: Bibliothèque municipale de Valenciennes, 1990), pp. 18–34; Henri Platelle, *Le temporel de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand des origines à 1340* (Paris: Librairie d'Argences, 1962).

9 Coined by Comte Auguste de Bastard (1792–1883) in his *Peintures et ornements des manuscrits, classés dans un ordre chronologique, pour servir à l'histoire des arts du dessin depuis le IV^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle*, 20 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1835–1869), or Auguste de Bastard, *Peintures, ornements, écritures et lettres initiales de la Bible de Charles le Chauve* 13 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1883); Leopold Delisle, *L'Évangélaire de Saint-Vaast d'Arras et la calligraphie franco-saxonne du IX^e siècle* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1888); Jacques Guilmain, "On the classicism of the classic phase of Franco-Saxon Manuscript Illumination," *The Art Bulletin* 59 (1967), pp. 231–35; Wilhelm Koehler and Florentine Mütterich, *Die karolingischen*

The manuscripts are listed below, with the names I have selected for making shorthand reference to them, and approximate dates I have proposed, alongside information about their length and size.

- Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77 = **Le Mans**¹⁰
Dating: 860s
Length: 204 folios
Dimensions: ca. 260 x 195mm
- New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57 = **Chelles**¹¹
Dating: 870s, after 871–873
Folios: 170 folios
Dimensions: 290 x 215mm
- Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41= **Tournai**¹²
Dating: 870s. Before 881
Folios: 206 folios
Dimensions: 270 x 205mm
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2290 = **Saint-Denis**¹³

Miniaturen, vol. 7: *Die frankosächsische Schule*. With Katharina Bierbauer and Fabrizio Crivello. 2 vols (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2009), henceforth Koehler/Mütherich, DfS.

10 Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 140–43; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels manuscrits*, vol. 1, 30–32; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 37, vol. 3, p. 29: “J”; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, 2287n; digitised at: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md24wh247431>.

11 CLLA, p. 356; Henry Bober, “The Sacramentary of Queen Hermentrude.” (Unpublished Study, New York 1959), which is available online in the pdf description of the manuscript: <http://corsair.the-morgan.org/msdescr/BBG0057a.pdf>; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 38–39: “T1”; Koehler/Mütherich, DfS, pp. 228–32; some images appear at: <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/76982>.

12 Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 396ff.; CLLA, 926; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, 2328n; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, pp. 43–45: “T5”; some images available in Tamara Woronowa and Andrej Sterligov, *Westeuropäische Buchmalerei des 8. bis 16. Jahrhunderts in der Russischen Nationalbibliothek* (Augsburg: Bechtermünz, 2000), plates 5–8; text edited by Antonio Staerk, *Les Manuscrits Latins du V^e au XIII^e siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale de Saint-Petersbourg*, vol. 1 (Saint Petersburg: Krois, 1910, repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1976), p. 74ff (with incorrect foliation); the foliation in the upper right, often employed, is unfortunately incorrect from fol. 46 onwards. The correct foliation is marked only at every 10 folios in the lower right corner. I was not able to examine this manuscript in person due to the impact of COVID-19 and the political situation in Russia, but a complete facsimile in microfilm is available in the British Library with the shelfmark London, British Library, Microfilm 703/3.

13 Delisle, *Mémoire*, 102–5; Netzer, *L'introduction de la messe romaine*, pp. 89–91; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 1, pp. 19–21; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 40, vol. 3, p. 34–35: “R”; Anne Walters-Robertson, *The Service Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 384–86; digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8423836x.r=latin%202290?rk=107296;4>.

Dating: ca. 878

Folios: 182 folios

Dimensions: 280 x 215 mm

- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2291 = **Saint-Germain**¹⁴

Dating: 880s, ca. 881–886

Folios: 197 folios

Dimensions: 292 x 214 mm

- Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A 136 = **Sens**¹⁵

Dating: 880s (884–886?)

Folios: 237 folios

Dimensions: 294 x 220 mm

To these complete manuscripts, three fragments of varied length can be added:

- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. lat. 985 = **Bobbio**¹⁶

Dating: 870s, before 877

Folios: 8 folios

Dimensions: 266/275 x 218 mm

- Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 9r–16v = **Noyon**¹⁷

Dating: 880s, ca. 883?

Folios: 8 folios

Dimensions: 340 x 260 mm

¹⁴ Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 148–49; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaire et missels*, vol. 1, pp. 56–58; Netzer, *L'introduction de la messe romaine*, pp. 98–101; CLLA 925; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, 4157n; digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84274502/f1.image.r=Sacramentaire%20saint%20amand>.

¹⁵ Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 106ff; Koehler-Mütherich, *DfS*, pp. 246–49; digitised at: <https://www.manuscripta.se/ms/101124>.

¹⁶ Koehler-Mütherich, *DfS*, pp. 242–45; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, 7181n; facsimile in Franz Unterkircher, *Karolingisches Sakramentar. Fragment. Codex Vindobonensis 958 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1971); digitised at: https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_9194356&order=1&view=SINGLE.

¹⁷ Delisle, *Mémoire*, p. 116; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 1, p. 21–25; CLLA, 1385; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 41–42: “T2 . . . Sacramentaire de Noyon”, vol. 3, pp. 38–39; Koehler-Mütherich, *DfS*, pp. 233–37; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, 5721n; Michel de Lempis and Roger Laslier, *Tresors de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Reims* (Reims: Matot-Braine, 1978), p. 10; digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84489883.r=Sacramentaire%20saint%20amand?rk=107296;4>.

- San Marino, California, The Huntington Library, HM 41785 = **San Marino**¹⁸
Dating: 880s, post-dating **Sens**
Folios: 2 folios
Dimensions: 170 x 225mm

And a complete *libellus missae* or booklet of masses, conceived originally as a single quire:

- Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 275 (A 566), fol. 1–8 = **Rouen**¹⁹
Dating: Late 870s/ early 880s
Folios: 8 folios
Dimensions: 170 x 130mm

The *Katalog* of Bernhard Bischoff indicates that he also identified many other manuscripts as belonging to the same phase of production at Saint-Amand, and among these are two examples of liturgical material of very great interest. Both represent Saint-Amand additions to sacramentaries made elsewhere, each of which have a singular provenance.

- Supplementary material added to an earlier Gregorian Sacramentary: Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 164, fol. 206r–240r. Shorthand reference to complete manuscript = **Cambrai**²⁰
Date of Manuscript: 811/812
Date of Additions: 880s, post-dating **Sens**
Folios: 245 folios
Dimensions: 302 x 111mm
- Monza, Tesoro del Duomo, Ms. 89, of which a small portion, fol. 122v–124r, was more confidently described by Bischoff plainly as: “Saint-Amand Minuskel, s.IX, ca. 3. Viertel.”²¹ Shorthand reference to the complete manuscript = **Berengar**
Dating: 860s, before 867

¹⁸ Deshusses, “Encore les sacramentaires”; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, 5945n; images at: <https://hdl.huntington.org/digital/collection/p15150coll7/id/52673/rec/2>.

¹⁹ Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 292–96; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaire et missels*, vol. 1, pp. 144–45; CLLA, p. 415; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, 5371n; Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis en France du IXe au XVIe siècle*, (Paris: CNRS éditions, 1985), p. 317; Walters-Robertson, *Service Books of the Royal Abbey*, pp. 405–6.

²⁰ Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, p. 170n774: “wohl Saint-Amand-Schreiber, IX Jh., 3. Drittel” and “wohl echte Saint-Amand Minuskel.”

²¹ Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, p. 216n2986. The rest of the manuscript is noted as: “Nordostfrankreich (Saint-Amand?, franko-sächsische Zweigschule?), IX Jh., ca.3. Viertel)” [trans. North East France (Saint-Amand? A Franco-Saxon branch?), around the third quarter of the ninth century].

Folios: 125 folios

Dimensions: 265 x 140mm

Localising the *Scriptorium*

The group of Saint-Amand sacramentaries are, first of all, united by their artistic and palaeographical affinities. All the complete sacramentaries, with the exception of **Saint-Germain**, have a distinctive and beautiful decorative scheme in the folios which contain the Canon of the Mass, at or near the beginning of each manuscript. These pages have borders in gold, which are filled in with interlace pattern, and have ornamental roundels or squares at the corners. The corner compartments are themselves decorated with floral and foliage, interlace or the heads of birds winding around the corners. These employ gold, silver, and varied colours (blue, green, red, and yellow). There are, in addition, two full-page ornamental initials, the V for the *Vere Dignum* that begins the preface to the Canon of the Mass (see Figure 1) and the TE monogram for the *Te Igitur* prayer, that begins the canon itself (Figure 2). These initials have interlace in the shafts, volutes, and the heads of birds or animals at their terminus points. Among the surviving fragments, both the **Bobbio** fragment in Vienna and the canon quire of the **Noyon** fragment preserved the quire with the Canon of the Mass, with this decorative scheme. These are all classic traits of the “Franco-Saxon” style, a distinctive decorative vocabulary that is cultivated in the Carolingian period, particularly in Northern and North-Eastern France. In particular, the sacramentaries were counted within the “Hauptgruppe” of the Franco-Saxon style in the definitive study by Koehler and Mütterich; that is, they could all be attributed to a single centre that was particularly productive, creative, and skilled in its use of “Franco-Saxon” motifs.²² The developments in the artistic style of the manuscripts are of great assistance in establishing chronology, especially since Saint-Amand produced, in tandem, an even more extensive series of Gospel Books with initials and frames in the same style. The crowning glory of this group is the “Second Bible of Charles the Bald,” Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2, which opens the Book of Genesis with a series of framed pages, and has initials at the opening of each subsequent book of the Bible, which employ the

²² Koehler/Mütterich, DfS, pp. 20–21.



Figure 1: Ornamented page with V initial in a sacramentary made at Saint-Amand for Saint-Denis, late ninth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2290, fol. 19r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

same interlace and zoomorphic motifs as the sacramentaries, in an extraordinary variance.²³ As the name indicates, the book was produced as a present for King, later Emperor, Charles the Bald (823–877).

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 253–78 Jacques Guilmain, “The Illuminations of the Second Bible of Charles the Bald,” *Speculum* 41 (1966), pp. 246–60; digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452767n.image>.



Figure 2: Ornamented page with TE initial for the opening of the Canon of the Mass in a sacramentary made at Saint-Amand, 870s. New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 4v. Photographic credit: The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

The affinities of the group of manuscripts had long been noted, but the identity of the *scriptorium* to which they should all be attributed remained disputed for some time in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.²⁴ It was resolved in the

²⁴ The Second Bible had been located to Saint-Denis by Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 59–61, 400 and Albert Mathias Friend Jr., “Carolingian Art in the Abbey of St. Denis,” *Art Studies, Medieval, Renaissance and Modern*, 1 (1923), pp. 71–75; Carl Nordenfalk, “Ein karolingisches Sacramentar aus

1940s by the independent demonstrations of Charles Niver in an unpublished dissertation at Harvard University and François Boutemy in an article in the journal *Scriptorium*.²⁵ Both concluded that these books were produced by artists and scribes working at Saint-Amand. The monastery was already known as one of the most important *scriptoria* of the Carolingian realms, and subsequent work has underlined the importance and extent of its scribal activity.²⁶ Boutemy proceeded specifically from the similarities of the illuminations of the Franco-Saxon “school” with manuscripts known to be from Saint-Amand, such as the hagiographic collection Ghent, Bibliothèque de l’Université, Ms. 224, containing the life of the patron saint and founder, St. Amandus of Maastricht (ca. 575–676).²⁷ In particular, he noted the commonality of ornamental motifs here and in the Second Bible of Charles the Bald. He also identified the author of the dedicatory poem that introduced the Second Bible as the savant, composer, and hagiographer, Huchald of Saint-Amand (ca. 840–930), who wrote other poems for Charles.²⁸ Niver worked

Echternach und seine Vorläufer,” *Acta Archaeologica* 11 (1931), pp. 207–44 suggested Saint-Vaast of Arras was the atelier.

25 Charles Mather Smith Niver, “A Study of Certain of the More Important Manuscripts of the Franco-Saxon School,” (PhD. Diss., Harvard University, 1941), a copy of which I consulted at the British Library in London; André Boutemy, “Le Style franco-saxon, style de Saint-Amand,” *Scriptorium* 3 (1949), pp. 260–64; André Boutemy, “Quel fut le foyer du style franco-saxon?,” in *Miscellanea Tornacensia. Mélanges élanges d’archéologie et d’histoire. Annales du XXXIII congrès. Fédération Archéologique et Historique de Belgique*, vol. 2 (Brussels: Éditions Labor, 1951), pp. 749–73.

26 On the *scriptorium* of Saint-Amand see Julius Desilve, *De Schola Elnonensi Sancti Amandi a saeculo IX ad XII usque; dissertatio historica* (Louvain: Peeters, 1890); Leopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale* vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1868), pp. 307–14; André Boutemy, “Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de Saint-Amand d’après les manuscrits et les anciens catalogues,” *Scriptorium* 1 (1946), pp. 6–16; Marie-Pierre Dion, “Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de l’abbaye de Saint-Amand au IX^e siècle,” in *La Cantilène de sainte Eulalie. Actes du Colloque de Valenciennes 21 mars 1989*, ed. Marie-Pierre Don (1990), pp. 35–52; Françoise Simeray, “Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de l’abbaye de Saint-Amand,” *Positions des thèses de l’École des Chartes* (1990), pp. 151–59; Rosamond McKitterick “Carolingian Book Production: Some Problems,” *The Library* 6–12, no. 1 (March 1990), pp. 1–33, reprinted as Article XII in *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms* (Farnham: Ashgate, 1994).

27 The Ghent MS is available online: <https://lib.ugent.be/viewer/archive.ugent.be%3AE336B140-751E-11E6-9B48-3FC1D43445F2?cv=&c=&m=&s=&xywh=-1184%2C-1%2C5918%2C5218>; Albert Derolez, *Medieval manuscripts: Ghent University library* (Ghent: Snoeck, 2017), pp. 96–97, 99; the Life of Saint-Amand appears here with the additions of Milo of Saint-Amand (ca. 809–871/2), ed. Bruno Krusch, *MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingiarum*, vol. 5 (Hannover/Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1910), pp. 395–485.

28 The poem is Paris, BnF, lat. 2, fol. 1v–3r; edited *Ad Karolum Carlum*, ed. Ludwig Traube *MGH Poetae latini medii aevi*, vol. 3, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini III* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896),

directly from our sacramentaries. Specifically, **Tournai** in Saint Petersburg, **Sens** in Stockholm and **Saint-Germain** in Paris all displayed in various ways that they were products of the monastery of Saint-Amand. In all three cases, the patron saint, Amandus of Maastricht, appears at multiple times in the manuscripts, in a place of honour, and in ways that show he was a patron.²⁹ Prayers said in certain places in the monastery, found at the end of **Sens** in Stockholm, also map exactly onto Saint-Amand's ecclesiastical topography.³⁰ Most obviously four feasts of St. Amandus appear in the calendars preceding both **Sens** and **Tournai**, including those peculiar to the monastery's own history, which were only celebrated there: "Transitus sancti Amandi episcopi et confessoris" (8th February), the "Elevatio corporis sancti Amandi" (20th September), "Restitutio corporis sancti Amandi" (23rd October) and "Ordinatio et translatio sancti Amandi episcopi et dedicatio ecclesiae

pp. 255–57; For Hucbald, see Henri Platelle, "Hucbald de Saint-Amand," *Nouvelle Biographie nationale*, vol. 2 (Brussels: Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, 1990), pp. 225–28; Henri Platelle, "Le thème de la conversion à travers les œuvres hagiographiques d'Hucbald de Saint-Amand," *Revue du Nord* 68 (1986), pp. 511–31; Yves Chartier, "Clavis operum Hucbaldi Elnonensis. Bibliographie des œuvres d'Hucbald de Saint-Amand," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 5 (1995), pp. 202–24; Julia Smith, "The Hagiography of Hucbald of Saint-Amand," *Studi Medievali* 3e série 35 (1994), pp. 517–42; Julia Smith, "A hagiographer at Work. Hucbald and the Library at Saint-Amand," *RevBen* 106 (1996), pp. 151–71; Julia Smith, "La réécriture chez Hucbald de Saint-Amand," *Francia* 71 (2010), pp. 271–86.

29 Amandus appears repeatedly in the Canon of the Mass, where patron saints were generally named. In two manuscripts, the name appears among the list of saints in the *Libera nos* prayer as "beato amando confessore tuo" (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 22r) or "beato amando pontifice tuo" (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 22r), and he also appears in the *Communicantes* prayer of **Tournai** and **Noyon** (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 15r). Elsewhere, in votive masses that concerned the church in which the Sacramentary would be used, the monastery of Saint-Amand is clearly identified. In the *MISSA IN ECCLESIA CUIUSLIBET MARTYRIS SIUE CONFESSORIS*, the saint "qui in praesenti requiescit ecclesia," [trans. who rests in this church] is specifically Amandus in **Tournai** (Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 160v). Amandus is also the only saint written in capital letters in the litanies present in **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 15v, 198v, and 203v).

30 A prayer *IN INTROITU (BASILICAE)* and an *ORATIO IN BASILICA* both identify St. Amandus as the patron of the basilica in question (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 225r). On the Basilica, see Jacques Gardelles, "Recherches sur l'église abbatiale de Saint-Amand avant la reconstruction baroque," *Revue de Nord* 199 (1968), pp. 511–17. In addition, two prayers are found here to be said in the *ECCLESIA SANCTI PETRI* (fol. 224v) and the *BASILICA SANCTI ANDREAE* (fol. 224r), which were the exact dedications of two additional churches in the complex of the Saint-Amand monastery, see Pierre Héliot, "Textes relatifs à l'architecture du haut moyen âge dans le nord de France," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 115 (1956), pp. 5–17, at pp. 10–14; Platelle, *Le temporal*, pp. 49–51.

ipsius” (26th October).³¹ The sacramentaries therefore offer the most decisive evidence indicating that the artistic “school” of the Franco-Saxon style worked very closely with the *scriptorium* of Saint-Amand monastery in the production of these deluxe books. Boutemy and Niver therefore located the “school” as a fixed feature at the monastery itself, and concluded that scribes and artists worked alongside one another there, implying thereby that the latter were monks of Saint-Amand as well. Koehler and Mütterich assumed a similar set-up in the standard reference for the “Franco-Saxon” style. However, the story of this collaboration seems to have been significantly more complicated, as discussed in chapter 2.

The palaeography of the “Hauptgruppe” manuscripts and their use of a consistent hierarchy of scripts supports their common origin. The main text is a near-perfect Caroline minuscule of uniform character and remarkable quality. More in-depth palaeographical assessment will also be offered in chapter 2, but Bernhard Bischoff’s *Katalog* indicates that the renowned palaeographer identified the distinguishing features of manuscripts of Saint-Amand, and broadly those belonging to a similar time as the sacramentaries (either “IX Jh., 3. Viertel” or “3./4 Viertel”). He was also able to identify the fragments of two folios in **San Marino** (Figure 3) as originating from at least one additional, now lost sacramentary of Saint-Amand from the same febrile productive phase.³²

Palaeography also enabled Palazzo to show the affinities of the original single quire booklet in **Rouen**, a *libellus missae*, with the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, and he demonstrated that this booklet offers material that overlaps with the complete mass books.³³ However, Bischoff’s *Katalog* mistakenly identifies two further fragments from Saint-Amand as sacramentaries, when they contain liturgical material of another nature. Vatican City, BAV, lat. 10644, fol. 34–35 is actually a lectionary.³⁴ Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 583, fol. 9v is an early Collectar, containing

31 Henri de Moreau, *Saint Amand Apotre de la Belgique et du Nord de la France* (Louvain: Muséum Lessianum, 1927), pp. 269–78; The *Transitus* is the oldest feast for Amandus’s death; the *Translatio* refers to the taking of the body into the monastery basilica in 677 but was also associated with Amandus’s episcopal ordination, the *Elevatio* celebrates the raising of the tomb of St. Amandus in 809 to protect it from floods, undertaken by the deacon Lotharius (d. 828) under Abbot Arn’s instructions, while the *Restitutio* commemorates the return of the body into the new crypt built for it at that time.

32 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 343.

33 Eric Palazzo, “Un ‘Libellus Missae’ du scriptorium de Saint-Amand pour Saint-Denis. Son intérêt pour la typologie des manuscrits liturgiques,” *RevBen* 99 (1989), pp. 286–92; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 282n5371: “Saint-Amand, IX Jh., 3./4. Viertel.”

34 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 457: “[Sacramentarium] . . . [Saint-Amand]”; Digitised at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.10644.

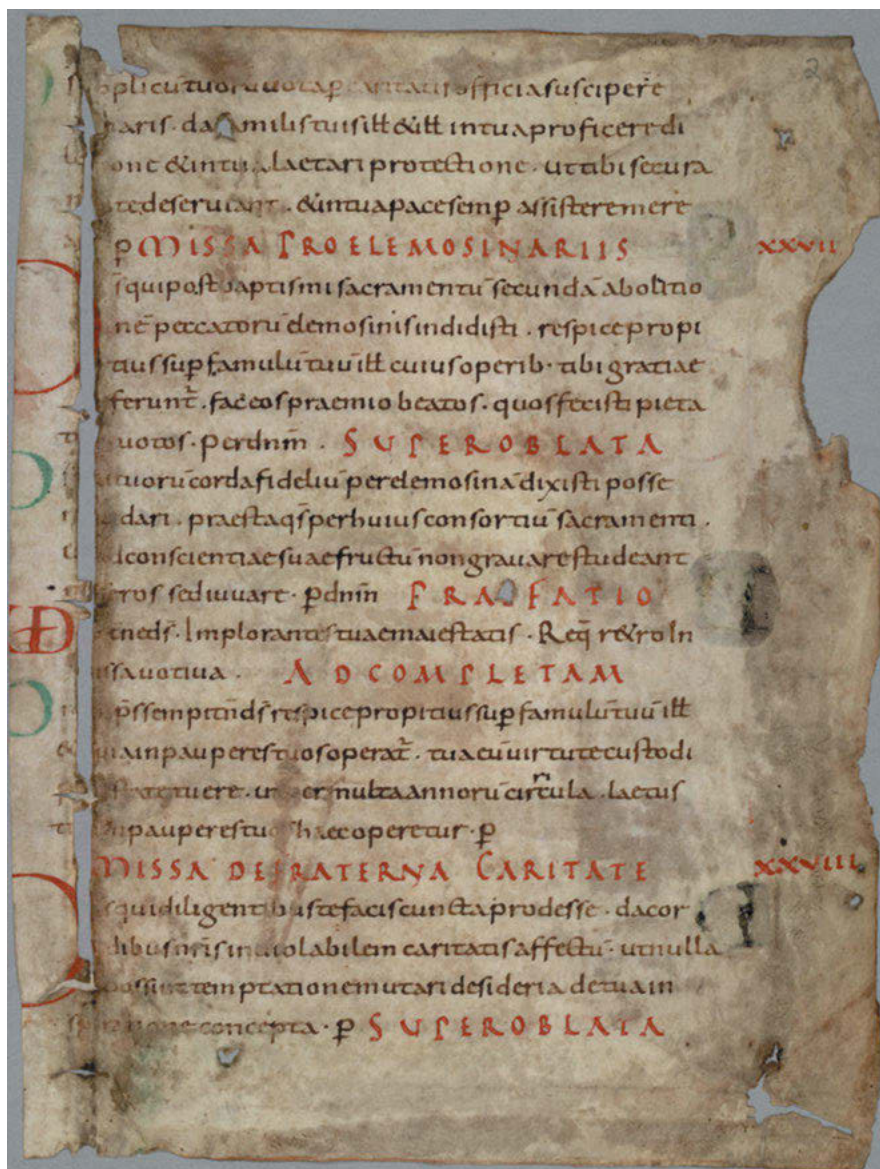


Figure 3: Single page with votive masses from a fragment of a Sacramentary written by Saint-Amand scribes, late ninth century. HM 41785, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, fol. 2r.

prayers for the Divine office.³⁵ Though this latter fragment is even written in very similar script and laid out similarly on the page to our sacramentaries, with alternating red and green initials like them, it differs in details of content and intended use, and will not, therefore, be discussed in depth here.

Later Provenance of the Sacramentaries of Saint-Amand

While Saint-Amand was therefore the centre of production of the books we are concerned with here, they had all dispersed in the next century, to a range of cathedral churches and monasteries. In some cases, patron saints appear in the original script of the manuscript which show that the book was originally made for a centre other than Saint-Amand, specifically the local bishopric uniting the sees of Tournai and Noyon, as well as the monastery of Saint-Denis in Paris. In other cases, additions made to the manuscript added at a later date show it had reached another centre at a certain point in its history. Jean Deshusses (1908–1997), in the only study of the sacramentaries as a group thus far, summarised evidence for the peregrinations of the books.³⁶ As is common with early medieval mass books, and what renders them critical sources for localising other related manuscripts, we find clues particularly in the Canon of the Mass, which generally comes at or near the beginning of the manuscript. Here, patron saints were commonly added by scribes to a standard list of Roman martyrs. Specifically, we find them in the lists of saints found in three prayers known after their first words: the *Communicantes*, the *Nobis quoque* and the *Libera Nos*.³⁷

35 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, p. 176: “Sacramentarium Gregorianum . . . Typische Minuskel der franko-sächsischen Saint-Amand-Phase . . . Saint-Amand, IX Jh. 3. Drittel”; André de Glay, *Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Cambrai* (Cambrai: Hurez, 1831), p. 106; see also the discussion in Pierre-Marie Gy, “Collectaire, rituel, processional,” *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 44 (1960), pp. 441–69; in Louis Brou and André Wilmart, *The Psalter Collects from V–VI Century Sources*, HBS 83 (London: Boydell Press, 1949), the individual Collects of the Saint-Amand fragment can be found in the Series Romana as 88 (p. 202), 90 (pp. 202–3), 93 (p. 204), 94 (p. 204), 95 (p. 204), 96 (p. 205), 142 (p. 224), 137 (p. 222), and 138 (p. 223).

36 Jean Deshusses, “Chronologie des sacramentaires de Saint-Amand,” *RevBen* 87 (1977): 230–37.

37 Giacomo Baroffio, “I manoscritti liturgici. Loro individuazione e descrizione,” in *Documentare il manoscritto: Problematica di un censimento. Atti del Seminario Roma, 6–7 April, 1987*, ed. Tristano Garguilo (Rome: ICCU, 1987), pp. 67–85.

– **Le Mans** has an added folio (Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77, fol. 25) with the patronal mass for the feast day of St. Julian of Le Mans (27.01), dated to the tenth century.³⁸ It was therefore at this Cathedral by then.

– **Chelles** has two additions, most likely tenth and eleventh century in date respectively, which both point to the nunnery of Chelles. As, after their productive phase of the eighth century/early ninth century, no manuscripts survive from Chelles at all from later periods, these are of particular interest.³⁹ On New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 105v a mass against a threat to the community specifically mentions Saints Bathildis, George and the Virgin Mary, to whom the Basilica of Chelles was dedicated (s.XI). A mass surviving partially on fol. 1r also commemorated St Bertilla, the first abbess of Chelles (probably s.X). A lost first folio must have had the beginning of this mass, since Mabillon recorded the complete mass from this manuscript (“ex veteri sacramentario” [trans. from an old sacramentary]) while he was at Chelles in 1704.⁴⁰ It was still at Chelles in 1736, when the mass of Bathildis was used for the new Breviary issued by the Archbishop of Paris Charles De Luc (Bishop 1729–1746) and noted as an “antiquis sacramentorium libris tempore Caroli Calvi” [trans. An ancient sacramentary of the time of Charles the Bald].⁴¹ Thus, local memory persisted at Chelles that linked the manuscript to the Carolingian monarch under whom it was copied. Nothing survives in the manuscript today that would have dated it, but it is possible the lost first page had some record, perhaps of a donation by him or one of his female relatives.

³⁸ Louis Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, vol. 2: *L'Aquitaine et les Lyonnaises* (Paris: Thorin, 1910), pp. 301–40.

³⁹ On scribal activity at Chelles of an earlier date, as well as below n. 167 see Henry Mayr-Harting, “Augustine of Hippo, Chelles, and the Carolingian Renaissance: Cologne Cathedral Manuscript 63,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 45 (2011), pp. 51–75; broadly on nuns’ *scriptoria*, Felice Lipsitz, *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia: A Study of Manuscript Transmission and Monastic Culture* (Fordham: University Press, 2014).

⁴⁰ Jean Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti Occidentalium Monachorum Patriarchae* (Paris: Robustel, 1704), vol. 2, p. 691: “Missa de s. Bertila prima abbatissa Celensi. Nonas Novembris natale S. Bertila abbatissae.” [trans. A Mass of St Bertila, first Abbess of Chelles. Nones of November, Feast of Bertila]. I discuss the Chelles additions to the Morgan library sacramentary, which also include an early mass for St. Christopher with particular attention to minor female figures of his legend, in more depth in Arthur Westwell, “The local lives of a liturgical manuscript: Saint-Amand and Chelles in the history of the Franco-Saxon Sacramentary in the Morgan Library,” in *Power, Patronage, and Production: Book Arts from Central Europe (ca. 800–1500) in American Collections*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Beatrice Kitzinger, and Joshua O’Driscoll (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies Press, forthcoming.)

⁴¹ Telchilde de Montessus. “Sacramentaires carolingiens à l’abbaye de Chelles,” *Scriptorium* 28 (1974), p. 274.

– **Tournai** has the name of St Piatius of Tournai twice in the original script of the Canon of the Mass: in the *Communicates* (Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 17r) “cosmae et damiani atque piatonis . . . amandi” and in the *Libera nos* (fol. 18v) “necnon et beato piatone martyre tuo” [trans. as well as your blessed martyr Piatius].⁴² There is also in another prayer original to the canon text, the *Memento* for the living (fol. 16v), where we find an intercession for the congregation of the church of Piatius: “omnis congregationis beati piatonis martyris tui” [trans. for all the congregation of your blessed martyr Piatius]. We can therefore be certain that, when the sacramentary was written, it was intended that the manuscript would go to the diocese of Tournai, probably to the cathedral.⁴³ The monastery of Saint-Amand certainly owned property in Tournai.⁴⁴ Tournai was destroyed by the Vikings in 881, so this represents a likely *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript.⁴⁵

– **Saint-Denis** can be set apart from the other books in its content and conception. It was clearly designed from the outset for the monastery of Saint-Denis. The calendar here differs from the two other sacramentaries that possess one (**Sens**

⁴² For Piatius and his veneration see Jean Dumoulin and Jacques Pycke, “Les saints Piat et Eleuthère,” in *Childéric-Clovis. 1500e anniversaire. 482–1982, Catalogue d’exposition* (Tournai: Casterman, 1982), pp. 172–73; Charles Mériaux, “Piat, Nicaise ou Éleuthère. Quels étaient les saints spécialement honorés à Tournai pendant le haut Moyen Âge,” in *Villes et campagnes en Neustrie: Sociétés, économies, territoires, christianisation; actes des XXVe Journées Internationales d’Archéologie Mérovingienne de l’AFAM*, ed. Laurent Verslype, (Montagnac: Mergoïl, 2007), 301–4; Charles Mériaux, *Gallia Irradiata. Saints et sanctuaires dans le nord de la Gaule du haut Moyen Âge* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2006), pp. 326–27, 364.

⁴³ Brigitte Meijns, “Des basiliques rurales dans le nord de la France? Une étude critique de l’origine mérovingienne de quelques communautés de chanoines,” *Sacris Erudiri* 41 (2002), pp. 312–15.

⁴⁴ According to the fragmentary ninth-century polyptych of Saint-Amand, found in Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 392, see Dieter Hägermann and Andreas Hedwig, eds., *Das Polyptychon und die Notitia de Areis von Saint-Maur-des-Fossés*, Beihefte der Francia, 23 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990), pp. 103–5: “Sunt in Tornacu . . .”; Platelle, *Le Temporal*, p. 90; Fernand Vercauteren, *Études sur les civitates de la Belgique Secunde* (Brussels: Hayez, 1934, repr. Hildesheim: Olm, 1974), p. 244.

⁴⁵ Vercauteren, *Études*, pp. 247–48; Jacques Pycke, “Urbs fuerat quondam, quod adhuc uestigiis monstrant. Reflections sur l’histoire de Tournai pendant la Haut Moyen Age,” in *La Génése et les premiers siècles des villes médiévales dans les Pays-Bas Médiévaux. Un problème archéologique et historique* (Brussels: Crédit communal, 1990), pp. 211–33; Albert d’Haenens, *Les invasions normandes en Belgique au IX^e siècle* (Louvain: Béatrice Nauwelaerts, 1967), p. 126; in *Annales Vedastini*, ed. Bernard de Simson, *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, vol. 12 (Hannover/Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1909), at p. 46 “Nortmanni vero Tornacum civitatem et omnia monasteria supra Scaldum ferro et igne devastant, interfectis accolis terrae atque captivitatibus.” [trans. But the Northmen destroyed the city of Tournai and all the monasteries on the Scarpe with fire and iron, having killed and taken captive the people of the land].

and **Tournai**). Here, it includes the feasts of St. Dionysius; for example, Paris, BnF, lat. 2290, fol. 1v: “Parisius civitate quinto ferme ab urbe milario. dedicatio ecclesiae beatissimorum martyrum Dionysii Rustici et Eleutherii” (24th February), and omits any of those specific to Saint-Amand. As part of the original writing of the canon, the *Libera Nos* prayer has an invocation of St. Dionysius himself and his two companions, on fol. 22r: “sancto Dyonisio martyre tuo atque pontifice cum sociis suis Rustico et Eleutherio.” The three are further commemorated in masses which are part of the original content of this manuscript, firstly on fol. 93v: MISSA IN UENERATIONE SANCTORUM MARTYRUM DYONISII RUSTICI ET ELEUTHERII. Secondly, fol. 129v–130r has another votive mass: MISSA SPECIALIUM SANCTORUM. Here not only Dionysius and his companions are mentioned, but the mass also lists other saints whose relics were possessed by Saint-Denis: “stephani, dionysii, rustici, eleutherii, sebastiani, laurentii, ypoliti, cucuphatis, innocentii.”⁴⁶ This manuscript was therefore designed for the use of the monastery of Saint-Denis and appears to have remained there. In fact, **Saint-Denis** shares specific content with later books from Saint-Denis, and is only distantly related, with regard to content, to other Saint-Amand sacramentaries.⁴⁷ Therefore, it is clear it was constructed in a special process on the basis of material from Saint-Denis. It is quite likely that a scribe of Saint-Amand travelled to Saint-Denis and wrote the book there, perhaps summoned by an Abbot of Saint-Denis, either Charles the Bald himself or, more likely, Gauzlin, Abbot of Saint-Amand, who also became Abbot of Saint-Denis in 878.

– **Saint-Germain** also has additions that point clearly to the city of Paris. On Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 6v is a list of the bishops of Paris, which originally went up to the important figure of Gauzlin (d. 886), who was also Abbot of Saint-Amand, Saint-Denis and Saint-Germain, as well as Jumièges.⁴⁸ This list was then updated several times. But, more pertinent still, the manuscript was obviously in the possession of Gauzlin’s own abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.⁴⁹ The patron of this abbey, St. Germanus of Paris, is variously commemorated in additions, on fol. 5r is a MISSA PROPRIA SANCTI GERMANI of the tenth century and, on fol. 1v, an even earlier chant with neumes, dated within the ninth century: “Sancte Germane

⁴⁶ Walters-Robertson, *Service Books of the Royal Abbey*, pp. 30, 66–67.

⁴⁷ **Senlis** (see appendix 14), but, more thoroughly, **Laon** (see appendix 15).

⁴⁸ Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, vol. 2, pp. 464–76; Jacques Dubois, “Les évêques de Paris des origines à l’avènement du Hughes Capet,” *Bulletin de la société de l’histoire de Paris et de l’Île de France* 96 (1969), pp. 33–98; on such lists, Jacques Dubois, “La composition des anciennes listes épiscopales,” *Bulletin de la société de l’histoire de Paris et de l’Île de France*, 95 (1967), pp. 74–100.

⁴⁹ André Wilmart, “Un sacramentaire à l’usage de Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Mentions nécrologiques relatives à ce monastère,” *Revue Mabillon* 17 (1927), pp. 379–94.

Christi confessore, audi rogantes serulos” [trans. St. Germanus, confessor of Christ, hear your beseeching servants].⁵⁰ Later liturgical material concerning St. Germanus was added on fol. 17v. Despite the original commemoration of St. Amandus in the Canon of the Mass, which was later crossed out, this manuscript was therefore soon after its creation in the possession of the abbey of Saint-Germain, during the episcopacy of Bishop Gauzlin which ended with his death in 886 (a *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript).

– **Sens** has ample additions that point clearly to the cathedral of Sens as a later home for the manuscript. Firstly, a note was added to the Canon in the tenth century (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 28v) to commemorate the first archbishops of Sens in the *Communicantes* prayer: “Sauiniani et Potentiani.” On fol. 1v, accompanying the computus material, two notes in two separate hands added the dates of the consecration of two early medieval archbishops of Sens, first Walter I (Archbishop 887–923) and, subsequently, his nephew, Walter II (Archbishop 923–927). The first Walter is also the subject of an addition in the calendar (fol. 6v “III nonas aprilis Consecratio Gaulterii archiepiscopi”) and other additions to this calendar also added feasts of saints particularly celebrated in Sens; for example, on fol. 10v in capitals: “SENONES NATALIS SANCTI SAUINIANI ET POTENTIANI MARTYRI” (30th December). On fol. 3v is a list of the churches that belonged to the diocese of Sens, from the tenth century, entitled “NOMINA ECCLESIAIARUM SENONUM DE MINISTERIO” and on fol. 4r a list of the bishops of Sens firstly up to Archemboldus (Archbishop 958–967), then updated up to Leotheric (Archbishop 999–1032).⁵¹ On fol. 237v oaths of fidelity were signed by Rainard, Abbot of Saint-Jean in Sens, to Archbishop William of Sens (Archbishop 1168–1176) and by Emeline, Abbess of Pommeraiie, to Archbishop Hugh of Sens (Archbishop 1142–1168). Therefore, the manuscript was not only present in Sens for an extended period, likely from the archiepiscopacy of Walter I, but it was clearly used in archiepiscopal ceremonies there into the twelfth century. Walter I of Sens was notably chancellor of the West Frankish realm from 894–898, having succeeded Abbot Gauzlin.⁵²

50 Susan Rankin, *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe: The Invention of Musical Notation* (Cambridge: University Press, 2018), p. 111: “s.IX ex.”

51 Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, vol. 2, pp. 395–421.

52 Stéphane Lecouteux, “Le Contexte De Rédaction Des Annales De Flodoard De Reims (919–966) Partie 2: Présentation Des Résultats De La Relecture Critique Du Début Des Annales,” *Le Moyen Âge* 141 (2010), pp. 283–318, at p. 287n20; Olivier Guillot, “Les étapes de l’accession d’Eudes,” in ed. Georges Duby, *Media in Francia. Recueil de mélanges offert à Karl Ferdinand Werner à l’occasion de son 65e anniversaire par ses amis et collègues français* (Paris: Hérault, 1989), pp. 199–223, at pp. 203–6.

The surviving fragments have more complex provenance, and must be treated in more depth.

– An interesting journey can certainly be reconstructed for the first fragment, **Bobbio**. We know this fragment containing the Canon of the Mass, with one extra folio with the ordination of a subdeacon, was once the first part of a full sacramentary that is no longer extant. The Canon preserves standard contents, including the Roman saints usually present, but extensive marginal additions have been added in at least two stages, pointing to somewhat contradictory locations. Firstly, in both the *Communicantes* (Vienna, ÖNB, cod. lat. 958, fol. 6v) and *Nobis quoque* prayer (fol. 8r), the name “sancti Lanberti” or “Landberto” was added, indicating the martyred bishop of the diocese of Lieges/Lüttich. But a hand only somewhat later, of the later ninth century, added more extensive additions to the *Libera nos* (Figure 4), firstly “et electo archangelo tuo Michaelis” above the line after the name “maria” and before “et beatis apostolis tuis,” then, in the margin on the left of Figure 4 in the larger script, “necnon et protomartyre tuo Stefano et leuita Laurencio et beatissimis sacerdotibus et confessoribus Siro Ambrosio atque Innocencio sanctoque Marciano martire tuo atque pontifice cum omnibus sanctis.” Unterkircher noted that the latter addition included Lombard saints, St. Sirus of Pavia and St. Ambrose of Milan, but did not draw specific attention to the fact that the last two names indicate clearly the city and bishopric of Tortona, as Crivello later pointed out.⁵³ St. Marcianus was a semi-legendary first bishop and St. Innocentius a later successor, more securely attested, and both were venerated in the city, while the cathedral of Tortona was, and remains, dedicated to St. Laurence.⁵⁴

Tortona is unlikely enough that a link can probably be adduced to the imperial consecration of Charles the Bald’s wife Richilde of Provence (ca. 845–910) in that city by Pope John VIII in 877.⁵⁵ The Bishop of Tortona, then Teodolf (Bishop 848–877), likely passed the manuscript to the monastery of Bobbio, to which he certainly gave at least one other manuscript, today Vatican City, BAV, lat. 5775.⁵⁶ Extensive

⁵³ Unterkircher, *Karolingisches Sakramentar*; Fabrizio Crivello, *La miniatura a Bobbio tra IX e X secolo e i suoi modelli carolingi* (Turin: Allemandi, 2001), p. 16, 132; Michael was also particularly venerated in Lombard Italy, see Ermanno S. Aslan, “San Michele: Un archangel per i Longobardi,” *Numismatica e antichità classiche* 30 (2001), pp. 273–93 and appears above all in Italian sacramentaries.

⁵⁴ Marcianus is mentioned by Walafrid Strabo (808–849) as the first Bishop of Tortona, also see Fidèle Savio, “La Légende des SS. Faustin et Jovite,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 15 (1896), pp. 1–72, 113–59, 377–400, at pp. 56–62, and on Innocentius of Tortona at pp. 377–84.

⁵⁵ Crivello, *La miniatura a Bobbio*, p. 16, 132.

⁵⁶ Carlo Cipolla, *Codice diplomatico del monastero di S. Columbano di Bobbio* (Rome: tip. del Senato, 1918), pp. 182–84.

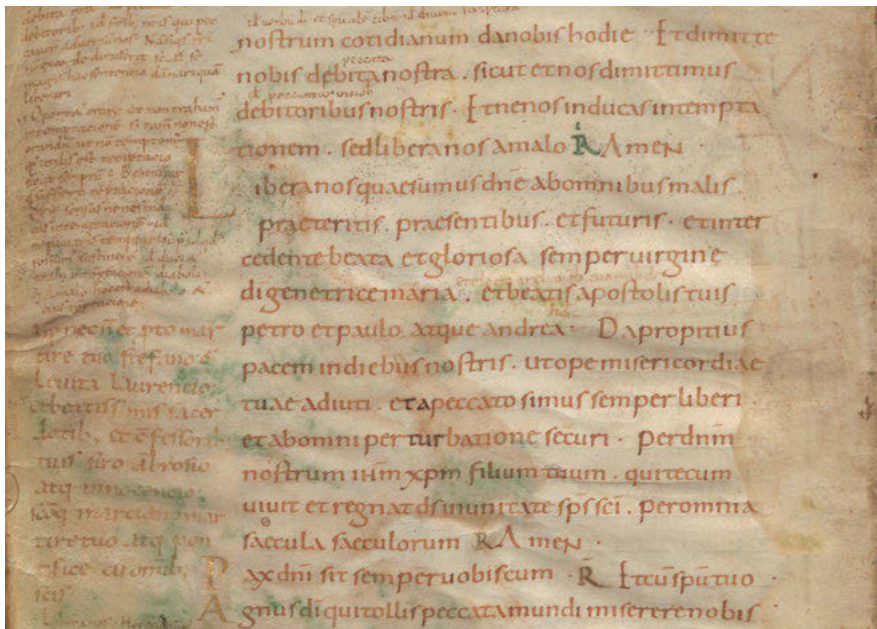


Figure 4: Portion of the Canon of the Mass from a fragment of a sacramentary made at Saint-Amand, 870s, with additions made in Tortona and Bobbio, end of the ninth century/beginning of the tenth century. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. lat. 958, fol. 5v.

marginal glossing of the surviving quire of our manuscript, **Bobbio**, also visible in the upper left corner of Figure 4, was added by scribes at Bobbio around the end of the ninth century.⁵⁷ The Sacramentary from Saint-Amand is witnessed in the 1461 catalogue of Bobbio, as a still mostly complete manuscript, with some clues as to the original content.⁵⁸ It has long been noted, and was extensively demonstrated by Crivello’s monograph, that this Saint-Amand Sacramentary exercised significant influence on the practice of manuscript illumination at Bobbio,

⁵⁷ Paolo Collura, *Studi paleografici: La precarolina e la carolina a Bobbio* (Milan: Hoepli, 1943, repr. Florence: Olschki, 1965), pp. 120–34; Franz Unterkircher, “Interpretatio canonis missae in codice Vindobonensi 958,” *EphLit* 91 (1977), pp. 32–50, 36–37: “Omnes istae notae palaeographicae etiam in aliis codicibus scriptoria Bobiensis temporis Agilulfi apparent” [trans. All these notes seem palaeographically to be related to those in other books written at Bobbio at the time of Agilulf].

⁵⁸ *Inventarium librorum monasterii S. Columbani de Bobio quod renovatum fuit in 1461*, ed. Amadeus Peyron, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationum Fragmenta inedita* (Stuttgart/Tübingen: Cotta, 1824), pp. 1–68, at 57.

and several slightly later manuscripts directly copied motifs from it, including one important liturgical source, a missal in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 84 inf.⁵⁹ This copying of Bobbio books which used the Saint-Amand sacramentary as a source of artistic inspiration seems to have taken place principally during the reign of Abbot Agilulf (Abbot 883–896).⁶⁰ This includes the Ambrosiana Plenary Missal, but it was likely only completed after Agilulf's death, probably in the very early tenth century.⁶¹ Thus, the Sacramentary of Saint-Amand, of which today only this fragment survives, was present in Bobbio before the end of the ninth century, after travelling through Tortona. Crivello did not, however, discuss at all the liturgical influence the Saint-Amand Sacramentary and other Northern French books exercised at Bobbio.⁶²

– The case of **Noyon**, another fragment, is more complicated. It was long assumed that the entire sacramentary, today Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, was copied as a complete text in the ninth century.⁶³ In Deshusses's reading, the manuscript could thus be attributed in its entirety to the *scriptorium* of Saint-Amand.⁶⁴ However, Boutemy noticed decades earlier that the script of main body of the manuscript is quite different from the single folio containing the Canon of the Mass, and that this main text differs from other Saint-Amand manuscripts in the Franco-Saxon style, the script being more rounded, capitals more incoherent in form and the ornamental letters more discordant, in his judgement.⁶⁵ Bischoff's *Katalog* indicates that this had not escaped the palaeographer's attention. He only recorded the portion containing the Canon of the Mass (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 9–16), as being of the ninth century at all: “[Saint-Amand, IX.

⁵⁹ Rudolf Beer, *Monumenta Palaeographica Vindobensis*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1913), pp. 54–73; the missal is digitized at: <https://digitallibrary.unicatt.it/veneranda/0b02da8280051c0c>.

⁶⁰ Crivello, *La Miniatura a Bobbio*, pp. 91–92.

⁶¹ Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, p. 154n2616: “IX Jh., 3. Drittel”; a dedication page was left empty, perhaps because of Agilulf's death.

⁶² Eric Palazzo, review of *La miniature a Bobbio tra IX e X secolo e i suoi modelli carolingi Turin/Londres/Venise, Allemandi 2001* by Fabrizio Crivello, *Archivi di arte antica* (2004), pp. 187–88 at p. 188: “il est dommage que rien, ou presque rien, n'apparaisse concernant les fonctions liturgiques, voire plus largement historiques, des manuscrits.” [trans. It is a shame that nothing, or almost nothing, appears concerning the liturgical functions, or, to say more expansively, the historical functions, of the manuscripts].

⁶³ Assumed by Delisle, *Mémoire*, p. 116; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, pp. 21–25; Koehler/Mütherich, *DFS*, pp. 233–37 and the above discussions of the Franco-Saxon school (n. 9).

⁶⁴ Deshusses, “Chronologie des sacramentaires de Saint-Amand,” pp. 231–232.

⁶⁵ Boutemy, “Quel fut le foyer?,” pp. 763–64.

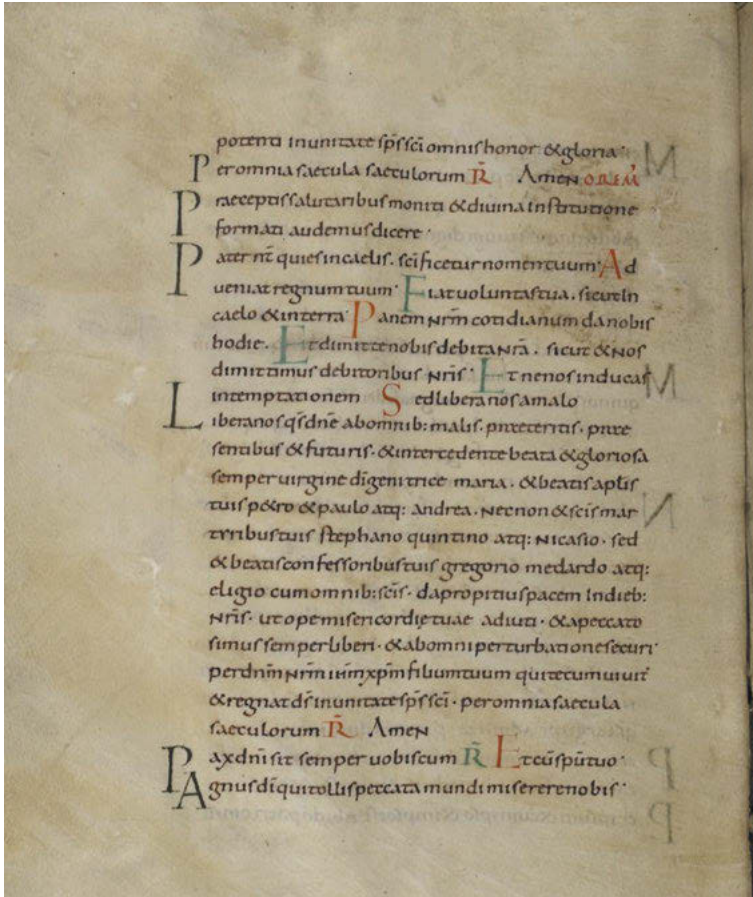


Figure 5: Closing page of a fragment with the Canon of the Mass written by Saint-Amand scribes, 880s. Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 16v. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Carnegie de Reims.

Jh, 3./4. Viertel].”⁶⁶ The absence of the rest of the sacramentary from the *Katalog* implied Bischoff’s judgement that the main text of the book was later than the ninth century. This can be confirmed by the more extensive notes in Bichoff’s Nachlass in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.⁶⁷ When we compare the script from fol. 16v to 17r (in Figures 5 and 6), the transition to a later hand, which imitated the early hand of the canon in some respects, is very clear, despite

⁶⁶ Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 269n5271.

⁶⁷ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ANA 553 A,I REIMS.

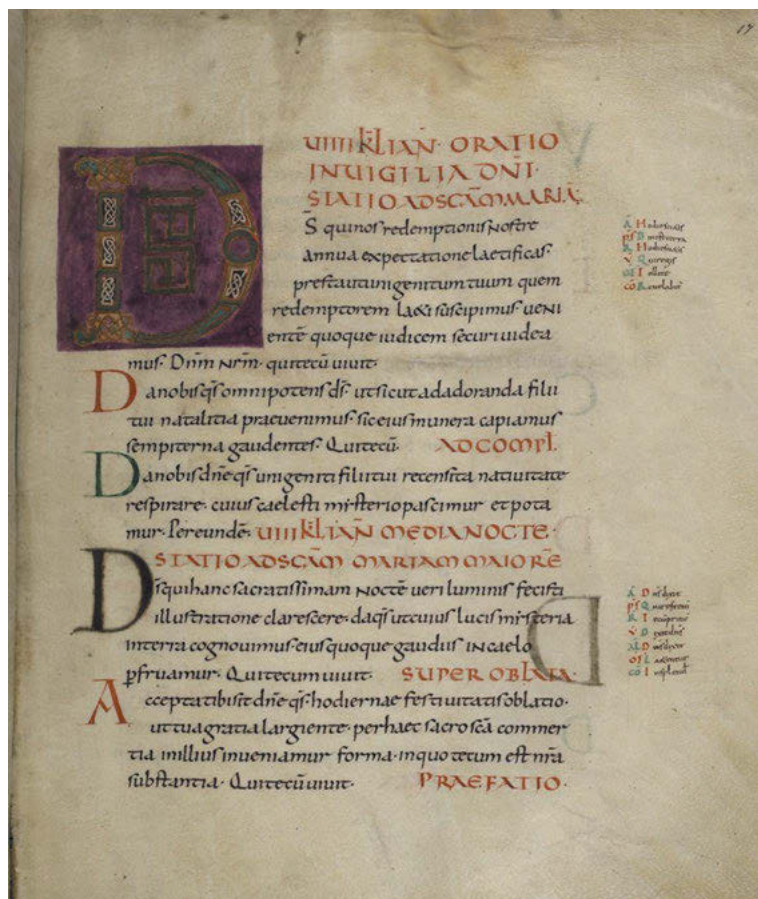


Figure 6: Opening of a Sacramentary written at Saint-Thierry, ca. 900. Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 17r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Carnegie de Reims.

Leroquais’s unfortunate assertion that these were the same hand.⁶⁸ It seems, rather, that only the quire with the Canon of the Mass was written during the last quarter of the ninth century and it was, in fact, left unfinished, with portions of the introductory material never written, specifically parts of the *Ordo Missae* that describe how a mass should be celebrated. It was only incorporated later when a

⁶⁸ Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 1, p. 21: “à la seconde les ff. 8 à 133.” [trans. in the second (hand), fol. 8–133].

new, full sacramentary was written, probably by Reims scribes around the turn of the tenth century.⁶⁹

This original fragment presented several indications of provenance: first of all, in the *Communicantes* prayer (fol. 15r: “hilarii, martini, benedicti, gregorii, amandi, medardi, eligii”). Hilary, Martin, Benedict, and Gregory were present in the same place in other French books, and also in the same prayer of **Tournai**, but here we have also Amandus himself, and Medardus and Eligius, two patron saints of the bishopric of Noyon. In the *Libera Nos* we have: “necnon et sanctis martyribus tuis stephano quintino atque nicasio, sed et beatis confessoribus tuis gregorio medardo atque eligio.” [trans. As well as your holy martyrs Stephen, Quentin and Nicasius, and your blessed confessors Gregory, Medardus and Eligius]. As an important patron, Stephen was added in several French sacramentaries.⁷⁰ Medardus and Eligius of Noyon occur here as well, but this time also in the company of the martyr St. Quentin, patron of the eponymous monastery near to Noyon, and original seat of the bishopric, and in the company of St. Nicasius (d. 407), a martyr bishop of Reims. Deshusses argued that the full manuscript was a sacramentary made at Saint-Amand for the bishopric of Reims, based on a model for Noyon, from which the Noyon patrons were accidentally copied, and that the presence of Nicasius was proof that Reims was actually the intended destination for the sacramentary.⁷¹ How-

69 An analogue case is a collection of fragmentary texts most likely put together at Saint-Germain (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Latin 2294), digitized at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52515828t/f1.item>. It begins with a richly decorated section with golden initials containing a partial text of the Canon Missae (fol. 1r–4v), likely made at or near Reims, was written in the ninth century (Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 68n4159: “IX Jh. 4. Viertel”), but used at the Cathedral of Paris. This was attached to several disordered and much less grand gatherings with masses, prayers (some apparently from Le Puy) as well as several collections of prefaces and blessings, most written in the tenth century. It is possible the union of the disparate parts was undertaken at Saint-Germain monastery. See Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 183–187; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 1, pp. 69–71; Jean Laporte, “Les benedictions episcopales à Paris (X^e siècle),” *EphLit* 71 (1957), pp. 145–84; Wilhelm Koehler and Florentine Mütterich, *Die Karolingische Miniaturen* vol. 6: *Die Schule von Reims*, pt. 2; *Von der Mitte bis zum Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1999), describe the Canon Quire at pp. 180–81, table 162, and at p. 30 they suggest the style of the VD and TE initials are parallel to the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura, implying an atelier that also worked for Charles the Bald. Perhaps this deluxe quire was provided by his close advisor, Gauzlin, Abbot of Saint-Germain and Bishop of Paris.

70 For example, **Senlis** from Saint-Denis (Paris, Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 111) or **Saint Eloi** from Corbie (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Latin 12051).

71 Deshusses, “Chronologie des sacramentaires,” p. 233; Jean Deshusses, “Sur quelques anciens livres liturgiques de Saint-Thierry. Les Étapes d’une transformation de la liturgie,” in *Saint-Thierry: Une abbaye du VI^e au XX^e siècle. Actes du colloque international d’histoire monastique. Reims-Saint-Thierry, 11 au 14 Octobre 1976*, ed. Michal Bur (Reims: Association des Amis de l’abbaye de Saint-Thierry, 1979), pp. 133–45, at p. 137.

ever, one cannot explain why Reims's main patron, Remigius, would not be present, if this were true. Deshusses seems also not to have known that Nicasius's relics were actually held by the bishops of Noyon and Tournai and venerated in the cathedral of Tournai, in the ninth century.⁷² Milo of Saint-Amand confirmed this fact in his metrical life of St. Amandus, written 855–860.⁷³ St. Nicasius was even, in one lost document, designated as a secondary patron of Tournai Cathedral, after the Virgin Mary.⁷⁴ The bishopric of Tournai was, in this period, united to the bishopric of Noyon, so that united bishopric would presumably be the one that was intended for the original planned manuscript, to which the Canon quire would have belonged.⁷⁵ Flodoard of Reims (ca. 894–966) stated that a bishop of Noyon originally translated the relics of Nicasius away from Reims, and that both Noyon and Tournai had possession of the relics at certain points, and, in both cities, the saint had performed varied miracles.⁷⁶ For example, Noyon might have had possession of Nicasius's relics after the sack of Tournai by the Vikings in 881, since the citizens of Tournai took refuge at this time in Noyon, which is also around the time I would place the

72 Marcel Amand, "Les reliques de saint Nicaise et l'emplacement du et l'emplacement du premier cimetièrre chrétien à Tournai," *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 35 (1957), pp. 66–74, at p. 67n4; Pyche, "Urbs fuerat quondam," p. 220; according to Flodoard (see n. 76), Archbishop Fulko of Reims (883–900) translated the relics back to Reims, yet Tournai still claimed to possess them. Nicasius still appears in later liturgical books connected to Tournai, the twelfth-century pontificals, Brussels Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Ms. II 1013 and also Paris, BnF, lat. 953, the latter copied at Saint-Amand for Tournai, see Richard Kay, "The twelfth-century Tournai Pontifical," *Scriptorium*, 16 (1962), pp. 239–45 at p. 243.

73 Milo of Saint-Amand, *Carmen Sancti Amandi*, ed. Ludwig Traube, MGH *Poetae Latini medii aevi*, vol. 3: *Poetae latini aevi carolini* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896), p. 589: "Urbs fuerat quondam, quod adhuc vestigia monstrant / Tornacus, nunc multiplici prostrata ruina . . . Namque arce in media templo surgente uenusto / Pontificale tenet solium, nec longe remota / Nicasius recubat pretiosa martyr in urna/ Remorum praesul . . ." [trans. There was once a city, which now displays its remains. Tournai now spreads among the prostrate ruins . . . for in the middle of the beautiful temple, where it rises to the heights, there is the pontifical throne, and, not far away, rests the precious martyr Nicasius in an urn, bishop of Reims . . .].

74 Mériaux, *Gallia Irradiata*, pp. 211–12.

75 Vercauteren, *Études*, pp. 165–80, 233–54; Leopold Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, vol. 3: *Provinces du nord et d'est* (Paris: de Boccard, 1915), pp. 99–106.

76 Flodoard of Reims, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, ed. Martina Stratmann, *Flodoard von Reims. Die Geschichte der Reimser Kirche*, MGH *Scriptores* vol. 36 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998), p. 78: "Huius autem beati pontificis et martyris pignera quaedam Noviomagensium episcopus quidam obtenta suam pertulit ad civitatem. Que tam apud Noviomum quam et apud Tornacum castrum, ubi nunc quoque servaris perhibentur, claris multisque referuntur illustrata miraculis." [trans. A certain bishop of Noyon, having obtained the relics of this blessed bishop and martyr, brought them to his city. They are celebrated both in Noyon and also in the town of Tournai, where they still claim to hold them, and are reported by many to have been glorified with miracles].

unfinished sacramentary.⁷⁷ It seems that this sacramentary could have been intended as the counterpart to the Saint Petersburg manuscript for Tournai, since the *Memento* for the living here has the intercession for “omnis congregationis beatae dei genetricis mariae sanctorumque confessorum medardi atque eligii” [trans. for all the congregation of the blessed Mary, Mother of God, and your holy confessors Medardus and Eligius]; that is, the patrons of Noyon Cathedral, whose community were thus invoked. The corresponding sacramentary was never, however, finished.

This quire of 8 folios originally for Noyon was later attached to a new, full sacramentary, which was perhaps written at the very beginning of the tenth century. St. Amandus is still a presence in this newer complete sacramentary which

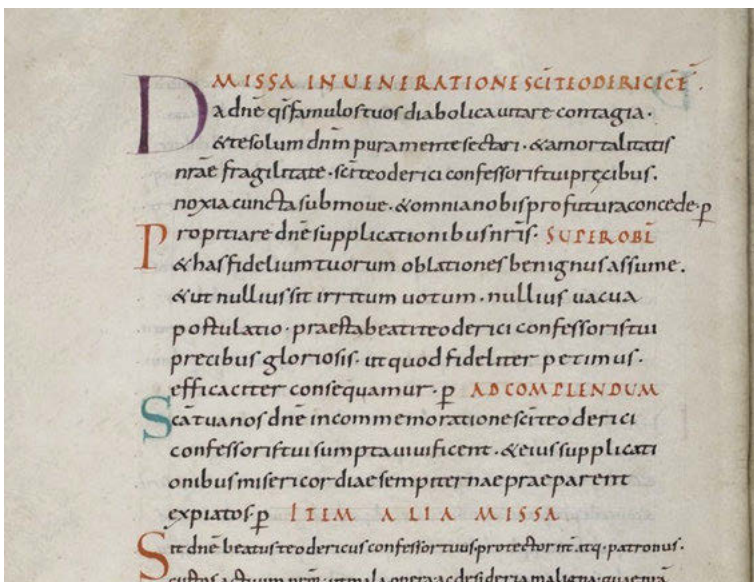


Figure 7: A mass for the patron saint in the Sacramentary written at Saint-Thierry, ca. 900. Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 7v. Source gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque Carnegie de Reims.

today forms the manuscript Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 213. It contains, on fol. 138r, a *MISSA PRO IPSA FAMILIA*, where the congregation is entrusted to the intercession of “beato amando.”⁷⁸ Also, the content of the new Reims manuscript is,

⁷⁷ Pycke, “Urbs fuerat quondam,” p. 228.

⁷⁸ The mass is De 2255–2259, attributed by Deshusses to Alcuin of York’s authorship; in Tours manuscripts St. Martin is named, while, in the Reichenau tradition, it is the Virgin Mary, who was patron of that monastery.

in broad strokes, the same as **Saint-Germain**, though it is formatted quite differently, and it shows content entirely characteristic of the family of books made at Saint-Amand.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, it seems it was not written at Saint-Amand itself. We see that masses for both St. Remigius (fol. 185r) and St. Theodericus (fol. 7v) were written into **Reims** in script that strongly resembles that of the full sacramentary, not the Canon of the Mass quire, and cannot be easily differentiated from it. We can compare Figures 6 and 7, to see these were likely written by the same *scriptorium*, which is likely to be that in the monastery in which St. Theodericus was venerated, the monastery of Saint-Thierry in Reims.⁸⁰

Thus, the full manuscript was clearly in Reims at this point, specifically at the monastery of Saint-Thierry, where it remained until the Revolution. In the later tenth century, it served as a model for Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 214 (copied before 976).⁸¹ The similarity in the appearance of these Reims masses to the main text evidences that the full sacramentary was copied probably at the very cusp of the tenth century at Saint-Thierry in Reims itself and by Reims scribes. It was probably copied directly from another, earlier Saint-Amand model which the scribes imitated sufficiently that both Leroquais and Deshusses assumed they were also Saint-Amand scribes. Hucbald of Saint-Amand was in Reims at the very end of the ninth century, since he was invited in 893 by Archbishop Fulk (bishop 893–900) to teach there, and he was almost certainly based at Saint-Thierry itself, as he composed liturgical chants for the patron saint, Theodericus of Reims, and wrote to the monks there.⁸² He is a likely vector for liturgical material from Saint-Amand material to reach that monastery. The manuscript can therefore be taken to preserve the remnants of two Saint-Amand models: in the original, ornamented Canon of the Mass from an unfinished sacramentary that was originally intended for Noyon, and in its faithful copying of a complete Saint-Amand Sacramentary by Reims scribes.

⁷⁹ Deshusses “Sur quelques anciens livres liturgiques de Saint-Thierry,” pp. 139–40; also Lafitte “Esquisse d’un bibliothèque municipale: Le fonds de manuscrits de Saint-Thierry,” in Bur, *Saint-Thierry*, pp. 73–76.

⁸⁰ The “Presentation du contenu” on the online catalogue linked to Gallica adds to the confusion by suggesting that **Reims** is a reunion of two distinctive sacramentaries, but that both were copied by monks of Saint-Thierry on the basis of Noyon models (<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc87635s/ca59942452147522>). In view of the content, however, what is presented here as “the second part,” is unusable and inconceivable without the first part, see below pp. 256–258, and thus I argue that the whole of **Reims** was achieved by Saint-Thierry in one single campaign, based on Saint-Amand models.

⁸¹ Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 214 in Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 285–89; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, pp. 91–94; de Lempis and Laslier, *Tresors de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Reims*, p. 14.

⁸² Platelle, “L’abbaye de Saint-Amand au IX^e siècle,” p. 20.

Thus, we discuss two distinct units of what is now a single book: the fragment made at Saint-Amand, which we will call **Noyon**, which represents Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 9–16, and the book made at Reims on the model of Saint-Amand sources, which represents the rest of the entire manuscript, which I will refer to as **Reims**.

– Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 1–8v, 17r–243v = **Reims**

Dating: ca. 888 – 900

Folios: 241 folios (nb. in the foliation two pages are marked twice 100bis and 169bis)

Dimensions: 340 x 260mm

– Information on the newly discovered fragments is scarcer, but again points to the same area near the monastery of Saint-Amand. **San Marino** is a former paste-down from another book there, San Marino, California, The Huntington Library, HM 41761, which is a copy of Hugh of St. Victor from the year 1443, and which had belonged to the Augustinian canons of the Abbey of Bethlehem at Herent, near Louvain.⁸³ This abbey was founded in 1407, so it is possible the fragment of a sacramentary was attached to the book there, or perhaps it was already part of a book supplied to the Priory from elsewhere, possibly from Utrecht.⁸⁴

– The **Rouen libellus** was clearly also at the monastery of Saint-Denis, like **Saint-Denis**, as was demonstrated by Palazzo.⁸⁵ Here, the *libellus* originally written by Saint-Amand scribes (Rouen, BM, Ms. 275 (A 566), fol. 1–8) was incorporated into a new context. A quire (fol. 9–12) was taken out of a quite roughly written tenth-century sacramentary covering saints' feasts from November to December, and then a further set of votive masses and the Canon of the Mass were written out in the eleventh century (fol. 12–32). Not only is this later enhancement of the *libellus* written in script with characteristics of Saint-Denis, such as the question mark, but the Canon of the Mass has, in the *Communicantes* prayer, the *Nobis quoque* prayer and the *Libera Nos* prayer, a remarkably extensive list of saints' names (fol. 7v: “dyonsio,

⁸³ Consuelo Wagner Dutschke, *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library* vol. 2 (San Marino: Kingsport Press, 1989) pp. 721–23, fig. 15, 39; the original manuscript described at: <https://hdl.huntington.org/digital/collection/p15150coll7/id/52836/>

⁸⁴ Pierre Hamblenne, “Some manuscripts from Bethlehem (Hérent),” in *Manuscripts in Transition: Recycling Manuscripts, Texts and Images*, eds. Brigitte Dekeyzer and Jan van der Stock (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), at pp. 325–34, workshops in Utrecht seem to have supplied liturgical books for the Priory of Bethlehem, including, here identified, several fifteenth-century breviaries in the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, catalogued by Victor Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vol. 2 (Paris: Protat Frères, 1934), pp. 408–9 and 409–10.

⁸⁵ Palazzo, “Un ‘Libellus Missae’”; Walters-Robertson, *Service Books of Saint-Denis*, pp. 218–21, 405–6.

rustico, et eleutherio, cucuphatis, ypoliti, innocentii, hylarii, uedasti, martini, agustini, gregorii . . .”), whose relics were all at Saint-Denis. This *libellus missae* of 8 folios was therefore present at Saint-Denis, and was itself in later centuries re-used for the construction of a more extensive book there.

Finally, there are the two books which Bischoff identified as having been added to by the hands of Saint-Amand scripts, each of which have their own interesting provenance.

– **Cambrai** is famous as the only surviving exemplar of a complete, uncorrected version of the *Hadrianum* Gregorian Sacramentary and a copy of the original “authentic” manuscript perhaps stored at the court of Charlemagne.⁸⁶ The purple and gold manuscript, with its oblong format, has a dedication colophon attributing it to Bishop Hildoard of Cambrai (Bishop ca. 790–816) at Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 164, fol. 203r: “HILDOARDUS PRAESUL ANNO XXI SUI ONUS EPISCOPATUM HUNC LIBELLUM SACRAMENTORUM FIERI PROMULGAVIT” [trans. Hildoard the Bishop in the 21st year of his episcopacy, had this sacramentary made], dating it to 811/812. Subsequently the manuscript received a number of additions.⁸⁷ A substantial portion of them (specifically fol. 206–240r) were identified with the script of Saint-Amand by Bischoff. This is confirmed by the litany in the portion of rites for the sick and dying, where St. Amandus specifically is highlighted as the only name beginning with a capital.⁸⁸ I would add also fol. 2–24r as a product of Saint-Amand scribes, on palaeographical examination and on grounds of the content, which is a collection of blessings characteristic to our sacramentaries.

– **Berengar**, a second manuscript hazarded by Bischoff to have some connection to Saint-Amand, originally possessed beautiful ivory bindings that are today on display in the Tesoro del Duomo of Monza. These ivories, and the book itself, are closely associated with the palace chapel and treasury of Berengar I (ca. 850–924), king of Italy (888–924) and Emperor (915–924). Berengar and his wife Bertila (d.

⁸⁶ Nigel J. Abercrombie, “Alcuin and the text of the Gregorianum: Notes on Cambrai MS. No. 164,” *AfL* 3 (1953), pp. 99–103; Bernhard Bischoff, “Die Hofbibliothek Karls des Grossen,” in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, vol. 2: *Das geistige Leben*, ed. Wolfgang Braunsfels (Dusseldorf: Schwann, 1965), pp. 42–62; Charles Coeburgh “Notes sur le sacramentaire d’Hadrien,” *Studia Patristica* 15 (1962), pp. 17–22.

⁸⁷ Nicholas Orchard “The Ninth and Tenth-Century Additions to Cambrai Médiathèque Municipale, 164,” *RevBen* 113 (2003), pp. 285–97.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 286–88, these are Scribe X, XI, XII and XIII. Orchard also identifies scribes I and II (fol. 2r–24v) with the same campaign of additions which he dated to the late ninth or early tenth century in a “consistent house style”, that is, the house style of Saint-Amand; the litany is edited *Ibid.*, pp. 292–95.

915) are specifically mentioned as king and queen in a note thus added before 915 to the *Exultet*, in order to expand the original intercession which was originally only for the Pope (Monza, Tesoro del Duomo, Ms. 89, fol. 48r: “et serenissimo rege nostro berengario atque domna nostra gloriossissima byreila regina”). There are also two inventories of the palace chapel of this king (“DE CAPELLA SERENISSIMI REGIS BERENGARII”) added on the final folios, copied by Adalbert the subdeacon for Magister Egilulf. This sacramentary itself is mentioned in these inventories: “Liber sacramentorum I, ebure et argento circumdatus” [trans. One sacramentary, bound in silver and ivory].⁸⁹ As I have concluded it is not primarily of Saint-Amand itself, though it seems to have briefly passed through the hands of a scribe of that monastery, I discuss this manuscript, and its beautiful ivory binding, principally in appendix 2.

Liturgical “Reform” and a Local Perspective

What this exceptional collection of Saint-Amand manuscripts uniquely allows us to do, is to examine the processes, methods, and motivations behind the continual reorganisation of the mass book in one *scriptorium* at a critical period of its history. We begin this study based on manuscripts, and not, as previously, on the assumption that prescriptive, legal texts tell us in any straightforward way what happened to liturgy in this period. Throughout the last century, such prescriptive texts were generally the starting point, and it was largely assumed that liturgy and liturgical books were changed by a process of repeated “reform.” This means that the principal mechanism of change was the imposition of a type of liturgical book as a single standard by a central authority, with the intention of achieving uniformity in the practice of liturgy.⁹⁰ Even where no text of any such law survived, they simply “must have existed,” because it was not acknowledged that liturgy *could* consequentially change in any other way.⁹¹ Diversity in the books of

⁸⁹ The list is edited in Francesco Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e sua cortea*, vol. 3 (Milan: Motta, 1794), p. 72.

⁹⁰ Cyrille Vogel, “La réforme liturgique sous Charlemagne,” in *Karl der Große: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, vol. 2 ed. Braunfels, pp. 217–32; notably assumed in the influential handbook: Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington DC: Pastoral Press, 1986); Arnold Angenendt, “Keine Romanisierung der Liturgie unter Karl dem Großen? Einspruch gegen Martin Morards ‘Sacramentarium immixtum’ et uniformisation romaine,” *AfL* 51 (2009), pp. 96–108.

⁹¹ Jean Deshusses, “Les sacramentaires: État actuel de la recherche,” *AfL* 24 (1982), pp. 19–46, at 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” [trans. While the texts of

the liturgy was thus seen as a sign of corruption and decadence, something medieval rulers and churchmen were said to have invariably regretted and always wished to eradicate. This conception represents a perspective of modernity, shaped by the printing press and the Reformation, and a confessional idea of liturgical uniformity. Some trenchant criticisms have been made against this idea of ecclesiastical "reform," in general, and liturgical reform, in particular.⁹² But a convincing reconstruction of how liturgy actually changed, and what caused it to change, has yet to be drawn to properly replace this model.

Closer study of the Saint-Amand manuscripts rediscovers the agency and initiative of the monastic *scriptorium* and makes it plain that Saint-Amand allows us, to a unique extent, access to early medieval scribal creativity in a local setting and a specific historical context. It reveals how this *scriptorium* worked with the extremely complicated sets of liturgical texts, inherited from centuries of equally creative and diverse compilation, and of varied origin. We can track the incorporation of newly composed texts and new principles and techniques of compilation into the venerable format of the sacramentary. Such innovations relied on the availability of resources at Saint-Amand: the sources to which such a monastery had access, a well-founded tradition of liturgical work at the monastery and the networks and relationships cultivated by Saint-Amand's monastery for decades, as well as patronage of the powerful. But they also display the creativity of the atelier itself, which can be newly discovered as the most inspired liturgical centre of the Carolingian realm, and one which had a striking and long-lasting influence on the Latin mass book tradition, affecting books written in later centuries from England to Bavaria, and Scandinavia to Poland. The Saint-Amand scribes achieved what we identify as a new "synthesis" in the integration of material of widely varied origin, within the

the royal edicts imposing in the Carolingian Kingdom the Roman Sacramentary were not preserved, one feels that such decrees must have existed]; English translation in: Jean Deshusses "The Sacramentaries: A Progress Report." *Liturgy* 18 (1984), pp. 13–60.

92 Rosamond McKitterick, "Unity and Diversity in the Carolingian Church," in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 58–82; Raymond Kottje "Einheit und Vielfalt des kirchlichen Lebens in der Karolingerzeit," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 76 (1965), pp. 335–40; Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (877)*, HBS Subsidia 3 (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2001); Martin Morard, "Sacramentum immixtum et uniformization romaine," *AfL* 46 (2004), pp. 1–30; Julia Barrow, "The Ideas and Application of Reform," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 3: *Early Medieval Christianities, c.600–c.1100*, ed. Tom Noble and Julia M.H. Smith (Cambridge: University Press, 2008), pp. 345–62; *Rethinking the Carolingian Reforms*, ed. Arthur Westwell, Ingrid Rembold and Carine van Rhijn (Manchester: University Press, 2023), especially Carine van Rhijn, "Introduction," pp. 1–31; Arthur Westwell, *Roman Liturgy and Frankish Creativity: The Early Medieval Manuscripts of the Ordines Romani* (Cambridge: University Press, 2024).

tradition of what is known as the “Gelasianised” Gregorians, a tradition that became, in their hands, extremely complex and variable.

As we will see, stress on the exclusive role of central power in liturgy led Jean Deshusses to attribute the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand specifically to the patronage of Charles the Bald, and he argued that Saint-Amand produced the books simply on demand of the monarch, who distributed them according to his will.⁹³ But questioning Deshusses’s reliance on royal commission and his dating limited only to within the lifetime of Charles the Bald, offers an opportunity to locate and contextualise the sacramentaries more within the historical circumstances and local dynamics of the *scriptorium* and the monastery of Saint-Amand itself, rather than attribute their creation solely to an exertion of the imperial will. It is Gauzlin, Abbot of Saint-Amand (871–886), abbot of Saint-Germain (from ca. 860) and, later also of Saint-Denis (from 878), who became bishop of Paris in 884 and died during the siege of the city by the Vikings, who emerges as much more decisive in the production and distribution of most of the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, as he likely was in other Franco-Saxon masterworks like the “Second Bible” of Charles the Bald.⁹⁴ He united Saint-Amand to Saint-Germain, where **Saint-Germain** ended up soon after its creation, much more tangibly than Charles the Bald did. We know that **Saint-Germain** was finished while Gauzlin was still alive, due to the list of bishops of Paris added to it, allowing it, at least, a *terminus ante quem* of 886.⁹⁵ By far the best explanation for this sacramentary’s transfer to Saint-Germain within the ninth century, soon after its creation, is that it was created shortly before or, more likely, during the exile of uncertain duration of the monks of Saint-Amand and their relics to the monastery of Saint-Germain, while they fled from Vikings, who destroyed the monastery in 883.⁹⁶ This was a sanctuary that was granted to them specifically by Gauzlin, abbot of both monasteries. The refuge at Saint-Germain, and the importance of Gauzlin to the monastery, was still remembered and recorded in the

93 See below, pp.85–91.

94 On Gauzlin, Édouard Favre, *Eudes Comte de Paris et Roi de France (882–898)* (Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1898), pp. 26–33; Karl Ferdinand Werner, “Gauzlin von St-Denis und die westfränkische Reichsteilung von Amiens,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 35 (1979), 395–462; Platelle, *Le Temporal*, pp. 59–61.

95 Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 6v “Gozlinus episcopus.”

96 This possibility had already been raised by Boutemy, “Le scriptorium et le bibliothèque de Saint-Amand,” p. 8; also Barbara Hagg, review of *Una notazione neumatica della Francia del Nord* by B. Ferretti, *Bulletin Codicologique* 58/2 (2004), p. 160; according to Landelin Delacroix, *Relatio historica sincera et fidelis abbatum Monasterii Regalis Elnonensis*, a text copied by hand in Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 526 in 1669, the monastery of Saint-Germain still claimed in the seventeenth century to possess books left behind by the monks of Saint-Amand in Carolingian times. **Saint-Germain** would have been recognisable among them, as it names St. Amandus in the Canon.

twelfth-century *Breve Chronicon* of Saint-Amand, today lost, but recorded in several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscripts, and published by Platelle.

Gozlinus episcopus parisiensis, ministerialis palatius Karoli Calvi fuit, cujus petitione ipse Karolus ecclesie nostre multa beneficia contulit. Hujus temporibus, persequentibus Normannis, Sanctus Amandus Parisius ad Sanctum Germanum delatus est, unde et ipse abbas fuerat, quia multis abbatibus preerat. Qui postea episcopus parisiensis factus est.⁹⁷

[trans. Gauzlin, Bishop of Paris, was minister of the palace of Charles the Bald, and, owing to his petition, that same Charles decreed numerous benefices to our Church. At this time, on account of the Norman incursions, Saint Amand's body was carried to Saint-Germain in Paris, where he (Gauzlin) was also Abbot, for he reigned over many monasteries. And he was afterwards made Bishop of Paris]

An identification with Gauzlin would certainly push the later sacramentaries (**Saint-Germain**, **Sens**, and the **Noyon** fragment) beyond the death of Charles the Bald. A later date for **Saint-Denis**, with around ca. 875 proposed by Paxton and Sicard, is certainly reconcilable too.⁹⁸ These dates might also lead us to consider another factor in the creation of our books; the presence in the midst of these scribes of the singularly gifted hagiographer and composer, Hucbald of Saint-Amand, a prodigious Latin stylist, who, as *scholasticus* and *musicus* in the monastery, would have had some responsibility for the production of its liturgical books, and would have overseen the work of the *scriptorium*.⁹⁹

This was also a time of some disruption for monks of this area due to the Vikings. Like many of our testimonies, this record of the Viking invasions and monastic exile is one written, and, to a certain extent, constructed, some centuries later, though we do not know where the information in the Saint-Amand *Breve Chronicon* was found.¹⁰⁰ The specificity of the *Breve Chronicon*, which does not partake

97 *Breve Chronicon Elnonensis* in Henri Platelle ed., "Une chronique inconnue de l'Abbaye de Saint-Amand," *Revue de Nord* 37 (1955), pp. 217–26, at p. 225; mention of a transfer to Paris is also found in the *Annales S. Martini Tornacensis*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, *MGH Scriptores*, vol. 15, Pt. 2 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1888), p. 1296; the *Breve Chronicon* was incorporated in a lost cartulary of Saint-Amand from 1117 by the monk Gautier, see Platelle, *Le temporal*, pp. 13–14.

98 Frederick S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 169n18; Damien Sicard, *La Liturgie de la mort dans l'Eglise latine des origines à la réforme carolingienne*, LQF 63 (Münster, 1978), p. 45.

99 Yves Chartier, *L'oeuvre musicale d'Hucbald de Saint-Amand. Les compositions et la traité de la musique* (Saint-Laurent, Quebec: Bellarmin, 1995), pp. 335–44; in a final appendix, Chartier argued for the possible involvement of Hucbald in the writing or composition of a number of select manuscripts, among which he included our sacramentaries; Platelle, "La thème de la conversion," p. 521 emphasizes the importance of liturgy to Hucbald.

100 On the unreliability of monastic accounts of the invasions: Albert d'Haenens, "Les invasions Normandes dans l'empire Franc au IX^e siècle. Pour une rénovation de la problématique," *I Nor-*

of monastic exaggeration evident in other late sources, the parallel remembrance in histories of Saint-Germain into the seventeenth century of an exile by Saint-Amand monks there, as well as the book **Saint-Germain** being found there already in the ninth century, tells us that this exile to Saint-Germain did occur. Our book, **Saint-Germain**, was probably left behind by the monks of St.Amand, perhaps as a gift given in thanks.

There were at least two incursions by the Vikings to the area. In early 881, according to the contemporary Annals of Saint-Vaast “all the monasteries on the Scarpe were devastated” (see n. 45), which implies Saint-Amand, Hasnon, and Marchiennes, though any possible damage was not even remembered or recorded at Saint-Amand at all.¹⁰¹ Better attested is a direct attack on the monastery itself in 883, when the Vikings also destroyed Arras and Saint-Quentin. The Annals of Saint-Amand in Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 343, dating to the second half of the twelfth century, report that it was in 883 when the body of St Amandus had to be carried away, but only the twelfth-century *Breve Chronicon*, whose purpose was to record the deeds of the Abbots and which does not date the exile, tells us that it was specifically to Saint-Germain they came, and that Abbot Gauzlin facilitated this, before he was Bishop of Paris (884), though it does not tell us for how long they stayed there.¹⁰² Contemporary evidence of exile is found in Hucbald of Saint-Amand’s prologue to the life of St. Richtrudis of Marchiennes, addressed to Bishop Stephen of Lièges (Bishop 901–20), where he lamented repeated periods he was forced to spend away from his own monastery specifically due to the depredation of the barbarians, i.e. the Vikings, a fate which he blamed on his own sinfulness.¹⁰³ The evidence of other manuscripts discussed below does sug-

manni e la loro espansione in Europa nell'alto medioevo, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 16 (1969), pp. 233–98.

101 Platelle, *Le temporal*, pp. 59–60.

102 *Annales Elhonenses* ed. Philip Grierson, *Les Annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et Saint-Amand* (Brussels: Hayez, 1937), pp. 147–48: “881 Normanni in Cortriaco . . . 883 Normanni in Condata sedem sibi fecerunt et abbatiam Sancti Amandi et religiosis super Scarb devastaverunt, Sanctus Amandus asportatur” [trans. 881 the Normans were in Coutrai . . . 883 The Normans made camp in Condé and devastated the Abbey of Saint Amand and the monasteries on the Scarp, but St. Amandus was carried away].

103 Hucbald, *Vita Rictrudis* in PL 132, col. 830: “Porro locus (ut nostis) non est mihi cuiuslibet nunc ut olim celeberrimae urbis, cum potius libenter me intimum esse gloriarer cenobitam monasterii S. Amandi egregii Christi confessoris, vestri quoque dudum pradecessoris, nisi meis exigentibus peccatis, inde tam crebro fugarer metu barbaricae insectationis. [trans. Moreover (as you know), there is no place for me now, as formerly, in any of the most famous cities, when I would gladly rather be in the most private sanctuary of the monastery of St. Amandus, the excellent confessor of Christ, and also your predecessor (as Bishop of Lièges), were it not for the weight of my sins, on account of which I oft have had to flee for fear of the barbarian infestations].

gest other monks of Saint-Amand were in Cambrai or Reims at around the same time, possibly in varied flights. The monks were likely back and again well established in 889, when, with Hucbald's encouragement, they concluded a pact with Saint-Bertin to say psalms and masses during Lent for one another.¹⁰⁴ In 899, Charles the Simple (879–923) restored many of Saint-Amand's lost goods and reconfirmed their lost diplomas, which had probably been destroyed due to the exile.¹⁰⁵ A certain experience of exile and dislocation provides some context for the extraordinary production of the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, but these vast and complex compilations, distilling whole libraries into one volume, also seem to reflect and contribute to much broader shifts in the way communities documented and commemorated their past and traditions.¹⁰⁶

Objectives

In this book I aim therefore to undertake a new study of this extraordinary series of manuscripts as a whole, including script and decoration as well as liturgical content. The incorporation of material from outside the sacramentary tradition strictly defined (computus material, readings, litanies, chants, *ordines*, as well as the early translations into Greek which our manuscripts transmit, the so-called *missa graeca*) also needs to be considered as part of the same processes that led to the ever more hybrid and composite mass books, and part of the key to unlocking why and how such books came about. Once they are properly dated and contextualised, the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand offer us an unprecedented resource to trace the local reorganization of the sacramentary in the later ninth century. The manuscripts reveal this process as an individualised and complex series of choices in a specific historical context, not necessarily an inevitable transition along one line of development. Studying these books, we can almost look over the shoulders of the scribes and compilers at work, in a way that few other kinds of books allow. The investigation helps to illuminate the dynamics of the Carolingian *scriptorium* in which the individual choices and circumstances of the compilers come to the fore. In view of their diverse destinations, described above, the manuscripts also allow us to see

104 Platelle, *Le temporal*, pp. 60–61: as Hucbald came to Saint-Bertin between 883 and 886 to teach Abbot Rodulfus (Abbot 883–896), Platelle would reduce the period of exile to a period of three or four years, because the decision to send him there was taken by Gauzlin who died in 886, communally with the monks, and Platelle supposed this meant they were all together again.

105 Platelle, "Saint-Amand au IX^e siècle," p. 31.

106 Described in Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millenium* (Princeton: University Press, 1994).

how that scribal work first undertaken at Saint-Amand was repurposed and reinvented by other centres which incorporated Carolingian books of Saint-Amand into their own practice. Other sacramentaries of Saint-Amand which are now lost, or copies of them, continued to have lasting influence in an even wider range of centres, such as upon the venerable Sacramentary of Fulda (Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. theol. 231), henceforth **Fulda**, of the late tenth century.¹⁰⁷

My study of these manuscripts aims to recover the agency of scribes copying liturgy in the Carolingian period, to which the “reform” narrative attributed little or no significance. The uniquely rich case study of Saint-Amand demonstrates plainly that these compilers enriched their material far beyond what had been presented as authorised or standard forms. This offers the first thorough demonstration of how early medieval compilation of liturgical books worked, including the composition of new masses in the Early Middle Ages, a phenomenon that has scarcely ever been studied. It shows how careful study of the individual variation of mass books reveals the communities engaged in their production. Studies of liturgical change need to begin with manuscripts to have access to these processes.¹⁰⁸

Chapter 1 of the book presents a new history of the sacramentary in the Carolingian realms, intended to acquaint non-specialist readers with its nature and varied traditions and to serve as an updated reference point for this type of book from its beginnings up to the point my specialised study begins in the late ninth century. It draws together varied criticisms of a model that saw significant liturgical change only occurring via “reform” from above, thus restressing manuscript diversity as a continual fact in the Early Middle Ages, and emphasising the importance of individual and local input. It questions a number of established narratives, and discusses the majority of extant manuscripts and many fragments from the ninth century. Chapter 2 introduces the physical aspects of the Saint-Amand manuscripts and offers analysis of the decoration and script, in order to establish a new and more coherent chronology of the development of the *scriptorium*'s practices. It uses, in parallel the Gospel books decorated and written in the same style, as well as other products of the *scriptorium* of Saint-Amand. It also suggest the ideological statements made by the project the sacramentaries represent, and

107 *Sacramentarium Fuldense Saeculi X. Cod. Theol. 231 der k. Universitätsbibliothek zu Göttingen* eds. Gregor Richter und Albert Schönfelder, (Fulda: Druck der Fuldaer Actiendruckerei, 1910), repr. Henry Bradshaw Society 101 (Farnborough: Saint Michael's Abbey Press, 1970); Eric Palazzo, *Les sacramentaires de Fulda: Étude sur l'iconographie et la liturgie à l'époque ottonienne*, LQF 77 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1987); Christoph Winterer, *Das Fuldaer Sakramentar in Göttingen. Benediktinische Observanz und römische Liturgie* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2009).

108 On studies of liturgical change, Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequence and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame: University Press, 2002), especially pp. 4–17.

that Gauzlin was responsible for them. It aims to date the manuscripts to a very restricted time scale of between just ten and fifteen years, a unique opportunity afforded by the source base in this particular case. As well as how the sacramentaries are organised, Chapter 3 is concerned principally with the mass sets that applied to the feasts of the liturgical year. The ongoing and complete transformation of the Gregorian Sacramentary with the aid of a huge range of alternative sources by Saint-Amand scribes is conclusively demonstrated. Chapter 4 is concerned with all other liturgical material, including votive masses, and supplementary pieces (readings and chants, ordines, *missa graeca*.) It demonstrates the same principle of “synthesis” as a deeper process of incorporation which touched almost every aspect of the liturgical content of the sacramentary. These two chapters allow characteristic traits of Saint-Amand sacramentaries to be established. With them, the influence of the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand across Europe is evaluated in chapter 5. Finally, the conclusion offers historical explanations for the appearance of these books, at this place and at this time, and offers some interpretation of how the mass book generally changed in the medieval period.

Chapter 1

Manuscripts of the Sacramentary in the Early Middle Ages

What is a Sacramentary?

A sacramentary is straightforwardly categorised today as a collection of prayer texts for the performance of masses, each mass being made up of several individual prayers which have a set place in the unfolding of the ritual.¹⁰⁹ In the early Middle Ages, these books almost universally carry the title “*liber sacramentorum*.” However, these same books are commonly referred to, when spoken of in letters and book catalogues, as “*liber missalis*” or “*liber missarum*,” or simply “*missale*.”¹¹⁰ This can cause potential confusion with what modern liturgical scholars term a missal or plenary missal, which is a kind of book that, in addition to the mass prayers, also carries complete lections and chant texts, with these assimilated to the individual mass sets, and not distinct in their own section. Each individual mass as a multi-textual celebration is thus more completely represented in the plenary missal. For clarity’s sake, this book will maintain the traditional scholarly distinction. Some sacramentaries here surveyed do have chants or readings in at least a small portion, or, indeed, in the case of **Saint-Germain**, as an attached and distinct gradual and lectionary. The use and origin of these, which I will call “enhanced” sacramentaries, will also be explored further.

Sacramentaries offered, in the first place, the Canon of the Mass, the series of prayers that are maintained and said, almost always unchanged, in every mass.¹¹¹ The Canon of the Mass included the invocation of a list of saints at several key points, as well as intercessions for various people, the living and dead. These indications can provide us with critical information for dating and locating sacramen-

109 In addition to catalogues in n.4, scholarship summed up in Michel Andrieu, “Quelques remarques sur le classement des sacramentaires,” *JfL* 11 (1931), pp. 46–66; Aimé-Georges Martimort, “Recherches Recents sur les sacramentaires,” *Bulletin de la littérature ecclésiastique*, 63 (1962), pp. 28–40; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 64ff; Marcel Metzger, *Les sacramentaires*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental, 70 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994).

110 For example, Alcuin of York’s letters or the Saint-Riquier catalogue (see n.126).

111 Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, vol. 2, pp. 127–322; Bryan D. Spinks, “The Roman Canon Missae,” in *Prex Eucharistica: Studia ecclesia antiquae et occidentalis*, vol. 3: *Studia*, pt. 1, ed. Albert Gerhards, Heinzgard Brakmann and Martin Klöckener. *Spicilegium Friburgense* 42 (Freiburg: éditions universitaires, 2005), pp. 129–43; the archetypal early medieval example edited in Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 87–92.

taries, since patron saints were sometimes added, as in the cases noted in the introduction. Prior to the Canon was the preface, which was introduced by the “DOMINUS UOBISCUM” dialogue with the congregation and then began with the words “Vere Dignum,” often represented by a highly elaborate monogram, or by a new form, the large initial V and smaller letters ERE in our books.¹¹² While this standard preface was always available for any given mass, the Carolingian period saw the gathering of a vast number of alternative, special prefaces “proper” to masses of a wide range of occasions, thus customising the mass to a greater extent. In a given mass, the fixed canon and the potentially variable preface was then surrounded by the series of proper prayers, which would change depending on the occasion. These proper prayers had varied titles in the various sacramentary traditions. Unless it is necessary for clarification, I will refer to these individual prayers principally by their modern designations in English: the collect (which is said early on in the mass before the reading of the Epistle), the secret (which is said by the priest over the offerings for the mass, at the time the choir sung the offertory, and thus only audible to the priest, hence “secret”), and the post communion prayer (which is said after communion). In the early middle ages, the Roman tradition preserved only these three prayers for the vast majority of masses.¹¹³ Elsewhere, in areas affected by older traditions, and non-Roman traditions, there was often more than one collect, or alternatives at the end of the Mass. Ongoing in the ninth century, a combination of varied traditions, and the exuberance of compilers, also led to multiplication of prayers, in which case each individual prayer within a mass might be followed by one or more prayers entitled ALIA.

The core of the sacramentary is thus a series of mass sets each made up of these individual prayers, covering the liturgical year, generally, in the most common formats, beginning with the Vigil of Christmas and then running through Epiphany, Lent, Easter, Pentecost and ending with the Sundays through Advent. The masses which moved in the year and had no fixed date, generally those that related to the placement of Easter, are referred to as the Temporale or “proper of time.” This included Lent, in which each day had a proper mass, Easter and Easter Week, Ascension, Pentecost and Pentecost week, and Advent. When these are separate, compilers tended to group feasts of the Lord (Christmas and Epiphany) with

¹¹² Gianluca Millesolli, “Il Vere Dignum tra simbolo grafico e simbole concettuale,” in *Dal libro manoscritto al libro stampato*, ed. Outi Merisola and Caterina Tristana (Spoleto: Fondazione centro italiano di studi sullo’alto medioevo, 2010), pp. 133–51.

¹¹³ Originally, this was probably not the case, and non-Roman traditions often preserve an older form with an extra prayer after the Collect: Antoine Chavasse, “L’oraison “Super sindonem” dans la liturgie romaine,” *RevBen* 70 (1960), pp. 312–323.

the Temporale too, as a mark of their importance. The ordinary Sundays without specific distinction were placed in sequences in relation to the great feasts. Sundays “after Christmas,” “after Epiphany,” “after the Easter octave,” “after the Pentecost octave,” and “before Christmas” are the most common designations we see in Carolingian mass books.¹¹⁴ The challenges of timing these feasts correctly explains the need for priests at every level to master *computus*, as required by legislation in the Carolingian era.¹¹⁵ The feasts that had a fixed date which did not change are grouped together as the Sanctorale or proper of saints.¹¹⁶ The Sanctorale is principally filled with the range of feasts of saints, including four Marian feasts (Candlemas, Annunciation, Assumption, and Nativity). The most important of these feasts might also have a vigil and octave mass, a mass celebrated the night before the feast day and a week after it respectively.

To fill out any gaps which were left in this material, sacramentaries provided “common” material. This would include lists of “quotidian” prayers to be supplied on miscellaneous or ordinary days, whenever an extra prayer or a few were required, some being for morning or evening as well. It also included the *Commune Sanctorum* or Common of Saints, a list of complete masses which could be applied to any saints who were not provided with their own specific mass, and this was organised by their category (originally martyrs, confessors, apostles, and virgins, in singular and plural).

The vast majority of sacramentary manuscripts also presented mass and prayer material for more diverse purposes. Votive masses are masses that were not bound to the celebration at a particular time, but could be said at will, whenever the celebrant wished. These concerned themselves with a wide range of devotions of intercessions (for friends, for the dead, for a community, monarch, or bishop), physical, psychological or political problems and for other miscellaneous occasions. The Carolingian period saw the explosion of votive masses as a form of devotion, with ever more intercessions, a development we will explore as it took

114 An alternative older system divided the many after Pentecost into Sundays after Pentecost, Sundays after the octave of apostles, Sundays after the octave of Laurence, and Sundays after the feast of Michael the Archangel (“post angelis”). These are preserved above all in Italian manuscripts.

115 Carine van Rhijn, “Carolingian Rural Priests as Local (Religious) Experts,” in *Gott handhaben: Religiöses Wissen im Konflikt um Mythisierung und Rationalisierung*, ed. Steffen Patzold and Florian Bock (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), pp. 133–46, at 141–43.

116 Ferdinando dell’Oro, “Genesi e sviluppo del santorale nei sacramentari,” in *Il tempo dei santi tra Oriente e Occidente. Liturgia e agiografia dal tardo antico al concilio di Trento. IV Convegno di studio dell’Associazione Italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell’agiografia, Firenze, 26–28 ottobre 2000*, ed. Anna Benvenuti Paip and Marcello Garzaniti (Rome: Viella, 2005), pp. 79–120.

place at Saint-Amand.¹¹⁷ Finally, because they belonged to a celebrant who might have more diverse liturgical responsibilities or a community who required the performance of varied rituals beyond the mass, sacramentaries often also include liturgical material of more diverse kinds, including extensive rubrics and *ordines* for rituals such as the ordination of the grades of clergy, visitation and unction of the sick and rites for the dead, and church dedication.¹¹⁸ *Ordines* offered more or less comprehensive descriptions of the actions and gestures of a ceremony, how its actors positioned themselves, moved, and acted. They often incorporate the prayers, chants, and readings for the same occasion.

The first books containing sets of mass prayers appear in the seventh century. Such productions were, first of all, created from the combining and reorganising of numerous, originally separate *libelli missarum*, booklets of masses.¹¹⁹ Some *libelli* would have contained developed mass sets, others might have been simply lists of prayers to be used for whichever purpose. This process is visible in the case of the famous *Veronense* (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXXV), a “pre-sacramentary” of the early seventh century, which clearly combined several *libelli* of Roman origin into a rather confused and incomplete book for some unclear, but likely private, usage.¹²⁰ In fact, Rome may have been rather diffident in the creation of what we would recognise as a sacramentary or any complete mass book, except in the special case of the Pope’s stational book, the Gregorian Sacramentary.¹²¹ The presence

117 Arnold Angenendt, “Missa Specialis. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung des Privatmesses,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17 (1983), pp. 153–221, especially at 208–17; on monastic intercession in general, Renie Choy, *Intercessory Prayer and the Monastic Ideal at the Time of the Carolingian Reforms* (Oxford: University Press, 2016).

118 Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 135–39; Marcel Metzger, *Les ‘ordines’, les ordinaires et les cérémoniaux*, *Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental* 56 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1991); Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols. (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1931–1961); Westwell, *Roman Liturgy and Frankish Creativity*.

119 A summary of the following treatment for non-specialist readership in German can be found in Arthur Westwell, “Vom libellus zum Missale. Tradition wird Buch,” *Heiliger Dienst* 76 (2022), pp. 174–81.

120 Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 38–46; *Sacramentarium Veronense (Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV [80])*, eds. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Leo Eizenhöfer and Peter Siffrin, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Major, Fontes* 1 (Rome: Herder, 1966).

121 Deshusses, “Les sacramentaires,” p. 22; an exception may be the undoubtedly significant, but difficult to interpret, case of one palimpsest in uncial with some Gregorian prayers, dated to the seventh or eighth century, in Montecassino, *Archivio della Badia*, 271; see CLA III 376; CLLA 701; *Vom Sakramentar, Comes und Capitulare zum Missale*, ed. Alban Dold, TuA 34 (Beuron: Kunstverlag, 1943). The book was written in Italy, but perhaps not in Rome itself, Gamber supposed, rather, Ravenna. It had readings attached to masses as well as prayers, indicating Italy’s long tradition of more “enhanced” mass books.

of formulae also found in *Veronese* in Frankish liturgical books, including their continued copying into the ninth century, indicates that the underlying sources for the book, these Roman *libelli missarum*, remained available over the Alps in some form for centuries.¹²² The first, “Gallican” sacramentaries created in the seventh and early eighth century, each of them unique, corroborate the continual passage of Roman material across the Alps in the hands of pilgrims and enthusiasts, where it was combined with material of local composition into fuller books.¹²³ When we come to the Carolingian era, several generations of Roman material were probably within reach, including underlying *libelli* still present in the archives or in the hands of priests. Even when full sacramentary books were becoming more and more standard part of the liturgical arsenal, the continued role of *libelli* in the transmission and organisation of material, and their continued production, should not be discounted.¹²⁴ New *libelli* were also demonstrably created and circulated in the Carolingian era, though very few survive. Our Rouen *libellus* from Saint-Amand is, however, a prime example. Another liturgical *libellus*, probably from the tenth century, was also noticed by Palazzo and located by him to Saint-Amand (Paris, Bibliothèque de France, Latin 13764, fol. 90–117).¹²⁵ This contains *ordines* for penance and unction of the sick and dying, the latter of which are closely related to those developed within our sacramentaries.

¹²² Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 41.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 108; among them the Bobbio Missal (Paris, BnF, lat. 13246), see Hen and Meens, *The Bobbio Missal*; on the “Gallican” rite, see Matthieu Smyth, *La Liturgie Oubliée. La prière eucharistique en Gaule antique et dans l’Occident non romain* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2003); Els Rose, “Liturgical Commemoration of the Saints in the *Missale Gothicum* (Vat.Reg.Lat. 317). New Approaches to the Liturgy of Early Medieval Gaul,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 58 (2004), pp. 75–97.

¹²⁴ Bernard Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian Sacramentary: A Study in Tradition* (Oxford: University Press, 1976); Niels Krogh Rasmussen, *Les pontificaux du haut Moyen Âge: Genèse du livre de l’évêque* (Leuven: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 1998); Eric Palazzo, “Le rôle des libelli dans la pratique liturgique de Haut Moyen Age: histoire et typologie,” *Revue Mabillon New Series* 1 (1990), pp. 9–36; Pierre-Marie Gy, “The Different Forms of Liturgical libelli,” in *Fountain of Life, In Memory of Niels Krogh Rasmussen*, ed. Gerard Austin, (Washington D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1992), pp. 22–34; a *libellus* is rather strictly defined by modern scholars, but medieval authors were not so strict and even applied the term to the whole sacramentary, for example, in the colophon of **Cambrai**: “HUNC LIBELLUM SACRAMENTORUM” or the *Hucusque* preface “Hucusque praecedens sacramentorum libellus . . .”; in the colophon of the Sacramentary of Vic, see Alejandro Oliver, ed., *El sacramentario de Vich* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto P. Enrique Flórez, 1953), 271: “iste libellus scriptus in praefata sede.”

¹²⁵ Eric Palazzo, “Les Deux Rituels d’un libellus de Saint-Amand (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 13764),” in *Rituels. Mélanges offerts au Père Gy*, eds. Eric Palazzo and Paul de Clerck, (Paris: Cerf, 1990), pp. 423–36; other parts of the manuscript point to Reims as the likely place of origin.

Gregorianum

From the ninth century onwards, two families of sacramentaries were explicitly categorised by Carolingian cataloguers, the Gregorian and the Gelasian.¹²⁶ These appear in common use from around the third decade of the ninth century. The terms continue to be applied by modern liturgical scholars to two distinct traditions which formed the base foundations with which Carolingian liturgical compilers from around 800 onwards would work, though in fact the books were not compiled, as a whole, by either Gregory the Great (Pope 590–604) or Gelasius I (Pope 492–496).¹²⁷ Of the two, the origins and nature of the Gregorian Sacramentary are the easier to define.¹²⁸ This book had been originally compiled in Rome for the use of the Pope in the circuit of stational liturgies by which he moved through the city celebrating mass.¹²⁹ The original redaction of the books, so far as it can be reconstructed, probably goes back to Pope Honorius I (Pope 625–638), but it was repeatedly updated in Rome. New masses were added for the four Marian feasts, which were reworked by Sergius I (Pope 687–701) into processional feasts with a *collecta* at San’Adriano al foro and procession from there to a stational mass at Santa Maria Maggiore, and new masses for the Thursdays in Lent

126 The earliest witness of this is the book list of Saint-Riquier in 831: Hariulf of St-Riquier, *Chronicon Centulense*, ed. Ferdinand Lot (Paris: Picard, 1894), p. 93: “De libris sacrari qui ministerio altaris deservunt: Missales Gregoriani tres, Missalis Gregorianus et Gelasianus modernis temporibus ab Albino ordinatus I . . . Missale Gelasiani XIX” [trans. On the liturgical books that are used for ministry at the altar, we have: Three Gregorian sacramentaries, one Gregorian and Gelasian sacramentary compiled in recent times by Alcuin . . . 19 Gelasian sacramentaries]; additionally, the polyptych of Saint-Remi of Reims records the visitations of Archbishop Hincmar (845–882), and shows that rural priests possessed varied books identified as “missalem Gregorii” and “missalem Gelasii,” see *Polyptyque de l’Abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims*, ed. Benjamin Guérard (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1853), p. 38, 56, 61–62, 78.

127 The edition of the Gregorian is *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, ed. Deshusses, vol. 1, pp. 85–348; for parts of the Gregorian which might have gone back to Gregory the Great see Bernard Capelle, “Le main de St. Grégoire dans le sacramentaire grégorien,” *RevBen* 49 (1937), pp. 13–28; Jean Deshusses, “Grégoire et le sacramentaire grégorien,” in *Grégoire le Grand: Chantilly, Centre culturel Les Fontaines, 15–19 septembre 1982. Actes*, eds. Jacques Fontaine, Robert Gillet, Stan M, Pellistrandi (Paris: CNRS, 1986), pp. 637–44; Jean Deshusses, “Quelques remarques sur les oraisons de Saint-Grégoire,” *Revue Mabillon* 9 (1998), pp. 5–15; a more sceptical assessment in Harald Buchinger, “Gregor der Große und die abendländische Liturgiegeschichte: Schlüssel- oder Identifikationsfigur?,” in *Psallite sapienter. A 80 éves Béres György köszöntése: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Georg Béres*, ed. István Verbényi (Budapest: Szent Istvan Tarsulat, 2008), pp. 113–54.

128 Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 79–85.

129 John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1987).

and the Saturday of Palm Sunday, which were made stationary by Gregory II (Pope 715–731).¹³⁰ These events were recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis*, the most influential source for liturgical history for the Carolingians, and compilers of the sacramentary throughout the period were very aware of them.¹³¹

The Gregorian is prolix and restrained, most masses have only three prayers with traditional designations: the Collect is generally untitled, but may be called ORATIO, the secret is called SUPER OBLATA and the post communion is called AD COMPLENDUM.¹³² The masses for saints are overwhelmingly Roman, concerned principally with martyrs and saints venerated there. In many cases, prayers are used several times, and are therefore general and undifferentiated, without particular reference to the saint being celebrated. The Gregorian also provided proper prefaces only for a handful of the most important masses, and hardly any others.¹³³ It did not have any masses for many ordinary occasions, such as any Sundays outside of Advent or Lent, so for most of the year's Sundays. It is most likely that the series of quotidian prayers towards the end of the Sacramentary were intended to serve for these occasions.¹³⁴ Given its intended purpose for papal use, the miscellaneous material of the Gregorian is also limited, though this does include several papal-oriented liturgical texts.¹³⁵

The Gregorian was available in Francia in several distinct stages of its evolution, notably the pre-Hadrianic Gregorians and the *Hadrianum*. It is also becoming increasingly clear that Frankish compilers also had at hand earlier sources of the Gregorian that preceded the codification of the tradition in the recognisable book format, probably *libelli* of mass sets brought by pilgrims from Rome.¹³⁶ Modern scholarship went through several false starts, before the “authentic” Grego-

130 *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne vol. 2 (Paris: Thorin, 1886), p. 376, 402.

131 For Carolingian knowledge and use of the text see Rosamond McKitterick, *Rome and the Invention of the Papacy* (Cambridge: University Press, 2020), pp. 152–225.

132 Michael Driscoll, “Comment prier? L’Euchologie dans les sacramentaires romains et romano-francs,” in *Liturgie, Pensée théologique et mentalités religieuses du haut moyen âge: Le témoignage des sources liturgiques*, ed. Helene Bricout and Martin Klöckener, LQF 106, (Münster: Aschendorff, 2016), pp. 77–99.

133 For example, several masses of Christmas Day De 38, 45, 46, 51, Epiphany De 89, Easter Vigil De 379 and Easter Day De 385, Ascension De 499, etc.

134 De 876–934 in Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, p. 317: INCIPIUNT ORATIONES COTTIDIANAS.

135 De 980–1018, including a series of individual prayers for a time of war (De 997) too much rain (De 1003–1004), for sickness of animals (de 1006) mass SUPER EPISCOPUM DEFUNCTUM (De 1010–1013) and AD AGENDAM MORTUORUM (De 1015–1017), as well as ordination material (De 991–996). The final formula De 1018, is notably to be used for the papal ordination.

136 Visible, for example, in a palimpsested book from Benediktbeuern in Alban Dold, *Palimpsest-Studien*, vol. 2, (Beuron: Kunstverlag, 1957); also the Salzburg fragments edited in *Das Sakra-*

rian in the form of the *Hadrianum* was recognised in the manuscript Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 164, here **Cambrai**.¹³⁷ The original manuscript, which can be dated to the year 811–812, had the grand title: “IN NOMINE DOMINI HIC SACRAMENTORUM DE CIRCULO ANNI EXPOSITO A SANCTO GREGORIO PAPA ROMANO EDITUM EX AUTHENTICO LIBRO BIBLIOTHECAE CUBICULI SCRIPTUM.” [trans. In the name of the Lord, this sacramentary treating the cycle of the year was edited by St. Gregory, Pope of Rome, and copied from the authentic book in the palace library].¹³⁸ This title, possibly added by Carolingian copyists, became standard for all descendent manuscripts, even when later Carolingian and Ottonian compilers rendered the “original” book almost unrecognisable. Modern liturgical scholars recognised that the rich manuscript made for Hildoard of Cambrai, a bishop close to the court, was itself copied from an “authentic” example sent by Pope Hadrian I (Pope 772–795) to Charlemagne around the years 784/785, hence the name of the book, *Hadrianum*. Several incomplete or damaged copies of the same type of book, including two important examples from Verona (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XCI and LXXXVI) aid in the reconstruction of an original, Roman *Hadrianum*.¹³⁹ We know of Charlemagne’s request only because Hadrian’s cover letter for the original book survives in the *Codex Carolinus*, the collection of papal correspondence with the Frankish monarchs, preserved only in a single manuscript. According to this text, Charlemagne had asked for the sacramentary by Gregory the Great *inmixtum*, which is commonly interpreted as “without alteration,” but in fact, according to Morard, almost never used in that sense, and most likely having a much more prosaic meaning like “compiled” or “put together.”¹⁴⁰ But, likely

mentar von Salzburg: Seinem Typus nach auf Grund der erhaltenen Fragmente rekonstruiert, eds. Alban Dold and Klaus Gamber (Beuron: Kunstverlag, 1960).

137 Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 82–85; Coeburgh, “Notes sur le Sacramentaire d’Hadrien.”

138 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 2, p. 85:

139 Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 82; CLLA 725 and 726; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 42–43, vol. 3, pp. 20–21: “B1” and “B2.”

140 *Codex Epistolaris Carolinus: Frühmittelalterliche Papstbriefe an die Karolingerherrscher*, eds. Florian Hartmann and Tina B. Orth-Müller (Darmstadt: WBG, 2017), pp. 340–43: “De sacramentario vero a sancto disposito praedecessore nostro deifluo Gregorio papa-inmixtum vobis emitteremus iampridem Paulus Grammaticus (sic) a nobis eum pro vobis petente secundum sanctae nostrae ecclesiae traditionem - per sanctam Iohannem monachum atque abbatem civitatis Ravennantum, Vestrae regalis emisimus Excellentiae” [trans. Concerning the sacramentary arranged by our divine predecessor Pope Gregory – the example compiled according to the tradition of our holy Church for which once, some time ago, Paul the Deacon asked by your will – we now send it to your royal excellence, taken by the holy monk John and abbot of the city of Ravenna]; the translation in Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 81 is flawed, *inmixtum* is rendered by Vogel as “without additions” or even more boldly in n. 214 “free from all post-Gregorian or extra-Gregorian additions.” Vogel argued this meaning could be assumed from a careful reading of the

because no book of Gregory the Great had been preserved in Rome, Hadrian sent to Charlemagne a version of the Gregorian Sacramentary which had been updated up until the pontificate of Gregory III (Pope 731–741), since it contained all the additions noted above (Marian feasts, Thursdays in Lent, and also a mass for the feast of Urban (25th May), which was also added in the eighth century.) The sacramentary even contained a mass for the feast of Gregory himself!¹⁴¹

It became a truism that Charlemagne had asked for the Gregorian from Rome in order to impose it as normative across his realms and thus to render liturgical usage uniform on the basis of this unquestionably pure Roman exemplar. The fact that manuscript evidence does not support this at all has been raised for some time, as has the inconvenient fact that no utterance of Charlemagne concerning the Gregorian has survived, and his intentions regarding the *Hadrianum* are entirely unknown.¹⁴² Nevertheless, it is still often repeated as fact, and particularly in publications aimed at non-specialists, where it continues to mislead.¹⁴³ Nor have the criticisms filtered outside of quite select publications dealing with liturgy. Studies in other disciplines often still assume the Gregorian Sacramentary was an instrument of “political unification” “under the aegis of the Carolingian

Hucusque Supplement, which was added to the Gregorian in the generation after Charlemagne and hardly able to express Charlemagne’s own policy; for vital criticism of this translation see Morard, “Sacramentum immixtum et uniformization romaine,” p. 6; Wolfgang Steck “Secundum usum romanum”: Liturgischer Anspruch und Wirklichkeit zur Karolingerzeit” in *Mittelalterliches Denken: Debatten, Ideen und Gestalten im Kontext*, eds. Christian Schäfer and Martin Thurner (Darmstadt: WBG, 2007), pp. 15–30, p. 17n14 argues that “inmixtum” has an intensifying meaning to miscere, thus suggesting Charlemagne asked for a specifically “mixed” sacramentary; i.e., one in which Temporal and Sanctoral were not separated, but this is less likely; Vogel also assumes that the words “secundum sanctae ecclesiae tradicionem” [trans. according to the tradition of the holy church], refer specifically to the Lateran Basilica, which is not at all evident.

141 De 137–39.

142 See the insightful passage of a review by Christopher Hohler of *Master Alcuin, Liturgist: Patron of our Piety* by Gerald Ellard, *Journal of Theological Studies* 8 (1957), pp. 222–26, at p. 224; further criticism in Hen, *Royal Patronage of Liturgy*, pp. 79–81; Morard, “Sacramentarium inmixtum,” pp. 9–12.

143 Marie-Pierre Lafitte, “La politique religieuse et la réforme liturgique,” in *Trésors carolingiens. Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve*, eds. Marie-Pierre Lafitte, Charlotte Denoël and Pierette Crouzet (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2007), pp. 43–47); Laura Albiero, “Secundum romanum consuetudinem”: La riforma liturgica in epoca carolingia,” in *Il secolo di Carolo Magno: Istituzioni, Letterature e cultura del tempo carolingio*, eds. Ileana Pagani and Francesco Santi (Florence: SISMEL, 2017), pp. 151–75; dell’Oro, “Genesi e sviluppo,” at p. 93; Choy, *Intercessory Prayer*, at pp. 55–56; Lizette Larson-Miller, “The Liturgical Inheritance of the Late Empire,” in *A Companion to the Eucharist*, eds. Levy, Macy and van Ausdell, pp. 13–58, at p. 43.

court,” and generally cite only Vogel.¹⁴⁴ Neither Hadrian nor Charlemagne ever openly expressed anything that would support such a view. It seems that the original *Hadrianum* manuscript was deposited in the royal collection (possibly indicated by the title “ex authentico libro bibliothecae cubiculi”), which likely lent it an aura of prestige, but there is simply no evidence that Charlemagne ever envisaged the book would serve as the exclusive normative mass book in his domains.¹⁴⁵ Those who had copies of the Gregorian *Hadrianum* made, like Hildoard of Cambrai or an early ninth-century Bishop of Verona (probably Ratoldus (770–840/858), could have done so out of their own initiative, and for varied reasons.¹⁴⁶ Particularly intriguing is the supposition by Schieffer that the Gregorian could have served for its owners as a “book relic” of its supposed author, Gregory the Great, while Morard’s categorisation that “the work of Gregory was sought out, as

144 Cynthia Hahn, “The Performative Letter in the Carolingian Sacramentary of Gellone,” in *Sign and Design: Script as Image in Cross-Cultural Perspective (300–1600 CE)*, eds. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Jeffrey F. Hamburger (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2016), at p. 238.

145 It is also possible that the “*bibliotheca*” was the papal archive in Rome (Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 81n220), and the title was thus original to *Hadrianum*, but the coherence with the titles of other Carolingian “*authentica*” and the naming of Gregory as “Gregorio Papa Romana” make it most likely that the title was added by Carolingian editors. How much more they may have added even to the *Hadrianum Authenticum* in **Cambrai** remains uncharted territory. Certainly, a strain of Gregorian manuscripts lacks both the title and *ordo missae*, the latter of which describes, in quite basic terms, the ordering of the mass and has the title QUALITER MISSA ROMANA CAELEBRATUR [trans. how the Roman mass is celebrated], both of which would seem rather unnecessary in the papal Gregorian. The suspicion arises that this additional material could have been also added by Carolingian scribes. The “pre-Hadrianic” manuscript, and those influenced by this older form, provides evidence for an originally shorter Gregorian, opening without even the Canon of the Mass, as an incipit “IN NOMINE DOMINI” is provided in e.g. **Trent**, **Mainz** and the Reichenau codices at the opening of the Christmas mass, see De 33, var. *Tit*. Certainly, one interjection in many manuscripts which specifies that the opening dialogue to the preface is said audibly, so that the people may hear it and respond (De 2: “Qua completa dicit sacerdos excelsa uoce” [trans. This being done, the priest says in a raised voice]), must be a Carolingian addition. It is not found in **Cambrai**, and the specification of the tone of the prayer is characteristically Carolingian, and not Roman. See Westwell, *Roman Liturgy and Frankish Creativity*, pp. 113–116, 254.

146 For Ratold’s role, see Gilles Gérard Meersseman, *L’Orazionale dell’Arcidiacono Pacifico e il Carpsum del Cantore Stefano. Studi e testi sulla liturgia del duomo di Verona dal IX all’XII sec.*, Spicilegium Friburgense 21 (Freiburg: éditions universitaires, 1974), pp. 25–55; Francesco Veronese, “The struggle for (self-)integration. Manuscripts, Liturgy and Networks in Verona at the Time of Bishop Ratold (c.802–840/3)”, in *Networks of Bishops, Networks of Texts. Manuscripts, Legal cultures, Tools of Government*, ed. by Gianmarco d’Angelis and Francesco Veronese (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2022), pp. 67–90.

at once a reference and a relic,” perhaps comes closest to summing up pithily the value of the book.¹⁴⁷

Rather than enforcing “reform” on the basis of a single model book by diktat, Charlemagne’s appointment of reliable and capable men like Hildoard to important bishoprics and abbacies, and his fostering of an atmosphere in which liturgical improvement was seen as a priority, led to these individuals taking advantage of resources like the Gregorian, and their own connections to the court, in their own ways. Initiative and interest came from the bishops and monasteries concerned. For example, one oft-cited example of “reform” was an initiative of Leidrad of Lyon (745–821) who asked Charlemagne to send a singer from Metz to teach his clerics to sing as they did at the court, in service of a restoration of the Church of Lyon.¹⁴⁸ But this again reveals that the bishops and church officials took the lead in fostering such improvements in their own dioceses, with the court taking only a secondary role, principally reactive or exemplary. In any case, the copying of the Gregorian in a diocese like Cambrai did not entail necessarily that the book was the “standard” mass book there, as might be true in a later period. Slightly later evidence in book lists shows Gregorian sacramentaries were being used alongside Gelasian ones, and the former often remained in the minority.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, the Gregorian *Hadrianum* was used in a limited way as a source for another manuscript of the diocese of Cambrai of Hildoard’s time, and sometimes associated with him, the Gelasian Sacramentary of Gellone of ca. 790–800 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 12048), to which the *Hadrianum* provided about a dozen prayers.¹⁵⁰ This hardly suggests the Gregorian was initially envisaged as the exclusive, authorised form of mass book.

147 Rudolf Schieffer, “Redeamus ad fontem. Rom als Hort authentischer Überlieferung im früheren Mittelalter,” in *Roma – Caput et Fons. Zwei Vorträge über das päpstliche Rom zwischen Altertum und Mittelalter*, eds. Rudolf Schieffer and Arnold Angenendt (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1989), pp. 45–70; Morard, “Sacramentum immixtum et uniformization romaine,” p. 22: “L’œuvre liturgique de saint Grégoire est recherchée à la fois comme une relique et comme une référence.”

148 Leidrad of Lyon, *Carolo I imperatori de rebus suis Lugduni gestis*, ed. Ernst Dümmler. MGH, *Epistolae*, vol. 4: *Epistolae [merowingici et] karolini aevi II* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), at pp. 542–543.

149 Notably Saint-Riquier in 831 (n.126) had nineteen Gelasian to only three Gregorian missals, and all of them were supposed to be used at the altar.

150 Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 76–78, 81n.219; Antoine Chavasse, *Le Sacramentaire gélasien (Vat. Reg. 316). Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VII^e siècle* (Paris-Tournai: Desclée, 1958), p. 556; Jean Deshusses, “Le sacramentaire de Gellone dans son contexte historique,” *EphLit* 75 (1961), pp. 193–210; Gellone is edited in *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, 2 vols., ed. Antoine Dumas, CCSL 159–159A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981).

The *Hadrianum* was also not the only kind of Gregorian of which the Franks were aware. The availability of the so-called “pre-Hadrianic” forms in Francia throughout the Carolingian period was firmly established through Deshusses’s analysis of a vital manuscript in Trent, Castel del Buon Consiglio, cod. 1590, henceforth **Trent**.¹⁵¹ Though probably created for the bishopric of Trent in around 825–830, **Trent** preserves a copy of an earlier manuscript originally made for Salzburg, whose patron saint, Rupert, is honoured among the votive masses.¹⁵² It is clear that the exemplar was a Gregorian at an earlier state than the Gregorian *Hadrianum*, also available in Francia. That exemplar did not have masses for Gregory the Great, the Thursday masses of Lent instituted by Gregory II, or the new Marian feasts instituted by Sergius, nor the *Agnus Dei* that the same Pope added to the Canon. In the case of the Lenten Thursdays and the four Marian feasts, Frankish compilers recognised the gaps in the manuscript and inserted alternative masses into these places, largely made up from the alternative, Gelasian tradition.¹⁵³ The confidence of these Frankish interpolators, who were aware of later developments in the Roman mass schedule, and eager to edit the venerable Gregorian to the latest trends, should be noted. The presence of the largely Gelasian masses in these places, rather than the Gregorian ones found in *Hadrianum*, as well as the absence of the masses of Gregory and Leo, and other distinctive features of **Trent**, can clue us into the use of a pre-Hadrianic Gregorian in the confection of a later sacramentary. These signs are present in many more manuscripts, and much more lastingly, than can be grasped only by reading Deshusses.¹⁵⁴

The presence of the pre-Hadrianic Sacramentary in Salzburg as exemplar for **Trent** can be helpfully explained by the tenure of the first Archbishop of Salzburg, Arn (bishop from 785–821), another of Charlemagne’s appointments and, previously, the Abbot of none other than the monastery of Saint-Amand.¹⁵⁵ Arn

151 Jean Deshusses, “Le sacramentaire grégorien de Trente,” *RevBen* 78 (1968), pp. 261–82; Jean Deshusses, “Le sacramentaire grégorien pré-hadriannique,” *RevBen* 80 (1970), pp. 213–37; The edition is: *Monumenta Liturgica Ecclesiae Tridentinae Saeculo XIII Antiquiora*, vol. 2/A: *Fontes Liturgici. Libri Sacramentorum*, eds. F. Dell’Oro and H. Rogger (Trent: Società studi trentini di scienze storiche, 1983), hence *Tridentinum*.

152 *Tridentinum*, 1300–4.

153 *Tridentinum* 214–17; 240–3; 273–6; 300–3; 329–32; 356–9.

154 Christopher Hohler, “Some Service Books of the Later Saxon Church,” in *Tenth-Century Studies. Essays in Commemoration of the Millenium of the Council of Winchester*, ed. David Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1975), pp. 78–83, at 80–81.

155 On Arn generally, see *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg*, eds. Meta Niederkorn-Bruck and Anton Scharer (Vienna-Munich: Böhlau, 2004).

was a great friend of Alcuin of York, also Abbot of Saint-Martin of Tours.¹⁵⁶ We know that, while he was at Tours, Alcuin undertook the initiative to create a preciously mixed form of sacramentary that we call today the “Missal of Alcuin,” which had both Gregorian and Gelasian characteristics.¹⁵⁷ The Missal of Alcuin was certainly created on the basis of a pre-Hadrianic Gregorian.¹⁵⁸ Alcuin likely provided the same pre-Hadrianic Sacramentary he employed to Arn of Salzburg, and this manuscript is the direct ancestor of **Trent**. Although the pre-Hadrianic Sacramentary in Trent had been regarded as an *unicum*, my examination of the sacramentary in the archepiscopal palace of Kroměříž in the Czech Republic, created in the diocese of Reims towards the end of the ninth century, revealed that this manuscript agrees with **Trent** against *Hadrianum* in almost every one of the former’s most distinctive features.¹⁵⁹ This important manuscript, which had long been inaccessible to sacramentary research, shows the continued availability of this pre-Hadrianic Gregorian, in Northern France more than a century after *Hadrianum*’s arrival. The earlier **Modena**, though sadly incomplete and missing the most telling parts of Lent, shows pre-Hadrianic traits (the *Agnus Dei* is missing from the Canon, and this was added by Pope Sergius to the Canon) and can be linked to Northern France, and Tours, thus Alcuin.¹⁶⁰ A number of other frag-

156 Max Diesenberger and Herwig Wolfram, “Arn und Alcuin 790 bis 804: Zwei Freunde und ihre Schriften,” in Niederkorn-Bruck and Scharer, *Arn von Salzburg*, pp. 81–106.

157 Henri Barré and Jean Deshusses, “A la recherche du Missel d’Alcuin,” *EphLit* 82 (1968), pp. 3–44; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 2, pp. 65–66; this missal is recorded in the Saint-Riquier book list (n. 14) as: “Missalis Gregorianus et Gelasianus modernis temporibus ab Albino ordinatus I.” [trans. A Gelasian and Gregorian Missal compiled in recent times by Alcuin (Albinus being his nickname)].

158 We can reconstruct this not only from the later sacramentaries from Tours (especially **Tours**), which are more or less attenuated descendants of the Missal of Alcuin, but also from Alcuin’s writings on Adoptionism, in which he quoted a sacramentary he directly attributed to Gregory the Great, which had certain texts only found in pre-Hadrianic sacramentaries, and not in the *Hadrianum*; see Jean Deshusses, “Les anciens sacramentaires de Tours,” *RevBen* 89 (1979), pp. 281–302; Arthur Westwell, “The Lost Missal of Alcuin and the Carolingian Sacramentaries of Tours,” *Early Medieval Europe* 30 (2022), pp. 350–83.

159 Kroměříž, Arcidiecézní muzeum, inv. RKP 21134, sign O / c V 1; analysed in Arthur Westwell, “The Carolingian Sacramentary in Kroměříž, Arcidiecézní muzeum, inv. RKP 21134, sign O / c V 1,” *Scriptorium* 76 (2022), pp. 61–89.

160 Modena, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. O II 7; Delisle, *Mémoire*, p. 128; Ebner, *Iter Italicum*, p. 94; CLLA 777; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 38: “G”; Though written for Modena or Reggio Emilia (St. Prosper of Reggio Emilia appears in the Canon of the Mass), Bischoff identified that the scribe seems to have come from France, Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, n. 2797, and likely the exemplar did too; Deshusses, “Le sacramentaire grégorien pré-hadriannique,” p. 223 indicated **Modena** had “points de contacts évidents avec celui de Tours” [evident points of contact with the sacramentary of Tours].

ments indicate potentially wide availability of manuscripts outside of Rome of sources that can be identified as pre-Hadrianic Gregorians.¹⁶¹ These examples prove that so-called “Gregorian” material was widely known in various forms throughout Western Europe before Charlemagne received *Hadrianum*, and they continued to be available afterwards, as in the Italian evidence of the so-called Sacramentary of Padua (Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, cod. D 47).¹⁶² This is another interpolated Carolingian copy of a form of Gregorian even earlier than that used for **Trent**. Probably the original example (*Paduense*) left Rome before 683, but generations of adaptation separate this exemplar from the Padua manuscript itself. This will play no further direct role in this book, since the manuscript was copied and decorated in Italy by scribes and artists associated with the Court School of the Emperor Lothar between 840 and 855, for use in North Italy and based on North Italian exemplars, as the new edition convincingly proves.¹⁶³ Constant attribution of the manuscript to Aachen or Liège have resulted from persistent assumptions that “Court School” scribes and artists were based there and basically immobile, which Nees and Pani disputed.¹⁶⁴ Instead, it is a production of the “Court School” that likely took place in Italy, for an Italian church or court chapel, and belongs liturgically with other Italian manuscripts. Again, as at **Trent**, adaption of an original Roman exemplar outside Rome is conspicuous. Chavasse had notably argued that the *Paduensis* Sacramentary represented the copy of a Gregorian adapted to the use of a St Peter’s Basilica as title church, referred to as the “Gregorian Type II.”¹⁶⁵ However it is far from unlikely that the very adaptations Chavasse identified were applied to the Gregorian outside of

161 Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 97; Klaus Gamber, “Sacramentaria praehadriana: Neue Zeugnisse der Süddeutschen Überlieferung des Vorhadrianischen Sacramentarium Gregorianum im 8.–9. Jh.,” *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), pp. 3–15.

162 Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 92–97; first (partially) edited in *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des Liber Sacramentorum anni circuli der römischen Kirche mit Untersuchungen von A. Baumstark*, ed. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, LQF 11/12 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1927), and in Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 39–40: “Pa,” and edited partially from pp. 609–84; finally a full edition of the whole manuscript in *Liber sacramentorum paduensis (Padova biblioteca capitolare cod.D.47)*, eds. Alceste Catello, Ferdinando dell’Oro and Aldo Martini (Rome: Edizioni liturgici, 2005).

163 Notably, also as Gamber had always argued (CLLA 880).

164 Lawrence Nees, “Imperial Networks,” in *Medieval Mastery: Book Illumination from Charlemagne to Charles the Bald, 800–1475*, ed. Adelaide Louise Bennet (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2002), pp. 91–101, also Laura Pani, “Lothar’s manuscripts, manuscripts for Lothar, manuscripts of Lothar’s time” in *Networks of bishops, networks of texts*, ed. d’Angelis and Veronese, pp. 13–21.

165 Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, passim or at p. 526 and 567.

Rome and the actual existence of a “Type II” as a book for the “tituli” in Rome is dubious.

The presence of the Sacramentary of Padua, Trent and many other fragments, reveal that the reception of the *Hadrianum* by Charlemagne is likely not to have been as decisive in liturgical history as it was sometimes presented. Many churchmen were already familiar with some form of the Gregorian. Charlemagne probably asked for *Hadrianum* primarily as a reference text, especially since the Gregorian was being used in theological disputes by Alcuin (see n. 158). Notable, too, is that Frankish adaptations were also applied to all strands of the Gregorian available and circulating in Francia. The gaps in the Gregorian exemplars called forth the creativity of compilers and liturgists, who had no qualms about adjusting the “Sacramentary of Gregory” as they deemed necessary.

Gelasianum

The so-called Gelasian sacramentaries form the other part of the raw material important to understanding our sacramentaries of Saint-Amand. The Gelasian Sacramentary comes in two forms. Usually counted first is the Old Gelasian Sacramentary, which is preserved complete only in one manuscript, Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 316 with additional folios in Paris, BnF, lat. 7193 fol. 41–56.¹⁶⁶ It was copied in the eighth century, usually said to be around 750, at a nunnery in the Paris basin, either at Chelles or Jouarre.¹⁶⁷ However, the dating “c.750” has won force mostly by repetition, and placing the surviving manuscript a little later could help us understand the parallel developments in the “Gelasian” family.¹⁶⁸ McKitterick certainly has the Old Gelasian manuscript in a chronologically later group than the first production of manuscripts in the distinctive uncial of the *scriptorium*, and it is the first

¹⁶⁶ Edited in *Liber sacramentorum Romanae aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 316/ Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193 41756 (Sacramentarium Gelasianum)*, by Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, Leo Eizenhöfer, and Peter Siffrin, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta. Series Maior, Fontes IV* (Rome: Herder, 1960); Elias Avery Lowe “The Vatican MS of the Gelasian Sacramentary and its Supplement in Paris,” *Journal of Theological Studies*, 27 (1925/6), pp. 357–73; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 64–70; Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian*, pp. 198–201.

¹⁶⁷ Bernhard Bischoff, *Die Kölner Nonnenhandschriften und das Scriptorium von Chelles: Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1957); Rosamond McKitterick, “Nuns’ scriptoria in England and France in the Eighth Century,” *Francia* 19 (1992), pp. 1–35; Ulla Ziegler, *Das Sacramentarium Gelasianum Bibl. Vat. Reg. lat. 316 und die Schule von Chelles*, *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 16 (Frankfurt: Buchhändler-Vereinigung, 1976), pp. 3–117.

¹⁶⁸ Moreton suggested the manuscript was probably later in *The Eighth-Century Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. 173n1.

manuscript among them to introduce the distinctive pre-caroline “b-minuscle” in its glosses on the Greek Creed.¹⁶⁹ She offers the theory that the group including Reg.lat.316 represents a transitional stage of manuscript production at Jouarre itself, before Chelles won out politically over its mother house and then took over as the undisputed centre of production of this type of script, which is a development she places at “the end of the eighth century” or “associated with the career of Charlemagne, rather than the earlier generation under Pippin III . . . well into the second half of the eighth century,” thus not necessitating, from a historical standpoint, that the Old Gelasian, which comes just before this development, must be “c.750.”¹⁷⁰ This would enable us to push Reg.lat.316 somewhat later and the 760s or even the early 770s are still reconcilable with the Lowe’s “VIII med.,” which helps us also account for other developments of the Gelasian type, as broadly occurring in parallel, as well as the later dates of other copies of the same type, for which see below. That a further sacramentary described as “Gallican,” the surviving fragment of which is today Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 820 (k), was copied in the same centre as the Old Gelasian manuscript at around the same time, and is placed in the same palaeographical group by McKitterick, is a testament to lively liturgical plurality in these productive centres in the Paris basin.¹⁷¹ The Caius fragment represents another creative attempt to reconcile “Gallican” and Roman usages, per Gamber’s comments in CLLA, including the incorporation of several Roman prayers found in the ancient *Veronense* into a Gallican Christmas mass. This companion piece attests that the nuns’ *scriptorium* would have been quite capable of altering their Old Gelasian model, as well.¹⁷²

The Old Gelasian is distinguished by its division into three “books,” in which the Temporal (Book 1) and Sanctoral (Book 2) are kept distinct from one another, and Book 3 has masses for Sundays and votive masses. Unlike the Gregorian, every mass-set in the Gelasian has a second Collect, ALIA, meaning at least four prayers, and sometimes more, and many more proper prefaces. An intricate theory of Antoine Chavasse (1909–1983) posited that the Old Gelasian substantially reproduced an originally Roman book, specifically the “presbyterial” counterpart to the papal Gregorian, i.e. a mass book that had been used in Rome by the ordi-

169 McKitterick, “Nuns’ scriptoria,” p. 6

170 *Ibid.*, p. 11, 14.

171 CLA II 130; CLLA 217; edited in Gustav Bickell, ‘Ein neues Fragment einer gallikanischen Weihnachtmesse’, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 6 (1882), pp. 370–372, reprinted in Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, ed., *Missale Gallicanum Vetus (Cod. Vat. Pal.lat. 493)*, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta. Series Maior Fontes III* (Rome: Herder, 1958), pp. 95–96; see Smyth, *La Liturgie Oubliée*, p. 86.

172 Lipshitz, *Religious Women in Early Carolingian Francia*, p. 78, 154, 187.

nary priests in the *tituli* churches.¹⁷³ Yet the “proof” of the presence of the Old Gelasian in Rome never actually indicated that a full sacramentary like Reg. lat. 316 was there, only that some underlying Gelasian material, quite limited in scope, was also available to Roman compilers.¹⁷⁴ Others have argued more convincingly for the creation of an initial “Old Gelasian” Sacramentary outside of Rome, perhaps originally in Italy, or, temptingly, perhaps in England on the basis of Roman material, most likely simple *libelli*.¹⁷⁵ In the latter case, the material might have been brought to England originally from central Italy and Rome by the successive missions to England by clergy or monks from this area (e.g. those who accompanied Hadrian of Nisida (d. 709/10), from the monastery near Naples, and Theodore of Tarsus (d. 690)). For this question, it is notable that feasts for several central Italian saints appear in the Old Gelasian, who were never widely venerated in Rome.¹⁷⁶ The Old Gelasian tradition has certainly acquired significant Frankish material too, probably in several distinct stages.¹⁷⁷ Though the Vatican manuscript is alone in giving the full Old Gelasian, fragmentary manuscripts

173 Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, pp. 679–92; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 70: “When we eliminate the Gallican additions, Reg.316 provides us with first-rate information on how presbyterial worship was conducted at Rome in VII and VIII centuries”; Bernard Capelle, “Origine et vicissitudes du sacramentaire gélasien d’après un livre récent,” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 54 (1959), pp. 864–79.

174 Michel Andrieu, “Les messes des jeudis de Carême,” *Revue des sciences religieuses* 9 (1929), pp. 352–70, at 345–47. Masses for Thursdays of Lent which were added into the Gregorian tradition at the time of Gregory II have prayers that are also found in the Old Gelasian, generally those of the Wednesday or Friday of the same week. Gelasian Lenten material therefore was available in Rome at Gregory’s time. But this is not enough to prove the “Old Gelasian Sacramentary” was available in Rome in Gregory’s reign, as Andrieu, Chavasse and Vogel present it; Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian*, pp. 61–64: “better seen as a common use of a basic stock of prayers,” and pp. 82–84; Alfio Massimo Martelli, *Sacramentario Gelasiano. Cod. Vat. Reg. 316. Primo testimone completo dell’esperienza della Liturgia Romana nella Gallia Precarolingiana* (Trent: Vita trentina, 2003); in the same way, the assertion by Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 70 “that the model for Reg.316 must have arrived in Gaul by the late VII century,” because texts found in the Old Gelasian are also found in Gallican sacramentaries assumes a full sacramentary transmitted this material, when a transfer of isolated formulae or *libelli* is more likely.

175 Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian*, particularly pp. 171–72; Charles Coeburgh, “Le sacramentaire gélasien ancien,” *AfL* 7 (1961), pp. 46–88; Christopher Hohler has argued for the origin of the type for use in England in Hohler “Some Service Books,” p. 61; Yitzhak Hen, “The Liturgy of St. Willibrord,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 26 (1997), pp. 41–62.

176 Bourque, *Étude sur les sacramentaires*, vol. 1, pp. 274–88, 365–74; dell’Oro, “Genesi e sviluppo del santorale nei sacramentari,” p. 89.

177 Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, pp. 5–61; for example, the Ordination for lower clergy (based on the French *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*), the consecration of virgins, dedication of churches, blessing of Holy Water, etc.

reveal further copies of the same “type” also present in Reims and elsewhere Northern France, even up to the cusp of the ninth century when the Gregorian *Hadrianum* had already arrived in Francia.¹⁷⁸ Thus, the Old Gelasian cannot be regarded as wholly extinct even then.¹⁷⁹

The second type of Gelasian Sacramentary is much more well preserved, in around a dozen manuscripts.¹⁸⁰ This is commonly known as the “Gelasian of the Eighth Century.” The earliest surviving manuscripts of the “Gelasian of the Eighth Century” date to the end of the eighth century, or first years of the ninth, and so it can be regarded as an achievement of the Carolingian church. At least one fragmentary example, known as the Colbertine fragments after their owner, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), was even copied at Saint-Amand itself, in two successive stages, as we will see.¹⁸¹ The usability and practicality of the book suffices to explain its popularity, without the need to suggest it ever had any kind of official status. Much more common than the Old Gelasian, the Gelasian of the Eighth Century is most likely what is meant by the term “missale gelasianus” in Carolingian

178 The Index of Saint Thierry in “a-b minuscule” of the second half of the eighth century (Reims, BM, Ms. 8, fol. 1–2); CLA VI 822; CLLA 611; André Wilmart, “L’index liturgique de Saint-Thierry,” *RevBen* 30 (1913), pp. 437–50; and *Liber sacramentorum Romanae aeclesiae*, eds. Mohlberg, Eizenhöfer and Siffrin, pp. 267–75; digitized at: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md021c18gb30>; the even later Valenciennes fragment (Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 414, flyleaves); CLLA 612; edited by Gamber, *Sakramentartypen*, 57; also Bischoff Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, vol. 2, 3rd ed. (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1980), p. 62: “VIII/IX Jh”; Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian*, pp. 202–3; digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452636r/f5.item>.

179 Gamber lists three additional Old Gelasian fragments CLLA 626–629 from the tenth century, including one each from Brittany and Corvey. None is unambiguously “Old Gelasian”, but the mass books of these regions do desperately require more examination.

180 Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 70–78; the manuscripts include: Gellone (Paris, BnF, lat. 12048), Angoulême (Paris, BnF, lat. 816), Philipps (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. lat. 105 (Philipps 1667), Remedius (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 48), Rheinau (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh 30), Monza (Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare. F 1–101); fragments and palimpsests include the Angelica Palimpsest (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, codex F. A. 1408), fragments in Budapest (Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, codex lat. med. aevi 441) and from a single book in Stockholm and Wrocław (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 135a and Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Akc.1955/3), a fragment from Chelles or Jouarre (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce f. 1 (21999)) and an incomplete manuscript from Chur (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 350) see CLLA vol. 2, pp. 380–97 for a more complete list, including many little examined fragments; one fragment not given by Gamber is owned by my colleague Professor Georg Rechenauer, see Georg Rechenauer, “Colligere fragmenta ne pereant. Ein neuentdecktes Sakramentarfragment des Gelasianum des 8. Jahrhunderts im Typus des Liber Excarpus,” *Scriptorium* 46 (1992), pp. 268–75.

181 *Sacramentarium Gelasianum mixtum von Saint-Amand*, ed. Sieghild Rehle (Regensburg: Pustet, 1973), with extensive contributions from Klaus Gamber.

commentary and was a principle source for the Carolingian adjustments to the Gregorian that we will see, for example, in the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand.¹⁸² The Gelasian of the Eighth Century was divided into two books (sometimes made explicit by a title: “INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS DE EXTREMA PARTE”). The first book contained the mixed Temporal and Sanctoral for the year. The Roman Canon of the Mass appeared only at the end of this first book, and was set within the last of the *missae quotidianae*.¹⁸³ Masses for ordinary Sundays were distributed throughout in the setting of a hypothetical year. The second book contained *ordines*, episcopal blessings, and pontifical material.¹⁸⁴ The exuberance of the Frankish Gelasian of the Eighth Century is notable, in comparison to the austere Gregorian Sacramentary of Rome. Most masses have a proper preface, and many even have five mass prayers, with two Collects, a secret (under the title SECRETA), a proper preface, a post communion (under the title POSTCOMMUNIO) and, quite often, a sixth prayer, which may be a SUPER POPULUM prayer (one said over the people at the end of mass).¹⁸⁵

The Gelasian of the Eighth Century offered material that can be identified in the “Gregorian” and “Gelasian” traditions, often mixing material in the same mass set. It contains material for many feasts that were not celebrated in Rome itself, but reflect Frankish devotional preoccupations: feasts of Apostles (Bartholomew, Thomas, Simon, and Jude), the *Cathedra Sancti Petri* (feast of the chair of St. Peter) and Conversion of St. Paul, the Minor Rogations etc. It is thus quite appropriate to call it a “Frankish prayer book for the use of Frankish clerics.”¹⁸⁶ Moreton’s decisive revisions of the origin of this type of book, on the basis of intricate work on the individual mass sets, are urgent and cogent.¹⁸⁷ Scholarship still widely assumes that the Gelasian of the Eighth Century resulted from the fusion of a complete copy of the “Old Gelasian” with a complete copy of a “Gregorian of Type II,” the scholarly reconstruction of a type of special, “pre-Hadrianic” book said to have been adapted from the papal Gregorian for use by the priests of St Peter’s basilica.¹⁸⁸ Most often, the process of compiling the resulting archetype was explicitly located to the monastery of Flavigny in Burgundy, because of the

182 Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian*, pp. 2–5.

183 For example, in the Sacramentary of Angoulême, *Liber sacramentorum Engolismensis*, ed. Patrick Saint-Roch, CCSL 159C (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987), pp. 256–59.

184 Bernard Moreton, “The Liber Secundus of the Eighth Century Gelasian Sacramentaries: A Reassessment,” *Studia Patristica* 13 (1975), pp. 382–86.

185 On the SUPER POPULUM see Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, vol. 2, pp. 529–34.

186 Hen, *Patronage of Liturgy*, pp. 59–60.

187 Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian*; see also Bernard Moreton, “Mohlberg, Chrysogonus and the Gelasians of the Eighth Century,” *Studia Patristica* 10 (1970), pp. 391–95.

188 Bourque, *Étude sur les sacramentaires*, vol. 2/1, pp. 283–321; on the “Type II,” see pp. 52–53.

presence in all manuscripts of a mass for St. Praiectus of Clermont (d. 676), patron of that monastery, but which actually seems not be a patronal mass at all.¹⁸⁹

The evidence that the fusion of Gregorian and Gelasian traditions resulted from two already complete sacramentaries, neat though it is, is not entirely convincing. Klaus Gamber (1919–1989), for example, already offered detailed criticisms of this idea.¹⁹⁰ Gamber was one of the greatest and most devoted scholars of the sacramentary, and basically published uninterrupted on the theme from the end of the Second World War until his death. One finds his *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores* often cited in passing, but the engagement with his voluminous bibliography has been limited, and his methodology and system of classification has found no great purchase or school of followers.¹⁹¹ Part of the problem is that it is difficult to fully understand his categorisation of the sacramentaries without reading carefully his many articles, which are spread across journals and edited volumes.

The conclusions of these many contributions often go against the grain of accepted opinion in liturgical studies.¹⁹² They are thus laid aside as too problematic, without any serious engagement with the evidence Gamber marshalled against

189 *Ibid.*, p. 227; Antoine Chavasse, “La messe de Saint Prix du Sacramentaire Gélisien du VIII^e siècle,” in *Liturgie: Gestalt und Vollzug* ed. Walter Dürig (Munich: Hüber, 1963), pp. 60–69; but see objections by Bernard Moreton in “A Patronal Festival? St. Praiectus and the Eighth-Century Gelasian Sacramentary,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 27 (1967), pp. 370–80; Gamber argued the formula was not for Praiectus of Clermont, but the obscure deacon Praiectus of Asti in Klaus Gamber, “Die Formulare des hl. Praiectus und der hl. Euphemia in den junggelasianischen Sakramentaren,” *Sacris Erudiri* 12 (1961), pp. 405–410, but this relies principally on his assumption of Italian origin for the tradition.

190 Klaus Gamber, “Das Heimat und Ausbildung der Gelasiana saec.VIII,” *Sacris Erudiri* 14 (1963), pp. 99–129; Klaus Gamber, “Das Sakramentar und Lektionar des Bischof Marinianus von Ravenna,” *Römische Quartalschrift* 61 (1966), pp. 203–8; CLLA, vol. 1, pp. 313–16, vol. 2, pp. 368–97; Klaus Gamber (ed.), *Das Sakramentar von Jena* (Beuron: Kunstverlag, 1962) pp. 84–86 on the Sunday masses in the Gelasian of the Eighth Century being dependent on neither the surviving Gregorian nor Old Gelasian tradition but something demonstrably older; Leo Eizenhöfer, “Die Präfation für den Geburtstag des Heiligen Agnes,” *AfL* 11 (1969), pp. 58–76 came to the same conclusion regarding the preface for St Agnes, in which the Gelasians of the Eighth Century also transmit an older recension than the Old Gelasian does.

191 Many of his theories are usefully brought together in the successive collections of essays: Klaus Gamber, *Missae Romensis. Beiträge zur frühen römischen Liturgie und zu den Anfängen des Missale Romanum* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1970), Klaus Gamber, *Sakramentarstudien und andere Arbeiten zur frühen Liturgiegeschichte* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1978) and Klaus Gamber, *Sacramentorum. Weitere Studien zur Geschichte des Meßbuches und der frühen Liturgie* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1984), but these must be read with caution.

192 Most illustrative of his methods is the vast and intricate argument in Klaus Gamber, “Das Kampanische Meßbuch als Vorläufer des Gelasianum,” *Sacris Erudiri* 12 (1961), pp. 5–111 which takes advantage of the undeniably fascinating textual parallels between the fragmentary earliest

the consensus, which is often formidable and meticulous, in contrast to his often fanciful conclusions.¹⁹³ As such, he provides a very necessary antidote and caution to the easy acceptance of comfortable narratives that have often become accepted wisdom, even if he must be read with caution.

Gamber aimed to overturn the Francophone consensus by turning principally to Northern Italy. In the case of the Gelasian of the Eighth Century, he argued for the creation of the original archetype in Ravenna, ca. 700. As here, he often elaborately attempted to link his “Sakramentartypen” to centres and people of significance, with, unfortunately, little or no manuscript evidence to support them and this conclusion remains difficult to accept, given the late date of all surviving manuscripts of the Gelasian of the Eighth Century, whose first examples appear around 790–800. It rests principally on a complex architecture of Gamber’s assumptions about how liturgical books changed, and the principles he identified to govern this process. The keys to his system are found when he speaks, at one point, of a “law observed again and again” that peripheral and marginal areas always kept copying older mass book types longer than the centres did, and that one could assume a one hundred year difference between the creation of a type in a centre and its copying in a peripheral area far from that centre.¹⁹⁴ This con-

English mass books and later Southern Italian ones, as well as a passing comment by Gennadius of Marseilles (d. 496), to argue that Paulinus of Nola (d. 431) composed the original Gelasian mass book that underlies all forms of the tradition. This would be further developed in Ravenna by Maximianus of Ravenna (Archbishop 498–556), since Agnellus attributed to him the creation of certain “missales” into the Old Gelasian. His successor, Marianus of Ravenna (Archbishop 596–606) would then further develop the type into the Gelasian of the Eighth Century, in what Gamber saw as the earliest form as represented by the rather late manuscript of the Sacramentary of Monza (the “M-Typus”). This was later further developed at the Lombard court of Pavia into the more familiar type (the “S-Typus”), the latter development once attributed to Paul the Deacon (ca. 725–800), but this opinion revised. See also CLLA, vol. 1, p. 299–301, vol. 2, p. 370, 380 for summaries. In the eighth and ninth century, Aquileia would have then further adapted its mass book into the “P-Typus”, preserved in the Sacramentary of Padua, which Gamber saw as a Gelasian further adjusted to a Gregorian, rather than the “Gregorian Type II” of Chavasse (CLLA, vol. 2, pp. 397–98).

193 Manlio Sodi, Giacomo Baroffio and Alessandro Tonilolo, “The Concordantia of the Three Great Sacramentaries: Gregorian, Veronese and Gelasian,” *Saeculum christianum* 22 (2015), at pp. 269–70, note the reluctance of scholars to seriously engage with old challenges and new hypotheses about the nature of the Gelasians, as “too many cosy houses, of cards, providing shelter and comfort, would crumble.”

194 In Klaus Gamber, “Zur liturgie Aquilejas,” *Heiliger Dienst* 30 (1976), pp. 66–71, repr. in *Sakramentarstudien und andere Arbeiten zur frühen Liturgiegeschichte*, pp. 162–176, at p. 165: “Nach dem immer wieder zu beobachtenden Gesetz, daß sich in abgelegenen Gegenden ältere Meßbuch-Typen länger erhalten als im Zentrum . . . Wir müssen nämlich, was die Zeit des Frühmittelalters betrifft, mindestens 100 Jahre als Zeitraum zwischen der Ausbildung eines Typus in

struction of almost evolutionary laws governing liturgical development underlies, and explains, Gamber's often otherwise unaccountable conclusions, and one might look at the quotation in footnote n. 207 for another example of his deployment of them. This severely limited his capability to understand the ability of individual manuscripts to disclose local creativity and innovation, especially in the Middle Ages, whose achievements Gamber constantly forced back into Late Antiquity. But he was far from alone in the misguided assumption that "centre" and "periphery" of liturgical development are fixed or easy categories to identify in the Middle Ages, and that consequential innovation only ever occurred in the former. The overambitious nature of his conclusions has often been used to dismiss the entirety of Gamber's extensive challenges to received opinion in liturgical studies, and the granular analysis that supports them, in favour of theories that, sometimes, are no less grounded in the complexity of manuscripts.¹⁹⁵

Recent studies have actually vindicated several of Gamber's challenges to widely accepted French scholarship. In the case of the Gelasian of the Eighth Century, Moreton has demonstrated that the Gelasian of the Eighth Century often draws on material that is older than the Old Gelasian itself, and so must have had access to the sources that the latter used, and not the complete "Old Gelasian" Sacramentary, as it was preserved in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 316. Instead, Moreton argued that the "Gelasian of the Eighth Century" and "Old Gelasian" are both reorganisations on the basis of the same material, *libelli* out of Rome, as well as compositions from outside Rome. Notably, both Gamber and Moreton argued that no complete Gregorian of "Type II," as in the Sacramentary of Padua, could be evidenced to underlie the Gelasian of the Eighth Century, as Chavasse had argued.¹⁹⁶ This casts more doubt on the idea that there ever was a Gregorian "Type II," the "presbyterial" Gregorian from Rome that Chavasse had reconstructed, apparently used by the priests of St Peter's Basilica. Given the absolute dearth of

einem kirchlichen Zentrum und der Niederschrift in einem von diesem weit abgelegenen Ort ansetzen." [trans. According to the law observed again and again, that older mass book types persist longer in peripheral areas than in the centre . . . We should, in fact, as it concerns the Early Middle Ages, assume at least a hundred years between the development of a time in an ecclesiastical centre and the copying of it in a peripheral place, far from that centre].

195 Barré and Deshusses, "A la recherche du Missel d'Alcuin," p. 7n14; Deshusses, "Les sacramentaires," p. 46.

196 Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian*, p. 134; Moreton, "Mohlberg, Chrysogonus and the Gelasians," pp. 393–94; his important conclusions on sacramentaries also summarised, with several bold statements about the Gregorian as well, that at least merit further consideration, in: Bernard Moreton, "Roman Sacramentaries and Ancient Prayer-Traditions", *Studia Patristica* 15 (1984), pp. 577–580; Gamber and Dold, *Das Sakramentar von Salzburg*, pp. 30–48; Klaus Gamber "Sakramentare aus dem Patriachat Aquileja," *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift* 7 (1956), pp. 281–88.

evidence from Rome, it is not clear if Rome's *tituli* priests even used sacramentaries at this stage at, all as we would recognise them, and they may have used *libelli* primarily, with a sacramentary as a largely, or even exclusively, papal book. That Pope Hadrian I sent to Charlemagne the outdated book of one of his close predecessors as the "Gregorian" implies he did not an ample choice of such volumes. Rome's comparative conservatism means that most exciting developments in the organization of the mass book happened elsewhere. Rome was certainly the undisputed centre when it came to the ultimate sources but, ironically, it remains entirely peripheral in the developments of the organisation of the mass book after the confection of *Hadrianum*, that took place before 750. This suggestion is an important shift in emphasis to confessional scholarship which devoted perspicuous work to recovering Roman exemplars, and downplayed the significance of later adaptation outside of Rome.¹⁹⁷

Additionally, in contrast to the widely-stated thesis that the famous and brilliantly illuminated Sacramentary of Gellone (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 12048) represents the initial form of the Gelasian of the Eighth Century, as redacted in Flavigny itself, and that all other manuscripts stem from a second reorganisation, Moreton argued that the Sacramentary of Gellone represents the later development.¹⁹⁸ Gamber also maintained this, and his late article on the mass set for Annunciation (25th March) strongly supports scepticism about Gellone's supposed primacy.¹⁹⁹ In fact, the Remedius Sacramentary of Sankt Gallen (Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 348), written likely in Chur in Rhaetian minuscule and mentioning Bishop Remedius (Bishop c.800–820) in a contemporary marginal addition, is probably closest to the "original" Gelasian of the Eighth Century.²⁰⁰ This would indicate, in Moreton's view, that a Benedictine foundation in Alemannia was a more plausible origin place for an archetype, rather than Flavigny. That conclusion may also help us make sense of the fact, raised repeatedly

197 Gittos and Hamilton, "Introduction," in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy*, 4–7; Paxton "Researching Rites for the Dying and the Dead," in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy*, ed. Gittos and Hamilton, p. 48

198 Antoine Chavasse, "Le sacramentaire gelasien du VIII^e siècle: Ses deux principaux forms," *EphLit* 73 (1959), pp. 249–98; Martin Klöckener, "Sakramentstudien zwischen Fortschritt und Sackgasse. Entschlüsselung und Würdigung des zusammenfassenden Wekes von Antoine Chavasse über die Gelasiana des 8. Jahrhunderts," *AfL* 32 (1990), pp. 207–30; Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian*, pp. 173–74.

199 Klaus Gamber, "Die ältesten Meßformulae für Maria Verkündigung. Ein kleines Kapitel frühmittelalterlicher Sakramentargeschichte," *Sacris Erudiri* 29 (1986), pp. 121–50, at pp. 147–48; Gamber "Ein fränkisches Sakramentfragment des S-Typus," p. 141.

200 *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamanischer Überlieferung*, ed. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, LQF 1 (Aschendorff: Münster, 1918) (hereafter Sg).

by Gamber, that some undeniably early Gelasian fragments come from Northern Italy where the lively exchange of books with Alemannia would allow the Gelasian of the Eighth Century to have arrived soon after the creation of such an archetype. One uncial fragment, in the Franciscan monastery of Zadar in Croatia, though its status since the bombardments of 1991 remains unclear, is very similar to the Sankt Gallen manuscript.²⁰¹ The book type must also have come very soon into the hands of the nuns of the Paris basin, who had been already responsible for the Old Gelasian manuscript and who remained at the cutting edge of new developments in the liturgy, as they copied, in their “b-minuscule” and “N-uncial” script, the manuscript of which just a fragment survives, now Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce f.1 (21999), which Moreton did not consider, but which may even be earlier than the surviving Alemannian examples.²⁰² Such rapid spread of the manuscript belies Gamber’s idea that it took more than a century for books to travel from “centre” to “periphery.” In any case, the question of the exact origin place of the Gelasian of the Eighth Century, which has thus far monopolised attention despite the fact that it will likely always be speculative and hypothetical, might recede helpfully in favour of more examination of how different centres adapted the Gelasian, revealing vibrant initiative and creativity in many places across Latin Europe, regardless of their supposed status as “centre” or “periphery.”

201 Noted as “fly-leaves to a work on logic” (Zadar, Samostan sv. Franje Asiškog, IX 5747) and dated “UNCIAL SAEC. VIII” in CLA XI, 1670; edited in Klaus Gamber, “Das Fragment von Zara. Zwei Doppelblätter eines Lektionar-Sakramentare des 8. Jahrhunderts,” *RevBen* 78 (1968), pp. 127–38; Klaus Gamber “Die Breslau-Stockholmer Fragmentstreifen eines Sakramentars aus der Zeit um 700,” in *Lateinische Kultur im VIII. Jahrhundert. Traube Gedenkschrift*, eds. Albert Lehner and Walter Berschin (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1989), pp. 79–94; Gamber attempted to date these Italian fragments to early in the eighth century and thus find vindication for his theory that the Gelasian of the Eighth Century was compiled in Ravenna decades before 750, but the size of the fragments (those in Wrocław and Stockholm are mere strips of a single page each) and the imprecision of dating Italian uncial from unknown *scriptoria* does not allow such strong conclusions to be drawn purely on palaeographical grounds. The maintenance of uncial in liturgical books in Italy is itself a sign of conservatism, which tends to an antiquarian style. Note Lowe’s reluctance to specify further than the eighth century.

202 See CLA II, 239 and edited by Klaus Gamber “Ein fränkisches Sakramentarfragment des S-Typus in merowingischer Minuskel,” *Sacris Erudiri* 10 (1958), pp. 127–41. Given the date of other witnesses of the Gelasian of the Eighth Century, and the manuscript is especially close in content to the Chur fragment (placed “VIII-IX” by Lowe in CLA VII, 939), this would imply the nuns continued writing in these characteristic scripts well into the second half of the eighth century, which could support my above musings on the dating of the Old Gelasian manuscript. Indeed, the Douce fragment is placed “in continuous progression” with the latter by McKitterick, “Nuns’ scriptoria,” p. 11.

The fact that a number of surviving manuscripts from distinct places are available allows us to see the clear personalisation of the Gelasian of the Eighth Century in varied churches which copied it.²⁰³ Those copied in Western Francia tend to add more diverse prayer texts to each mass set. To add to the initial stock, copyists of the Sacramentary of Gellone liked to use more prayers of recognisably Gregorian origin.²⁰⁴ The Phillipps Sacramentary (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Philipps 1997) has prayers from the same ancient, Roman prayer collections as *Veronense*, evidently still available in a centre that wrote or transmitted the material (possibly Autun).²⁰⁵ The Sacramentary of Angoulême (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 816) displays many Gallican prayers from older traditions native to France, including material also used by the Old Gelasian.²⁰⁶ Indeed, the particular character of Italian examples of the Gelasian of the Eighth Century can be explained not, as Gamber concluded, by their geographical closeness to the reforming “centre” (Ravenna) and thus further progression along what he presented as an inevitable development in one direction, but, rather, the assimilation of this adaptable book type into prevailing Italian norms of book organization.²⁰⁷ The addition of readings to individual mass sets in the Zadar fragment seems to have been undertaken in Italian mass books for a long time, as also in the earlier Italian Gregorian palimpsest in Montecassino discussed in n.121. In this picture of local adaptation, the West Frankish examples distinguish themselves in the exuberance of their adaptation and variety of sources.

We see here therefore what the Frankish Church, especially in the West, valued in a popular sacramentary: adaptability and a certain syncretism. Yet, the Gelasian of the Eighth Century was not even the only attempt along such lines. The unique Prague Sacramentary from the late eighth century also reveals a convergent but independent attempt, one confined to Bavaria, to combine Gelasian, es-

203 Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian*, pp. 169–75.

204 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

205 Phillipps in *Liber Sacramentorum Aug.*, ed. Otto Heiming, CCSL, 159B (Turnholt: Brepols, 1984); Moreton, *The Eighth Century Gelasian*, p. 155, 158.

206 Angoulême in *Liber Sacramentorum Engolismensis*, ed. Saint-Roch; Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian*, p. 81.

207 Gamber, “Das Fragment von Zara,” pp. 137–38: “Ähnlich liegt der Fall beim Sakramentar von St. Gallen, dem bekanntesten Vertreter des S-Typus. Es ist über 50 Jahre jünger als die Fragmente von Zara, zeigt aber eine ältere Entwicklungsstufe als diese . . . Das dürfte damit zu erklären sein, daß sein Entstehungsort . . . noch weiter zum Zentrum entfernt gelegen war als der Entstehungsort unserer Fragmente” [trans. The case is similar concerning the Sankt Gallen Sacramentary, the most famous representative of the “S-Typus.” It is over 50 years younger than the fragment in Zara, but shows an earlier stage of development than the latter . . . this must be explained by the fact that its place of origin lies further from the centre than that of the fragment].

pecially Old Gelasian, and Gregorian traditions, and attach an abridged lectionary to the finished result.²⁰⁸ It was thus, we might say, a not entirely extraordinary endeavour to combine Gelasian and Gregorian, and it did not require royal will behind it, or extraordinary ecclesiastical events like the Schism of Ravenna (as Gamber hypothesised), or the supposed imperial attempt to create an “official” recension that would apply everywhere.²⁰⁹

No evidence connects the Gelasian of the Eighth Century to Pippin III, nor can it be said that the type was driven out of use by Charlemagne in favour of the Gregorian.²¹⁰ Martimort noted with puzzlement that sacramentaries of this type were clearly still being copied in such centres close to Charlemagne after the arrival of the *Hadrianum* Gregorian that was supposed to be the king’s replacement for it.²¹¹ Indeed, one fragmentary witness of a Gelasian today in Bernkastel-Cues is palaeographically linked to the manuscripts of Charlemagne’s own court school, as close to the Carolingian centre as one could come.²¹² Deshusses once wondered if the Ge-

208 Prague, Metropolitni Kapitoly, codex. 0.83; *Das Prager Sakramentar*, ed. Alban Dold, TuA 38/42 (Beuron: Kunstverlag, 1949); Yitzhak Hen, “The Liturgy of the Prague Sacramentary,” in *The Prague Sacramentary*, Diesenberger, Meens and Rose (eds), pp. 79–94; Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian*, pp. 203–205 notes that the Prague Sacramentary nearly always uses the collect given in the Old Gelasian, but is structured like an Eighth-Century Gelasian. It has been suggested that the Old Gelasian had significant influence in Bavaria, see Carl I. Hammer, “The Social Landscape of the Prague Sacramentary: The Prosopography of an Eighth Century Mass Book,” *Traditio*, 54 (1999), at p. 44: “In eighth-century Bavaria, sacramentaries of the Old Gelasian type were probably the norm,” which would explain the influence of the type on Prague. At pp. 77–79 Hammer rather speculatively places the Old Gelasian as a “house sacramentary” of the Agilolfings and suggests it was brought to Francia with Swanahilt, who married Charles Martel in 725 and was later confined at Chelles. But more likely is that some material underlying it could have been brought to both Bavaria and Francia by the Anglo-Saxons, supporting Hohler’s theory of some English origin to the tradition, as surviving pieces of the so-called “Bonifatius Sakramentar,” written in Northumbria in the eighth century are Hammer’s principal evidence for the type in Bavaria. See CLLA 412, where the Bonifatius book is ascribed to the “Campanian” mass book type, i.e. Gelasian in an early form.

209 Klaus Gamber, “Der Codex Tridentinus (Ein Sakramentar der Domkirche von Säben aus der Zeit um 825),” *Scriptorium* 24 (1970), at p. 303.

210 Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), pp. 39–61; Cyrille Vogel “Les échanges liturgiques entre Rome et les pays francs jusqu’à l’époque de Charlemagne,” in *Le chiese nei regni dell’Europa Occidentale*, Settimane di studio sull’alto medioevo, 7 (1960), pp. 229–46.

211 Martimort, “Recherches récentes sur les sacramentaires.”

212 Bernkastel-Cues, Hospitalbibliothek, Cod. 61 (cover); Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, p. 210n972 “Umkreis der karolingischen Hofschule, IX Jh. Anfang” [trans. Surroundings of the Carolingian Court School, beginning of the ninth century]; studied and edited in Arthur Westwell, “The Carolingian Construction of Liturgical Authenticity and Authority and the Gelasian Fragments of Kues

lasian was provisionally imposed by Charlemagne, maybe at the Council of Frankfurt in 794, before the *Hadrianum* was supplemented and ready to take its place.²¹³ None of these theses is satisfactory, or supported by tangible evidence, and the manuscripts demonstrate again and again the difficulty of such “reform” narratives relying on authorised exemplars. Undeniably significant ecclesiastical centres kept copying what are essentially Gelasians of the Eighth Century well into the tenth century, particularly in the liturgically more singular Italy, but even in the archdiocese of Sens, right at the heart of the Carolingian realm, as well.²¹⁴ The Gelasian of the Eighth Century also contributed, in the ninth century, significant material to the special mass books of the Ambrosian tradition of Milan, which remained, in contrast, basically untouched by the Gregorian, and it supplied mass sets to Beneventan mass books of Southern Italy too.²¹⁵ Such lasting influence does not support any wide-ranging attempt to “replace” the Gelasian with the Gregorian. As this book will show, material from the Gelasian was also taken in plenitude into the Gregorians copied in France in the later ninth century, particularly in examples from Saint-Amand.

Created in the ‘Umkreis’ of Charlemagne’s Court School,” in *Die Handschriften der Hofschule Karls des Großen – individuelle Gestalt und europäisches Kulturerbe*, ed. Claudine Moulin and Michael Embach (Trier: Verlag für Geschichte und Kultur, 2019), pp. 499–519.

213 Martimort “Recherches récents”; Deshusses, “Le sacramentaire de Gellone,” pp. 202–3: “D’une telle décision, nous n’avons conservé aucune trace explicite, mais elle semble impliquée par les faits” [trans. We have no explicit trace of such a decision, but it seems implied by the facts].

214 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 133 (guard folios), from Vercelli, dated to the end of the ninth century, see Klaus Gamber, “Ein oberitalienisches Sakramentarfragment in Bamberg,” *Sacris Erudiri* 13 (1962), 360–67; and the Sacramentary of Monza (Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare Cod. F. 1/101), edited in in *Das Sakramentar von Monza*, eds. Alban Dold and Klaus Gamber, TuA 3 (Beuron: Kunstverlag 1957); Antoine Chavasse, “Le Sacramentaire de Monza,” *Ecclesia Orans* 2 (1985), pp. 3–29; also Ebner, *Iter Italicum*, 108–10; four other Italian fragments from the tenth century edited in Gamber, *Das Sakramentar von Jena*, pp. 97–116; from Sens, Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 567 (dated s.IX/X); Adrien Nocent, “Un Fragment de sacramentaire de Sens au X^e siècle. La liturgie baptismale de la province ecclésiastique de Sens dans les manuscrits du IX^e au XVI^e siècles,” in *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di S.E. il cardinale Giacomo Lercaro*, vol. 2 (Rome-Paris-Tournai: Desclée, 1967), pp. 649–794; CLLA 840 notes a fragment of a Gelasian “rein überliefert” [trans. transmitted pure] written as late as the eleventh century, likely at the monastery of Seeon, which is today Munich, BSB, Clm 29300(58).

215 Odilo Heiming, “Aliturgische Fastenferien in Mailand,” *AfL* 2 (1952), pp. 44–60; Gamber, “Das Kampanische Meßbuch,” pp. 80ff.

Supplementum

When placed alongside the Gelasian of the Eighth Century, the deficiencies of the Gregorian Sacramentary for use as a Frankish mass book were immediately obvious. Nevertheless, the first generations of copies of the Gregorian appear to suggest the strong urge to preserve the “Sacramentary of Gregory” intact, probably out of reverence for its author. The problem was solved by adding supplements to the Gregorian; that is, copying out the Gregorian more or less unchanged, but giving additional material in its own section at the end to enhance it. Even the first and best copies of the *Hadrianum* show this tendency, indicating it was an automatic reflex and did not require extraordinary impetus. Both the early *Hadrianum* manuscripts in Verona have special supplements, including a set of ordinary Sunday masses extracted from the Gelasian, votive masses and masses for the dying and dead, all material seen as crucial for worship, but missing in the Gregorian.²¹⁶ In the case of **Modena**, the distinction of the Supplement from the Gregorian Sacramentary is made plain by an explicit notice: “EXPLICIT SACRAMENTORUM A SANCTO GREGORIO PAPA ROMANO AEDITUM” [trans. Here ends the Sacramentary edited by Saint Gregory the Roman Pope], after which come the Sunday masses (beginning with “INCIPIUNT MISSAS DOMINICAS”) and votive masses supplied to complete the Gregorian, as well as masses for the dead and material for various consecrations.²¹⁷ All three Italian manuscripts even supply some lections for the common and votive material, making them particularly early examples of Gregorians that are also “enhanced” with an even broader base of material, from the lectionary as well. Even **Cambrai**, the venerable *Hadrianum Authenticum* had some supplementary material added soon after its creation.²¹⁸

In one particularly notable case, the pre-Hadrianic Gregorian Sacramentary, **Trent** has an even more developed Supplement (Trent, Museo del Buonconsiglio, cod. 1590, fol. 165v–189r), which had its own “capitula” or chapter list, listing out the contents, with corresponding numbers next to each mass. This is the earliest extant Gregorian manuscript with such an extensive apparatus. To further enhance the deficiencies of the Gregorian, **Trent** has its own collection of proper prefaces, entitled here with a name foreign to Roman tradition, the Gallican term

²¹⁶ For the content of the Verona MSS Supplements, see Ebner, *Iter Italicum*, pp. 286–88, 290–91; the set of Sunday masses is edited from Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XCI in *Das Sakramentar von Salzburg*, ed. Dold and Gamber, pp. 59*–71*.

²¹⁷ On **Modena**, see Ebner, *Iter Italicum*, pp. 94–96.

²¹⁸ Orchard, “The Ninth and Tenth-Century Additions,” at p. 288: Scribes VI and VII are “of the second or third decade of the ninth century.”

“contestationes.”²¹⁹ In the cases of **Modena** and **Trent**, a distinct number of votive masses in these supplements were reasonably attributed to the authorship of Alcuin of York.²²⁰ **Trent** included festal masses of Alcuin in its Supplement, clearly isolated from their place in the “true” Gregorian Sacramentary’s calendar and thus marked out as adventitious: the Vigil and feast day masses for All Saints (30th October and 1st November) and the patronal mass for Rupert of Salzburg’s feast day (27th March), which is vital for reconstructing the book’s pre-history.²²¹ **Modena** is among the first to incorporate Alcuin’s masses for All Saints’ Vigil and Day into the Gregorian calendar, along with several other Gelasian masses, thus actually adulterating the content of the Gregorian itself.²²² These manuscripts indicate the existence of initial supplementation (and “gelasianisation”) linked to the “missal of Alcuin” mentioned above. We can assume that Alcuin’s missal shared with them both a pre-Hadrianic character and a complement of Alcuin’s masses.²²³ Notably, the two manuscripts (and the Verona books as well), share an important commonality of a particular collection of Sunday masses from the Gelasian, to supplement the absence of masses for most Sundays of the year in the original Gregorian. While the Gelasian Sacramentary had twenty-eight Sunday masses after Pentecost, both manuscripts have only twenty-four, with the same masses selected in each case.²²⁴ These indicate one or more common sources for this initial Supplementation of the Gregorian, among them was likely the “Missal of Alcuin.” Nevertheless, the manuscripts do not share a single “Supplement,” but each worked to add material additional to what they share. **Trent** is the most extensive and most well organised of these early books. It is, in fact, better organised even than most later copies of supplements from France, since it has running

219 *Monumenta Liturgica Ecclesiae Tridentinae*, vol. 2/A, ed. Dell’Oro, pp. 398–1505; on this terminology, see Philippe Bernard, “Contestatio/contestata – immolatio missae – praefatio: Les noms latine de la preface eucharistique en Gaul tardo-antique et Carolingien,” in *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l’antiquité et le moyen âge. Mélanges offerts à Pierre Maraval*, eds. Béatrice Caseau, Jean-Claude Cheynet and Vincent Déroche, (Paris: Cerf, 2006), pp. 25–84.

220 Jean Deshusses, “Les messes d’Alcuin,” *AfL* 14 (1972), pp. 7–41 at 14: **Trent** has eighteen, **Modena** has fifteen.

221 *Tridentinum* 1300–4 (the Rupert mass is a patronal one, found elsewhere adapted to many other patrons such as St Vedastus or Boniface); Alcuin specifically recommended the feast of All Saints to Arn of Salzburg in Alcuin of York, Epistle 193, *Arnoni archiepiscopo Salisburgensis*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, *MGH Epistolae* vol. 4: *Epistolae Karolini aevi* II (Berlin: Weidmann, 1890), pp. 319–21.

222 Ebner, *Iter Italicum*, p. 95.

223 Westwell, “The Lost Missal of Alcuin.”

224 Noted by Deshusses in “Le sacramentaire grégorien pré-hadrianique”; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, p. 69.

chapter lists and opening *capitula* for the Gregorian Sacramentary itself, and is initially unique in this feature. The organisation of this Trent Supplement can probably, in part, be linked to Arn of Salzburg, who was also abbot of Saint Amand.²²⁵

Carolingian copyists also often took it upon themselves to “correct” the Latin of the Gregorian, which was not always up to their standards. This was blamed on the subsequent scribes corrupting the work, not, of course, on Gregory himself.²²⁶ It is an interesting expression of the tendency of the Carolingians to feel they could preserve and treat the Roman liturgy better than the Romans had done, just as they treated the Roman martyrs better than the Romans, in that famous formulation of the *Lex Salica*.²²⁷ One alteration reflecting changing liturgical and ecclesiological conceptions was, for example, the addition in many manuscripts even within the Memento of the Roman Canon of the words “pro quibus tibi offerimus et” before “qui tibi offerunt” which made clear the priest’s mediating role, offering on behalf of the people.²²⁸

In general, the Carolingian tendency to supplement the Gregorian has been illustrated primarily by the existence of what is generally called the *Hadrianum* with *Hucusque* Supplement. This format provides an anonymous preface, beginning with the word *Hucusque*, that serves to separate the Supplement from the Gregorian.²²⁹ Jean Deshusses attributed the Supplement to Benedict of Aniane

225 The two copies of the Gelasian linked to Arn (the Colbertine fragments and Sacramentary of Arn, discussed below) similarly have a chapter list for each “book” of the sacramentary, unlike other examples, which only have one chapter list, for the second book alone. Later Salzburg books share the same numbering, see CLLA Supplementum 980 and 981.

226 In the *Hucusque* preface, Deshusses *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 351–52: “Praefatus sane sacramentorum libellus, licet a plerisque scriptorum uitio deprauante, qui non ab auctore suo est editus haberetur, pro captu tamen ingenii ob multorum utilitatibus studii nostri fuit, cum artis stilo corrigere” [trans. But this sacramentary has been corrupted by the errors of many of its copyists, so that it is not as its author once edited it, but in the measure of our abilities, we have decided to correct it, for general utility, according to the rules of style].

227 *Lex Salica: 100 Titel-Text*, ed. Karl August Eckhard (Weimar: Böhlau, 1953), pp. 88–90.

228 In the apparatus of Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 87 (De 6), added later in a number of manuscripts (for example, Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, 77, fol. 10v), but, in the other Saint-Amand sacramentaries, already part of the original text; Otto Nußbaum, *Kloster, Priestermonch und Privatmesse. Ihr Verhältnis im Westen von den Anfängen bis zum hohen Mittelalter* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1961), p. 252.

229 See Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, pp. 351–53; Robert Amiet, “Le prologue Hucusque et la table des capitula du supplément d’Alcuin au sacramentaire grégorien,” *Scriptorium* 7 (1953), pp. 177–209; a translation of the preface into French was given by Morard in “Sacramentarium inmixtum,” pp. 26–29 and one into German by Martin Klöckener, “Die Vorrede Hucusque

(d. 821), and dated it around the years 810–815, during the reign of Louis the Pious.²³⁰ Before he posed this argument, Alcuin of York had been assumed to be the compiler, and *Hucusque* had been identified with the “Missal of Alcuin” mentioned in the ninth-century book list of the monastery of Saint-Riquier, but that identification was impossible, given what we know of the Missal of Alcuin. *Hucusque* is neither attached to a pre-Hadrianic sacramentary, which Alcuin quoted from, nor does it have an especial complement of Alcuin’s masses, even those Alcuin identified himself as from “nostro . . . missale,” but just a selection of four. Benedict was much more likely to have been involved, and the theory has been almost universally accepted. Deshusses also indicated that Benedict went through and corrected the Latin of the Gregorian, as well as Gelasian texts he borrowed to supplement it.²³¹ Many *Hucusque* manuscripts, for example, use in the secret of John the Evangelist’s mass (De 68) “confidimus” instead of the Gregorian’s “scimus,” suggesting that one could not be sure of God’s favour, but could only trust to have it. It was Benedict of Aniane’s endeavour, in its entirety, which Deshusses’s edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary claimed to offer. This reconstruction, which has found wide purchase, indicates the *Hucusque* Supplement to be the work of one man for a single purpose, at one time. Benedict’s Supplemented Gregorian was also presented as the definitive achievement of this period, principally because a direct line could be drawn from it to the later Roman missal, and most treatments of the medieval mass book duly ended any sustained analysis of the early Middle Ages with the creation of the *Hucusque* Supplement.²³²

However, manuscript evidence, and the structure of the Supplement itself, raises some critical objections to this reconstruction. Because the *Hucusque* Supple-

zum Supplementum Anianense des gregorianischen Sakramentars in Deutsch übertragen”, *AfL* 46 (2004), pp. 31–36.

230 Jean Deshusses, “Le ‘supplément’ au sacramentaire grégorien: Alcuin ou Saint Benoît d’Aniane?,” *AfL* 9 (1965), pp. 48–71, at p. 63 noted that three manuscripts of the Supplement contained, in their varied masses for kings, the name of that king as “Hludowicus” (in Paris, BnF, lat. 2812, Paris, BnF, lat. 9429 and Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh 43), whom he identified as Louis the Pious, king of Aquitaine, which he was from 781, but the mass did not name the imperial title, and was thus before 800, when Louis became emperor. But none of these manuscripts was written during Louis the Pious’s reign, and most were significantly later. For example, it is likely that the Zurich manuscript from the end of the ninth century actually meant Louis III (879–882); also see Michael McCormick, “A New Ninth-Century Witness to the Carolingian Mass against the pagans (Paris, B.N. lat.2812),” *Revue Bénédictine* 97 (1987), pp. 68–86, at p. 70.

231 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 66–70; for examples (attributed to Alcuin) see Odilo Heiming, “Aus der Werkstatt Alcuins,” *AfL* 4 (1956), pp. 341–47.

232 Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 104–5; Bourque, *Étude sur les sacramentaires romains*, vol. 2/2, p. 250.

ment is crucial in the history of the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, and because the Benedict hypothesis continues to be uncritically repeated, it is worthwhile exploring the problems of this commonly assumed position. Bernard, and more recently, Ruffiot raised philological objections to Benedict's authorship, and suggested others based on the theology of the Supplement.²³³ But, more comprehensively, the whole idea of the authorship of *Hucusque* by any single person, at one time, has been decidedly questioned in the manuscript-based work of Décréaux, Heinzer, and Gamber. Bringing their arguments together, and some additional manuscript evidence, we can find sufficient reason to reject it.

First, we might summarise Décréaux, who started with renewed manuscript dating by Bischoff and argued that the manuscripts of the full *Hucusque* can only be placed decades after Benedict's death.²³⁴ Instead, the earliest manuscripts used by Deshusses tended to only offer a partial version of the Supplement, an initial "prototype" that was later enhanced to give the *Hucusque* Supplement. This prototype is represented most fully in the manuscript Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 337, of Lyon.²³⁵ This is arguably the earliest full manuscript in the *Hucusque* tradition, but it can be dated only around 835–838. Yet this manuscript also has a number of critical differences from the full *Hucusque* represented in Deshusses's edition, of which the earliest manuscripts are from Paris, in Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. lat. 313 or from Tours, in Autun, BM, Ms. 19 bis (the "Sacramentary of Marmoutier").²³⁶ Most crucially, the prototype manuscript, Vatican City, BAV Reg. lat. 337 does not have the *Hucusque* preface itself, but begins the Supplement simply with the *Capitula* list (fol. 140r), without any introduction. In the title to the Gregorian, itself, it maintains a key element "EX AUTHENTICO LIBRO BIBLIOTHECAE CUBICULIS," which the complete *Hucusque* manuscripts eliminated.²³⁷ The Supplement to this early manuscript also has certain gaps, when laid next to the full *Hucusque*. It does not have

233 Philippe Bernard, "Benoit d'Aniane, est-il auteur de l'avertissement « Hucusque » et du Supplement au sacramentaire Hadrianum," *Studi Medievali* 3, 39 (1998), pp. 1–120.

234 Josef Décréaux, *Le sacramentaire de Marmoutier*, vol. 1, (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1985), particularly pp. 97–124; for the new datings, see also Victor Saxer, "Observations codicologiques et liturgiques sur trois sacramentaire grégoriens de la première moitié du IX^e siècle: Paris latin 2812, Vatican Ottoboni latin 313 et Reginensis latin 337," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge, temps modernes* 97 (1985), pp. 23–43.

235 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, n. 6667; CLLA 730; digitised in: https://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/bav/bav_reg_lat_337.

236 Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. lat. 313 in Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 42, vol. 3, p. 32: "P"; Autun, BM, Ms. 19 bis in *Ibid*, vol. 1, p. 35, vol. 3, p. 28: "H," and Décréaux, *Le sacramentaire de Marmoutier*.

237 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 62, 67: Deshusses can only explain this "par contamination."

texts for the ordinations of the minor orders (*ostiarius* to subdeacon), specifically mentioned as having been added in the *Hucusque* preface to the Gregorian's texts for the major orders present in *Hadrianum* (deacon, priest, bishop).²³⁸ Reg. lat. 337 has its own collection of proper prefaces and episcopal blessings at the end, but it conspicuously lacks the second "praefeticula" *Haec Studiose*, which, in the complete *Hucusque* Supplement, somewhat confusingly reintroduces the prefaces, though *Hucusque* had already mentioned them.²³⁹ In Reg. lat. 337, many of the Supplement's prefaces recur, but they are differently formed and formulated, and there are some unique prefaces, which point to Lyon, the origin place of the manuscript.²⁴⁰ Thus, this collection of prefaces may have been added to Reg. lat. 337 in Lyon, in which case the original "prototype" had no proper prefaces at all. Décréaux thus argued convincingly for a two-fold construction of the *Hucusque* Supplement edited by Deshusses. The first "prototype," represented best by Reg. lat. 337, offers the part that could be better attributed to Benedict of Aniane for monastic usage in the monasteries under his patronage, and likely never intended to

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 599–605.

²³⁹ Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 495: "Haec studiose perscripta secuntur praefationes in dominicis et diebus feriisque und in sollempnitatibus sanctorum, siue in ceteris ecclesiasticis canendae officiis. Quas si prudens lector diligenter sollicitae curioseque inspexerit suis in locis ordinatas atque correctas, perfacile inuenire poterit" [trans. There follow, written with care, prefaces for the Sundays and the feast days and for the solemnities of the saints, as well as for other offices of the Church. If the prudent lector inspects them with attention and interest, he will find them given in their places and corrected]; *Hucusque* on 353: "Praefationes porro quas in fine huius posuimus codicis, flagittamus ut ab his quibus placeant cum caritate suscipiantur et canantur . . . Addidimus etiam et benedictiones ab episcopo super populum dicendas, necnon et illud quad in praefato codice beato gregorii ad gradus inferiores in ecclesia constituendos non habetur." [trans. But the prefaces, which we have placed at the end of the codex, we insist that they be received and sung with love by those whom they please . . . We added also the blessings which are said by the bishop over the people, and also what is laid down by the church for the lower grades, which the previous book of Gregory did not have].

²⁴⁰ Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, pp. 336–38, 369–72; in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 337 fol. 230r–245, the preface collection begins with a unique preface for the feast of Stephen, then purification of Mary, then the Quinquagesima, and a miscellaneous collection of prefaces for Lent (all ALIA and thus not assigned to particular days, as they are in *Hucusque*) then Easter, Sunday after Ascension, John the Baptist, Laurence, Augustine, Cornelius, and Cyprian (with two), Luke, Cecily, the Common of Saints, then common prefaces Dominicales (rather than these being assigned to specific Sundays, as in the *Hucusque*); The saints of Lyon have titles in gold. On fol. 245r, the episcopal blessings begin with a title and quotation from Numbers 6:23 (De 3863). Décréaux, *Le sacramentaire de Marmoutier*, vol. 1, pp. 137–42 argues that, as only Stephen and John the Baptist have both preface and blessing in Reg. lat. 337's collections, giving them special prominence, and both were patrons of Lyon Cathedral, the collection was compiled especially in Lyon.

apply wider.²⁴¹ The image of Benedict as a universal monastic reformer of the entire kingdom, which Deshusses assumed as a foundation to his understanding of *Hucusque*, has also been substantially questioned, and his influence seems to have been much more limited.²⁴²

As further evidence of this “prototype” to add to Décréaux’s argument, one might also point to another significant manuscript, Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh 43, of the end of the ninth century, and produced, according to Bischoff, in France, possibly in north-eastern France.²⁴³ Its relations to Reg. lat. 337 are noticeable.²⁴⁴ It too appears to present us with a “prototype” version of the Supplement, with Sunday masses, common, and votive masses but without any collection of proper prefaces or episcopal blessings at all, and lacking the *Hucusque* preface. It also still has the title “EX AUTHENTICO LIBRO.” Reg. lat. 337 and the Zurich manuscript thus present us with compelling evidence of at least one “prototype” version of the Supplement existing and circulating through the ninth century. Notably the Anianian “prototype” would itself have made use of the pre-existing collection of Sunday masses which we saw already attached to the **Modena, Trent** and the two early *Hadrianum* manuscripts in Verona, since the same selection of twenty-four Gelasian masses for the Sundays after Pentecost out of an original twenty-seven used by them were also taken up by the “prototype” and thus appear in the *Hucusque* Supplement.²⁴⁵ Even the “prototype” drew on an already established tradition of supplementation.

In order to attribute the *Hucusque* Supplement in its entirety to the pen of Benedict, Deshusses had to see the manuscripts I have presented as “prototypes” like Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 337 or Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh 43 as “reductions” of the *Hucusque* that had already been fully achieved by Benedict, also af-

241 Décréaux, *Le sacramentaire de Marmoutier*, pp. 122–30.

242 Bernard, “Benoit d’Aniane,” p. 118; Marty Claussen, “Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie 806: A little-known manuscript of Benedict of Aniane’s *Concordia regularum*,” *Early Medieval Europe* 23 (2015), pp. 1–42; Kottje, “Einheit und Vielfalt,” pp. 333–34.

243 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 540; CLLA, vol. 2, pp. 353–54; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 43, vol. 3, p. 30: “M.”

244 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 43: “ce manuscrit se rattache par bien des variantes au Reginensis 337 . . . Le Supplement comporte bon nombre d’omissions, en particulier celle de toute la série des préfaces” [trans. This manuscript attaches itself by many of its variants to Reginensis 337 . . . The Supplement counts a good number of omissions, in particular that of the entire series of preface]; Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften (Katalog der Handschriften in der Zentralbibliothek Zürich)* (Zurich: Zentralbibliothek, 1952), p. 178.

245 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, 69; *Das Sakramentar von Salzburg*, ed. Dold and Gamber, pp. 50*–71*.

fected by “contamination” from the earlier tradition.²⁴⁶ For Amiet, these were “aberrant” or “bastard” Supplements.²⁴⁷ A convincing chronology and a convincing motivation for such reductions is, however, lacking. Décréaux argued instead that a later hand took up the “prototype” supplement achieved by Benedict and gave it the later characteristics that make up the full *Hucusque*, including the preface *Hucusque* itself, the rites of minor orders, and a proper preface and blessing collection, introduced by another praefeticula *Haec Studiose*. He hypothesises that this second hand was Helisachar (who died between 835 and 840), chancellor for Louis the Pious in 808–819, abbot of Saint-Aubin in Angers and of Saint-Riquier, who notably reorganised the Antiphoner.²⁴⁸ The fact that the full manuscripts of *Hucusque* appear mostly in northern France (Paris, Tours, Corbie, Saint-Amand, though also early in Lyon) indicate that Décréaux’s instinct could be right. If not Helisachar, someone in Northern France around the 820s/830s could have achieved the “full” *Hucusque* Supplement.²⁴⁹

This reconstruction is also supported by the evidence of a fragment of a single folio first highlighted by Klaus Gamber, today Munich BSB Clm 29300(10).²⁵⁰ This is the earliest evidence of any manuscript in the tradition of the Supplement *Hucusque*, since it can be dated to around the beginning of the ninth century. It even comes from Southern France, according to Bischoff, and could thus be very

246 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, pp. 69–70.

247 Amiet, “Le prologue *Hucusque*,” p. 183, 195–96.

248 Décréaux, *Le sacramentaire de Marmoutier*, vol. 1, pp. 220–31; For more on Helisachar see Michel Huglo, “Trois livres manuscrits présentés par Helisachar,” *RevBen* 99 (1989), pp. 272–85; Bernard, “Benoit d’Aniane,” p. 57 argues for placement of *Hucusque* in a chancellery context, under Charlemagne, and presents it as an official document covered by his authority. Manuscript reception of the *Hucusque* does not indicate it was commonly read like that, however, and the chronology is flawed, given the manuscript dating.

249 Décréaux’s wider theories about the passage of the Gregorian into Francia went too far into unnecessary speculation, in Décréaux, *Le sacramentaire de Marmoutier*, vol. 1, pp. 206–15 he argued that the Roman Popes sent two copies of the Gregorian to the Carolingian monarchs. First, Pope Hadrian had sent Charlemagne the “pre-Hadrianic” Gregorian in the form copied by **Trent** with the cover letter in the *Codex Carolinus*, only later (ca. 810) Pope Leo III sent the Gregorian in the form we call *Hadrianum*. There is no evidence for this supposed second papal transfer of the Gregorian from Rome, nor is it necessary. Gregorians had probably left Rome several times, probably copied or collected by varied pilgrims and travellers, as the Montecassino palimpsest, **Trent** or the Sacramentary of Padua would suggest.

250 Klaus Gamber, “Der frankische Anhang zum Gregorianum im Licht eines Fragments aus dem Anfang des IX. Jh.,” *Sacris Erudiri* 21 (1972), pp. 267–89; Hermann Hauke, *Katalog der lateinischen Fragmente der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, vol. 1: *Clm 29202–29311* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), p. 132; CLLA 717; Digitised at: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00061140?page=1>.

closely linked to a potential Anianian archetype.²⁵¹ To our great good fortune, the single folio contains two masses for kings which are distinctive of the *Hucusque*.²⁵² The masses here do not name “Hludowicus,” indicating this was probably not, as Deshusses believed, part of the original *Hucusque* Supplement, which therefore should not be linked to Louis the Pious’s reign in Aquitaine. Potentially, this fragment was among the earliest witnesses of the “prototype” Supplement.²⁵³ Gamber made the important point that Deshusses’s argument that the same author wrote the *Hucusque* and the prologue to Benedict of Aniane’s *Concordia Regularum* was not sufficiently convincing, since the shared phrases were simply part of a common Carolingian vocabulary, as Bernard likewise argued.²⁵⁴

Notably, these arguments find further confirmation in the detailed treatment by Heinzer, dealing with another group of manuscripts, linked to the monasteries of Reichenau (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. Donaueschingen 191 and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. lat. 1815) and Sankt Gallen (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct.D. I 20), all dated by Bischoff to the third quarter of the ninth century.²⁵⁵ With some editing visible, the three manu-

251 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, p. 281n3391; Gamber, “Der fränkische Anhang,” p. 270n4.

252 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 424–28.

253 One important commonality with Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 337 is that, in the full Supplement edited by Deshusses, these masses had the numbers LXIII (64) and LXV (65), but in the fragment they have LXII (63) and LXIII (64), the same numberings as Reg. lat. 337.

254 Gamber, “Der frankische Anhang,” p. 271; Bernard, “Benoit d’Aniane,” pp. 17–45; Gamber’s further arguments that this original redaction of the Supplement could have been made at the island monastery of Lérins have entirely no evidence and are unnecessary, since the sources of the Supplement, including possibly Visigothic material, would have been available elsewhere; the idea of Visigothic symptoms in *Hucusque* was, however, criticised by Bernard, *Ibid.*, pp. 75–83, since all surviving Spanish manuscripts are much later, and these could have drawn on a common, Gallican source.

255 Felix 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 Südwesten* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 32–63; Vienna, ÖNB, cod. lat. 1815 in Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 490n7216 (“ca. 3. Viertel IX Jh”); CLLA 736; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 43, vol. 3, pp. 22–23: “C1”; Digitised at: https://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/view/onb_cod1815/0001/image; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Donaueschingen 191 in Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 356n6051 (“Reichenau?, Konstanz?, IX Jh., ca. 3. Viertel”); CLLA 6051; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 36, vol. 3, p. 23: “C2”; Digitised at: https://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/index.php?id=6&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=926&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1: These two MSS are further linked to Reichenau by the mass for a congregation, in which St. Mary is the patron mentioned in both (see De 2255–2259); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct.D.I.20, Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, p. 357n3769 “St. Gallen, IX Jh., ca. 3. Drittel”, CLLA 735; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, 39, vol. 3, 23–24: “D”; Digitised at: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/3b3c8a05-c87e-4296-be62-8da07baeb0c4/>; the group is

scripts present a clearly related trio.²⁵⁶ They seem to have known a part of the Supplement *Hucusque*, but certainly not the fully achieved version, despite the fact that Deshusses brought these manuscripts in connection with the embassy of Reichenau monks in 817 to Aachen and to Benedict's headquarters at Kornelimünster. All three still contain the crucial part of the title: "EX AUTHENTICO LIBRO BIBLIOTHECAE CUBICULI" and none show any knowledge of the preface, *Hucusque*. Vienna, ÖNB, cod. lat. 1815 contains a part of that Supplement, namely the Sunday masses (fol. 185r–196r), but it has no collection of proper prefaces. Like **Trent**, it has some festal masses in the Supplement (fol. 196r–198v) and some 45 votive masses, including a number of Alcuin's. The supplement is largely the same in Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. Donaueschingen 191. Heinzer also noted that the Latin in the Reichenau/Sankt Gallen manuscripts does not, as Deshusses presented it, always line up with the *Hucusque* manuscripts, but often tellingly agrees with the uncorrected *Hadrianum* against the better *Hucusque* manuscripts, or they have corrections of their own, indicating not one magisterial correction of the Gregorian's Latin by one hand, but a gradual, piecemeal process of reworking.²⁵⁷ These manuscripts also copied older, Gelasian forms of the masses for kings, with no connection to corrections made in the edited form of *Hucusque*.²⁵⁸ Thus, the Reichenau monks may have had access to certain constituent parts of the Supplement, but even late in the century seemingly no knowledge of or interest in the fully achieved version, despite Deshusses's insistence that these supplementary portions were taken from what he presented as "Supplément d'Aniane"; that is, the *Hucusque* in

further discussed by Peter Burkhart, *Die vorromanischen Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), pp. 24–25 who argued they are: "eher bei der Mitte als beim Ende des 9. Jh. anzusetzen." [trans. 'to be placed rather in the middle than at the end of the ninth century'].

256 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 63; The Stuttgart MS removes the episcopal pieces, to adapt it to monastic usage, see Heinzer, "Ex authentico libro scriptus," pp. 32–33.

257 Heinzer, "Ex authentico libro scriptus," p. 40: "Ein Blick in den Apparat der Ausgabe von Deshusses . . . lässt allerdings nicht unbedingt auf eine systematische Überarbeitung im Sinne eines einmaligen, konsequent durchgeführten Korrekturdurchgangs (womöglich schon in der Originalhandschrift) schließen, sondern weist eher auf einen prozessartigen Vorgang, der sich an verschiedenen Orten und über einen längeren Zeitraum hin abgespielt haben durfte." [trans. A look at the apparatus of the edition of Deshusses . . . does not necessarily allow one to conclude a systematic reworking, in the sense of a single, consistently carried out process of correction (possibly even in the original manuscript), but points rather to gradual process, which must have played out in various places and over a long time period].

258 Ildar Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian Word (c. 751–877)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 85–86.

full.²⁵⁹ As Heinzer argued, this supports the achievement of the *Hucusque* Supplement as something much more gradual than Deshusses supposed, probably the work of a number of compilers over several decades. In some places, the fully achieved Supplement was never known, or even rejected outright. Indeed, in one striking case, likely in Lyon, a manuscript with the full *Hucusque* was mutilated, rubbed out, and returned to the state of the “prototype” Supplement, indicating explicit rejection of the full *Hucusque* and preference for an earlier state.²⁶⁰

A final note of caution against the idea that the *Hucusque* Supplement was achieved in one action is the internal incoherence of the *Hucusque* Supplement itself. This is in contrast to the much more unified “prototype” version preserved in Reg. lat. 337, which Décréaux identified as the initial achievement by Benedict of Aniane.²⁶¹ In the complete *Hucusque*, it is curious that the *Capitula* and corresponding chapter numbers only cover the first part, and do not acknowledge the prefaces, episcopal blessings, or minor orders at all.²⁶² Indeed, this preface collection is entirely incoherent with the Gregorian to which it was attached. A large number of proper prefaces in the collection have no corresponding mass in the main body of the Gregorian. These are what I will call “orphaned” prefaces that come to be of some importance in later adaptations of the Sacramentary. These prefaces without mass sets comprise not only a range of Sanctoral feasts, but also miscellaneous occasions like the Vigil of Epiphany and the Thursday after Pentecost.²⁶³ There are also prefaces for twenty-seven Sundays after Pentecost, while the Supplement *Hucusque* only gives masses for twenty-four Sundays after Pentecost. Other prefaces clearly align with the Gelasian and not the Gregorian in their placement.²⁶⁴

259 *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, ed. Deshusses, vol. 1, p. 43.

260 Décréaux, *Le sacramentaire de Marmoutier*, vol. 1, pp. 145–52; the manuscript is the Sacramentary of Arles, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Latin 2812 from Lyon; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 82n4234: “Lyon, IX Jh., 1./2. Viertel”; CLLA 744; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 40: “K.”

261 Décréaux, *Le sacramentaire de Marmoutier*, vol. 1, pp. 98–102.

262 Gamber, “Der Frankische Anhang,” p. 281n28: “Es darf nicht ganz ausgeschlossen werden, dass der Anhang ursprünglich nur aus den nummerierten Formularen bestanden hat, dass also die Prefations- und Benedictiones-Sammlung noch nicht dazugehört hat.” [trans. it should not be excluded that the Supplement originally only consisted of the numbered formulae, so that the collections of prefaces and blessings did not yet belong within it].

263 De 1524, 1593. The Sanctoral feasts include Augustine De 1659, the Passion of John the Baptist De 1661, Gorgonius De 1665, Matthew the Evangelist De 1671, Luke the Evangelist De 1681, Simon and Jude’s Vigil and feast day 1683 and 1684, Thomas De 1709, etc.

264 St Eufemia has a preface for her feast as this was placed in the Gelasian (IDIBUS APRILIS), and not for the day she appears in the Gregorian (De 1600). The supplement gives a preface for Nereus, Achilleus, and Pancratius, like the Gelasian mass, when *Hadrianum* only celebrates the last on the day in question (De 1611). The Annunciation preface appears after Lent, as in the Gela-

As was clearly the case with the Sunday masses, it is far more likely that the preface collection was itself an independent collection that was attached to the Gregorian at a later stage, rather than being redacted as an integral part of the same work that gives us the rest of the *Hucusque* Supplement. This preface collection, and accompanying blessing collection, could have been put together by Theodulf of Orleans, as lucidly and convincingly argued by Ruffiot on philological and theological grounds.²⁶⁵ The title, abstract, and conclusion of his monograph unfortunately suggest that the whole *Hucusque* Supplement could be attributed to Theodulf, to which all the same problems above apply, especially the late date of manuscripts as well as the points by Heinzer and Décréaux on the incoherence of the manuscript transmission. The evidence of Gamber's fragment in Munich would speak against it too, since this earliest surviving witness comes from Southern France and manuscripts are noticeably lacking from Ruffiot's analysis. But it is still possible that Theodulf put the preface and blessing collections together for use with some kind of Gelasian Sacramentary, not intending that it be attached to a Gregorian Sacramentary at all.²⁶⁶

Theodulf, like Benedict, corrected his Latin sources; for example, one Latin correction on theological grounds, is made to the preface text De 1602, where the Gelasian preface still used the words “per uirginem nasci dignatus,” a formula that was specifically reprovved by the Council of Ephesus in 431.²⁶⁷ This was corrected to the theologically more appropriate “de uirgine.” Another person, perhaps Helisachar or someone else in Northern France, found Theodulf's collection of prefaces and that of episcopal blessings, likely circulating independently, and added them to the end of the Supplemented Gregorian in the “prototype” form. Thus, the stage of the Supplementation that gives us the complete *Hucusque* (attributed by Décréaux to Helisachar) involved only the addition of a pre-existing preface and benediction collection, as well as the addition of the minor orders, to the pre-existing “prototype” form (which already had the Sunday masses, the votive material, the *Exultet* and the rites for death and dying, arranged in the *capit-*

sian, and not before it, as in the Gregorian (De 1598); Cecilia has a vigil and feast day preface, when she only has a feast day in the Gregorian (De 1691 and 1692).

265 Franck Ruffiot, *Théodulf d'Orléans, compilateur du Supplementum au Sacramentarium Gregorianum Hadrianum. Le témoignage du corpus des préfaces eucharistiques*, LQF 110 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2020); Franck Ruffiot, “Théodulf d'Orléans, auteur des préfaces et des bénédictions du Supplementum au Sacramentarium Gregorianum Hadrianum,” *AfL* 61 (2019), pp. 1–19.

266 According to Ruffiot, *Théodulf d'Orléans, compilateur de Supplementum*, 140–41, Theodulf reused 107 prefaces from older sources, 88 were reworked, and 26 seem to be entirely new.

267 This ancient preface perhaps therefore pre-dated that Council: see Alban Dold, *Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuch-Fragment* (Beuron: Kunstverlag, 1934), pp. 38–39 and 48.

ula). Indeed, the *Hucusque* preface itself only specifically mentioned adding the material added at this final stage, the mass prefaces, the blessings, and the minor orders, and gives no details about any other component.²⁶⁸ Thus, as he himself specifically tells us, the writer of the *Hucusque* preface was much more of a harvester of blooms than the gardener, more a collector of material than a composer or editor.²⁶⁹ He did not himself redact or compose the material making up the Supplement, nor was it he who came up with the idea of supplementation. The complete *Hucusque* thus represented a distillation of the work of many great minds of the Carolingian age, including both Benedict of Aniane and Theodulf of Orleans, as well as several votive masses of Alcuin.²⁷⁰ But it is not a coherent programme of one individual.

While a vital tool, Deshusses's edition of the Supplemented Gregorian freezes and fossilises a single stage in a continual and dynamic process of augmentation. Even in the two best manuscripts of the *Hucusque* in full, as he represents it, which are both datable around the middle of the ninth century, we see that the compilers further supplemented the Supplement with even more material, beyond the limits of what Deshusses edited as the "Supplement of Benedict of Aniane." This is true in the case of both the Sacramentary of Marmoutier (Autun, BM, Ms. 19bis), which was Deshusses's principal basis for the edition of the "Supplement d'Aniane," and **Rodrade** from Corbie (Paris, BnF, lat. 12050).²⁷¹ The extra Supplements to these

²⁶⁸ As above n.239.

²⁶⁹ Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 352: "idcirco opere pretium duximus, ea uelud flores pratorum uernantes carpere et in unum congerere, atque correcta et emendata." [trans. I judged it was worth the effort to gather them like flowers in a meadow and collect them in one volume, having corrected and edited them].

²⁷⁰ De 1293–6, 1304–7, 1448–50.

²⁷¹ On the Marmoutier Sacramentary in Autun, see Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, p. 37n156; CLLA 741; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 35, vol. 3, p. 48: "H"; Décréaux, *Le sacramentaire de Marmoutier*, vol. 1; It was edited in full by Décréaux, *Le sacramentaire de Marmoutier*, vol. 2; it can be dated to 844/845 since it was made for Rainardus, Abbot of Marmoutier in those years, who is represented in one of the images; the sacramentary of Marmoutier is digitized at: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/12635/canvas/canvas-1338869/view>; **Rodrade**, written for a priest of that name on the occasion of his ordination, has a colophon dating it to 853, palaeography and decoration indicate it was written at Corbie; David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990), p. 56, 145; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 182n4726; CLLA 742, 1335; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, 41: "Q"; appendix 12; Digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8426782r/f1.item>; Corbie produced at least one another copy of the complete Supplement, judging by the characteristic prefaces, preserved in two fragments of a manuscript copied at the around the same time as **Rodrade**, with no deviations in content from *Hucusque*, today Paris, BnF, NAL 2389, fol. 9 and Paris, BnF, lat. 12275, fol. 1, covering De 1634–1639 and De 1653–1660 respectively. Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. III, p. 195n4809: "[Corbie, IX Jh., 3. Viertel]."

manuscripts “propre de Marmoutier”, to use the wording of Décréaux, and “propre de Corbie” indicate that supplementation was an ever ongoing process and was part of a natural, almost universal, Frankish response to the Roman Gregorian. That of Marmoutier in Autun, BM, Ms. 19bis contains principally Gelasian and Carolingian masses for the Sanctoral, such as; for example, Alcuin’s mass for All Saints’ Vigil and Day.²⁷² That of Corbie in **Rodrade** has votive masses and Sanctoral masses in several distinct sections. One did not need the reforming fire of Benedict of Aniane, or a specific royal commission, or ambitions to create a standard copy incumbent upon the entire empire, to add material to the Gregorian in this fashion. Monasteries, in particular, were quite happy to continue doing it, adding ever more originally independent material into the increasingly overburdened Supplementary portion; for example, in **Rodrade**, the original Gregorian covers eighty-two folios, while the two Supplements (*Hucusque* and “propre de Corbie”) together cover 147. Extricating the “Supplement of Benedict” into the neat edition leads easily to a false picture of the stability and unity of the Supplemented *Hadrianum* sacramentaries and their descendants.

We should not see all Supplements to the Gregorian exclusively in relation to the Supplement *Hucusque*, as Deshusses has a tendency to do. For example he presented a Sacramentary like **Modena** as “borrowing” from the Supplement of Aniane for its own supplementation, when **Modena** in fact shows knowledge only of very limited elements of the *Hucusque* Supplement.²⁷³ In other cases, Deshusses argued that the corrections made by Benedict himself to the Latin of the Gregorian found their way into traditions such as **Trent** or the three books from Reichenau/Sankt Gallen, but he never actually laid out exactly which of Benedict’s corrections he meant, and the edition does not allow a unified textual tradition to be reconstructed, as Gamber repeatedly also noted.²⁷⁴ Even in the Carolingian textual apparatus with which scribes marked out the texts they realised had to have been additions to Gregory’s mass book (such as the mass for Gregory’s own

272 Décréaux, *Le sacramentaire de Marmoutier*, vol. 1, pp. 173–77; edited in vol. 2, pp. 734–80, with explicit “EXPLICUERUNT DOMINICAE ET MISSAE NECESSARIAE QUAE INCHANTUR A SANCTA TRINITATE POST BENEDITIONES EPISCOPALES USQUE HUC.” [trans. Here end the Sunday masses and the necessary (votive) masses which begun with the Holy Trinity, after the episcopal blessings, until here].

273 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 38: “emprunts au Supplément d’Aniane” [trans. borrowed from the Supplement of Aniane].

274 *Ibid.*, p. 72: Trent was “fortement contaminé par notre classe 3 (Aniane)” [trans. strongly contaminated by our class 3]; Deshusses, “Le sacramentaire grégorien de Trente,” p. 275; Gamber, “Der Codex Tridentinus,” p. 302; Gamber, “Der fränkische Anhang,” p. 286.

feast day), several distinct attempts to differentiate these from the Gregorian are visible.²⁷⁵

If the compilers of **Trent** knew the manuscript of Benedict with the *Hucusque* Supplement in its entirety, as Deshusses claimed, it is strange indeed that nothing at all is taken from that Supplement, and instead an entirely different Supplement constructed, with for example, a completely different preface collection. Manuscripts like **Berengar** inserted the collection of prefaces and the *Exultet* into the body of the Gregorian, but show no knowledge of other elements of the *Hucusque* Supplement.²⁷⁶ These additions might have been obtained from the sources of the fully achieved *Hucusque*, or from some intermediary form, like Theodulf's preface collection. In the case of the Sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, Deshusses saw these manuscripts as straightforwardly descendent from the *Hucusque* Supplement, which was known and copied at Saint-Amand, in one manuscript, **Le Mans**.²⁷⁷ Yet, given what we have just established, the probability is that copyists would have had access to copies of the Gregorian at varied stages of supplementation. Likewise, the now demonstrable availability of pre-Hadrianic manuscripts in Northern France, in the form of the Kroměříž sacramentary, shows that even the Gregorian was accessible at varied stages of its development. This complicates the picture of the apparently overwhelming reception of the Supplement *Hucusque* or its intended impulse to any kind of unification considerably. Only where the

275 The obelus sign was noted to have been used by the *Hucusque* author, and this was kept in only a few manuscripts (**Le Mans** and Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. lat. 313), see Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 351: "Missam uero praetitulatam in natale eiusdem beati gregorii, uirgulisque antepostis iugalatam, a successoribus eius, causa amoris immo uenerationis suae, eidem suo operi non dubium est esse interpositam." [trans. As for the mass entitled "on the feast day of the blessed Gregory," as is indicated by the obelus sign placed before it, there cannot be a doubt that it was added to his work by his successors because of their love for him, or even more, their veneration of him]. A different form of antique virgulae sign, a triangular shape, was used in another Carolingian sacramentary, Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. D 1, discussed in Volkard Huth, "Die Düsseldorfer Sakramentarhandschrift D 1 als Memorialzeugnis. Mit einer Wiedergabe der Namen und Namengruppen," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 20 (1986), pp. 213–98, at pp. 229–30; also, Bernard, "Benoit d'Aniane," pp. 105–9; in contrast to *Hucusque*'s way of proceeding, a group of manuscripts chose simply to remove the Gregory mass entirely, or never had it, among them our **Saint-Denis**, the tradition of Tours books and the Reichenau/Sankt Gallen sacramentaries discussed by Heinzer, "Ex authentico libro scriptus," pp. 60–61.

276 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 38: "Bien qu'il n'ait pas de Supplément, le texte est celui d'Aniane, et les préfaces du Supplément ont été incorporées aux messes." [trans. Although it does not have the Supplement, the text is that of Aniane, and the prefaces of the Supplement have been incorporated to the masses].

277 *Ibid.*, p. 37: "c'est un des meilleurs manuscrits avec le text d'Aniane primitif." [trans. It is one of the better manuscripts with the primitive text of Aniane].

Hucusque preface is itself present, as in a much more restricted number of manuscripts, can we be absolutely sure that the compilation we know as the *Hucusque* Supplement was the source, and, even then, it might have been only one source among many. Despite the explicit protest of the writer of *Hucusque*, both the Gregorian and the Supplement were strongly reworked in many of these copies.²⁷⁸

Mixture

The best examples of the “complete” Supplement *Hucusque* appeared around the middle of the ninth century, almost all possessing additional material in their own supplements. Yet already around this date we witness the appearance of the “fused” Gregorians, in which the elements of these supplements which had a fixed place in the year were inserted into the main body at the place where they would actually be useful. This saved the user flicking back and forth in the manuscript, but adulterated the “true” Gregorian in a way the writer of the *Hucusque* preface had hoped to avoid. Above all, the *Exultet* and baptismal material was inserted into the correct day on which these texts would actually be used, Holy Saturday.²⁷⁹ The ordinary Sundays might also be removed from a supplement and incorporated at various places in the main body of the Gregorian, usually in blocks, as is done—for example, in the sacramentary of Kroměříž. Most often the mass prefaces, which were in their own separate section in *Hucusque*, were taken out and inserted to the corresponding masses themselves, thus removing the need to flick back and forth from Sacramentary to Supplement for the unfolding of a single mass. We see already such tendencies in our manuscript, **Chelles**, which retains the Supplement and the preface *Hucusque*, but broke down the barrier and defied the *Hucusque*’s own admonitions by incorporating the prefaces, *Exultet*, and baptismal material into place.²⁸⁰

Despite, then, the care of the *Hucusque* Supplement’s compiler to present what he claimed to be a Sacramentary of Gregory the Great and isolate it from additions, in the next generation it was already undergoing alteration within the body of the Gregorian itself. This is a significant, generational shift, and we aim to understand it here, as it took place at the monastery of Saint-Amand. It cer-

²⁷⁸ The *Hucusque* preface appears in manuscripts **Cologne** and **Senlis**, even though the Supplement was reworked in both. Even more starkly reworked was the probably eleventh-century manuscript once at the Theatine monastery in Munich, but destroyed in 1771, for which see Amiet, “La prologue Hucusque,” pp. 101–2, yet it still copied the *Hucusque* preface.

²⁷⁹ Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 360–79.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 38–39; see below, pp. 191–196.

tainly opened the floodgates for more and more material to enter the Gregorian. Even as many sacramentaries retained the by now ubiquitous title that attributed them to “GREGORIO PAPA ROMANA,” ever more material that had never been and could never be attributed to Gregory was also incorporated. This quickly included not only the material already added in the Supplements, but also material that had never been associated with the Gregorian, including the roster of full masses for saints’ days which were found only in the Gelasian. For example, the festal masses from the Gelasian which cohered with Frankish devotions were simply added to their place in the Gregorian’s calendar, without any sign that these were additions.²⁸¹

The “Gelasianised” Gregorians also present to us the ongoing Carolingian composition of new masses through the entire period. This included new Sacramental masses inserted into the calendar, but also votive masses for a huge range of intercessions, for monarchs, for communities, for friends living and dead, and for all manner of spiritual problems. For example, many “Masses of Alcuin,” composed by the savant of York on the basis of re-arranged pre-existing prayers and newly composed ones, appear in these kinds of books. Alcuin actively sent his masses out to various friends and communities, as his letters to Saint-Vaast and Fulda attested, and he specifically asked the monks of Saint-Vaast to incorporate these masses into their own sacramentaries.²⁸² Arn of Salzburg, too, must have received the masses incorporated into **Trent** from Alcuin. In his letters, Alcuin specifically mentioned thirteen of the masses by their titles. These correspond exactly to a group of masses which commonly appear together.²⁸³ Deshusses identified an additional nineteen masses, many votive, but also festal masses, as the work of Alcuin, on the basis of stylistic similarities and presence in later sacramentaries of Tours.²⁸⁴ But because these masses only appear in manuscripts which are nearly a century after Alcuin, scepticism should be raised about the

281 Many examples in Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 687–708; discussed in detail at Saint-Amand below.

282 Alcuin of York, Epistle 296, *Monachis S. Vedasti Atrebatensibus*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH Epistolarum* vol. 4: *Epistolae Karolini Aevi II* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), pp. 454–5, at p. 455: “Arbitror vel melius haec omnia vel in sacramentis vestris conscripta vel in consuetudine cotidiana habere.” [trans. I judge it is best for you to write all these things down in your sacramentaries and to incorporate them in your daily practice].

283 Deshusses, “Les messes d’Alcuin,” at p. 8.

284 In the later article, “Les anciens sacramentaires de Tours,” pp. 286–88, Deshusses added five additional festal masses: Saint Scholastica (10th February), the Vigil and feast of Saint Benedict (20th–21st March), the vigil of Saint Martin (10th November), and a second mass of All Saints. The evidence for these being by Alcuin is, however, significantly less convincing and all manuscripts are later ninth century.

attribution of some of them. Indeed, despite Deshusses's assertion that the "gift of creativity was not widespread in the liturgists of this age," many more than Alcuin must have tried their hand at composing mass texts, including, as we will see, some quite marvellous Latin stylists who were active at Saint-Amand itself.²⁸⁵ All these new compositions, which are found neither in the original Gelasians nor the Gregorian, but appear in the new "Gelasianised" Gregorians from 850 onwards, I will call here "Carolingian" mass sets, in order to distinguish them from manuscripts that are extant before 800. This term here indicates any mass set or prayer that cannot be found in the Gregorian or surviving Gelasians. Some of them may have an earlier origin, of course, but they are not extant before the ninth century.

With all this new material, the sacramentaries produced towards the end of the ninth century could become overwhelming in weight, as most notably in the case of the Sacramentary from the Abbey of Saint-Martin of Tours, written ca. 877–887, **Tours** (today divided incoherently and combined with folios from a second, later book in Paris, BnF, lat. 9430 and Tours, BM, Ms. 184), which was a huge manuscript with 300 folios.²⁸⁶ Perhaps the most well-known example is the inheritance of this mixed tradition is the Ottonian **Fulda**, usually presented as a waypoint in the history of the mass book.²⁸⁷ The very rapid development in the treatment of the Gregorian from the processes of supplementation to those processes of "fusion" and "mixture" speaks to the dynamism and initiative of Carolingian copyists in their reception of the Roman liturgy.

Although individual manuscripts have been studied, the neglect of what happened to the Carolingian Sacramentary after the Supplement *Hucusque* in studies of the mass book is striking. Deshusses's account of the current state of Sacramentary studies devotes a single half page afterthought to anything beyond *Hucusque*, while Metzger said nothing at all.²⁸⁸ Most synthetic studies of the mass book skip from the *Hucusque* to the later Roman missal without dwelling on these manuscripts as any more than an afterthought. Categorisation of these manuscripts has been half-hearted: Bourque divided the "Gelasianised Gregorians" into the three categories of "Direct Types," "Exuberant Types," and "Eccentric Types," repeated

²⁸⁵ Deshusses, "Les anciens sacramentaires de Tours," p. 282: "le don de créativité n'était guère répandu chez les liturgistes du temps."

²⁸⁶ Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 47; reconstructed in vol. 3, p. 56; dating suggested by Westwell, "The Lost Missal of Alcuin."

²⁸⁷ *Sacramentarium Fuldense*, eds Richter and Schönfelder.

²⁸⁸ Deshusses, "Le sacramentaires," pp. 45–46; the most influential handbook Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 102–5 lists a handful of manuscripts but offers no serious engagement.

in Vogel's influential handbook.²⁸⁹ These rather pejorative designations were intended to categorise the manuscripts by their family resemblance to the thirteenth-century Roman missal, the "next stage" at two centuries distance, and was not based on anything intrinsic to them at all. Bourque's verdict, which deemed such manuscripts simply the product of inexplicable "compiling mania," remains largely the state of the question.²⁹⁰ Though their complexity makes them challenging, there is a rewarding opportunity to recover the neglected Frankish creativity that is manifest in these books. A local study of these processes at their beginning, in the later ninth century, is the most promising avenue to begin uncovering what is happening in these books, and what they can tell us about Carolingian compilation practices and the organisation of knowledge more generally. This is supremely, and perhaps exclusively, possible at Saint-Amand, where we have six complete manuscripts, plus the additional evidence of fragments, which display this process at multiple stages, as undertaken in a single workshop.

²⁸⁹ Bourque, *Étude sur les sacramentaires romains*, vol. 2/2, pp. 253–385; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 102–3.

²⁹⁰ Emanuel Bourque, *Étude sur les sacramentaires romains*, vol. 2/2, pp. 292–99; repeated verbatim in Yitzhak Hen, "When Liturgy gets out of Hand," in Elina Screen and Charles West (eds) *Writing the Early Medieval West* (Manchester: University Press, 2018), pp. 203–12 at p. 209.

Chapter 2

Production of the Sacramentaries: Script and Decoration at Saint-Amand

Introduction: Dating by Deshusses and the Patronage of Charles the Bald

This chapter concerns itself with physical aspect of the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, and the production process in the monastery's *scriptorium*. The extraordinary decoration and script of the manuscripts distinctly reveal the care and effort which went into the production of these manuscripts, both of which are traditionally approached from different disciplinary perspectives. Bringing these together, we aim to establish a basis for a new chronology, that can be confirmed by other books made at Saint-Amand, most notably the Gospel Books decorated and written in a similar style to the sacramentaries, and the Second Bible of Charles the Bald. The unique circumstances of the Saint-Amand *scriptorium*, including the survival of so many liturgical books that obviously built up a tradition one from another, allows dating to a remarkably precise degree for early medieval manuscripts. This helps us to reconstruct the context for this production, that can explain why these extraordinary manuscripts appear when they do. We also uncover a broader grounding for their extraordinary variance in content, in their embodiment of the early medieval aesthetic appreciation for “*varietas*” (variety), and for their comprehensiveness in an implicit claim to represent a universal Christian liturgy.

Thus far, the only attempt to date the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand was that proposed by Jean Deshusses. In his 1977 and 1979 articles he made a brief study of the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand which attempted to explain them as the products of the monastery's close relationship with Charles the Bald (823–877).²⁹¹ Charles the Bald's twin sons, Drogo and Pippin, were educated in Saint-Amand, but died there young, according to their epitaph by Milo of Saint-Amand (d. 872).²⁹² Another son, Carloman, was Abbot of Saint-Amand, before his rebellion in 870, events to which Milo's student, Hucbald of Saint-Amand,

²⁹¹ Deshusses, “Chronologie des sacramentaires”; Jean Deshusses “Encore les sacramentaires de Saint-Amand,” *RevBen* 89 (1979), pp. 310–21.

²⁹² Milo of Saint-Amand, *Epitaphium Geminorum Filiorum Karoli Regis* in MGH, *Poetae Latini medii aevi*, vol. 3: *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini III* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896), pp. 677–78.

makes allusion in the poem in the Second Bible of Charles the Bald.²⁹³ This Bible, the finest and most extensive product of the atelier, is the monument to Charles's close relationship to Saint-Amand. It was most likely Gauzlin, Charles's choice for the next Abbot of Saint-Amand from 871, who had the Bible made as a worthy gift, and perhaps as a means to seek royal favour for the monastery after the disaster of Carloman's career, which possibly endangered royal support.²⁹⁴ The Second Bible was evidently a success, since Charles gave Saint-Amand significant endowments, his acts being signed and, probably to a large extent, devised, by Gauzlin, who received special intercession from the monks in exchange.²⁹⁵

293 A previous mention is made of the death of Charles the Bald's son, Charles the Child (866), a *terminus ante quem non*, at *Ad Karolum Calvum*, ed. Traube, MGH *Poetae lat aevi carol. III*, p. 256: "Morte tamen geniti tristatus valde dolebat . . ." [trans. however he was greatly saddened by the death of his son]; Wilhelm Koehler, *Buchmalerei des frühen Mittelalters. Fragmente und Entwürfe aus dem Nachlaß*, eds. Ernst Kitzinger and Florentine Mütterich (Munich: Prestel, 1972), p. 171 initially dated it to 865–870; Boutemy, "Le style Franco-Saxon," p. 264 and Koehler/Mütterich, *DfS*, 253, p. 20, both argued that the lines of the poem, *Ad Karolum Calvum*, ed. Traube, MGH *Poetae lat. aevi carol. III*, p. 257: "Aequivoco Karolo frustratus germine digno / Indulsit pro te saevo scaevoque tyranno, / Omnibus atque suis regno privantibus ipsum / Tam bonitate proba, tanta pietate pepercit; / Quin pervalde suis inimicis maxima rursus / Praedia restituit, donans ac plura quibusdam" [trans. The offspring, dignified with the same name as Charles, having been frustrated / He took pity on the savage and brutal tyrant. / All those who wished to deprive him of his kingdom / he met with such kindness, and such great pity. / But he restored again the fortunes of his greatest enemies / even giving more to some of them] refer to Carloman's rebellion, while Koehler/Mütterich went further to say that the stressing on Charles's mercy places the poem before Carloman's blinding and death, thus 870–873; Ulrich Kuder, review of *Die franko-sächsische Schule*, by Koehler, Wilhelm, and Florentine Mütterich, *Journal für Kunstgeschichte* 14 (2010), pp. 214–24, at pp. 219–22 disputes this and argues the references are to the rebellion of Charles of Aquitaine, the later Archbishop of Mainz (d. 863), and, separately, to Pippin II of Aquitaine (d. 864), both Charles' nephews, thus dating the Bible 866–870. However, this does not take account of the local context of Saint-Amand, where Carloman was abbot, the dating of the sacramentaries in relation to the Bible, or the plausible association with Gauzlin.

294 Rosamond McKitterick, "Charles the Bald (823–877) and his Library: The Patronage of Learning," *The English Historical Review* 95 (1980), pp. 42–46; Riccardo Pizzinato, "The Second Bible of Charles the Bald: Patronage and Intellectual Community at St. Amand," *ABside. Rivista di Storia dell'Arte*, 2, no. 1 (2020), pp. 77–106; Gauzlin mediated between Charles and Carloman, according to the *Annals of Saint-Bertin* ed. Janet Nelson (Manchester: University Press, 1991), p. 172.

295 Platelle, *Le Temporal*, pp. 300–305; two charters issued at Gauzlin's request and with his participation: see Georges Tessier, *Recueil des Actes de Charles I, le Chauve*, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1952), pp. 294–96 on 4th February 872, assuring the monks the possession of numerous churches and manses, and the possession of the communal mense, including an annual meal on the feast of St. Dionysius "in memoriam eiusdem Gozlini abbatis" [trans. in memory of the same Abbot Gauzlin] and at pp. 300–302 on 13th April 872, signed at Saint-Denis itself, where Charles

Charles would then entrust the Second Bible to the monastery of Saint-Denis in his will.²⁹⁶

Drawing on this established background, Deshusses suggested that the seven complete sacramentaries represented direct commissions by Charles the Bald which he intended to give to the monasteries and cathedrals which he favoured. This hypothesis painted the picture of an even closer relationship whereby Saint-Amand played the role of a “royal atelier,” producing liturgical books on demand for the beneficence of the monarch to distribute as a sign of his favour. It was also key to Deshusses’s proposed dating of the manuscripts. He established a trajectory of the development of the sacramentary format across the manuscripts, which allowed a rough order of production. Then, Deshusses identified each sacramentary very strongly with the place we know it was later present, suggesting it was made for that place. He then proceeded to identify events which would be a likely occasion for Charles the Bald to have given a sacramentary to the identified institution or an individual who associated with it.

Dating of the sacramentaries according to Deshusses

- **Le Mans** is dated to ca. 851. This date was associated with the support of Le Mans for Charles’s struggle against the Breton King Nominoe (d. 851) which came to a final victory in 851, thus an appropriate time for a sacramentary to be given to the Cathedral in thanks.
- **Chelles** was dated to ca. 855, since this was around the date that Queen Ermentrude (823–869) wife of Charles the Bald, became abbess of Chelles.
- **Tournai** was dated to ca. 863, when the daughter of Charles the Bald, Judith (ca. 843–870), married Baldwin, Count of Flanders (d. 879), in a ceremony performed by the Bishop of Tournai-Noyon, Raginelm (Bishop 860–879).
- **Saint-Denis** could be dated around 867, since at this date Charles the Bald became Abbot of the Monastery of Saint-Denis, with which the sacramentary was clearly associated.
- **Reims** could be dated around 869, since at this date the conflict between Charles the Bald and Archbishop Hincmar of Reims (d. 882) came to an end with a reconciliation, which could have been marked by the presentation of a deluxe sacramentary to Hincmar’s church.

also asked them to commemorate Abbot Louis of Saint-Denis (d. 867), his relative and Gauzlin’s half-brother.

²⁹⁶ McKitterick, “Charles the Bald and his Library.”

- **Saint-Germain** was dated ca. 871, since around this date Gauzlin assumed the abbacy of Saint-Amand, at Charles the Bald's bequest. Gauzlin was already Abbot of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, for whom this sacramentary was made. This sacramentary was maybe not commissioned by Charles the Bald according to Deshusses, since it lacks the splendid Franco-Saxon decoration, but was perhaps Gauzlin's own present for Saint-Germain.
- **Sens** would be dated to around 876, since around this date Hincmar of Reims was replaced in royal favour by Ansegis, Archbishop of Sens (d. 883), for whom this book was produced.

Deshusses did not take account of **Bobbio**. In a second article in 1979, he would revise his opinions somewhat. He noted that the long series of apologies preceding the Canon of the Mass in three of the sacramentaries included an intercession specifically for the monarch.²⁹⁷ In **Reims**, Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213 fol. 5r, this apology includes an intercession: “pro rege nostro ill. et sua uenerabili prole et statu regni Francorum” [trans. for our king and his offspring and the state of the kingdom of the Franks]. But in **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 1 4v) and in **Saint-Germain** (Paris, BnF, lat.2291, fol. 6r), the same apology concerns, instead, an Emperor. It is entitled MEMORIA IMPERATORIS ET PRO-LIS EIUS ET TOTIUS POPULI, and has the intercession “pro imperatore nostro ill. et sua uenerabili prole et statu regni Francorum.” (trans. for our emperor N. and his venerable offspring, and the state of the kingdom of the Franks). Thus, the two later sacramentaries must, Deshusses argued, be placed between the imperial coronation of Charles the Bald at Christmas 875 and his death in 877, while **Noyon**, which Deshusses assimilated with **Reims** as a single work, would be placed before 875. **Saint-Germain** would thus see its production pushed back to the years 875/876, while **Sens** retained a date of ca. 875–876. This article also noted the existence of the **San Marino** fragment, which Deshusses dated ca. 870–875 based on its similarities to **Saint-Germain**. However, in later mentions of the sacramentaries in the edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary, these theories were no longer stated in such specific detail, and Deshusses seems to have further revised his thoughts.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁷ Deshusses, “Encore les sacramentaires.”

²⁹⁸ Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire gregorien*, vol. 1, pp. 38–39, the Chelles Sacramentary was “written around 860,” not in 855, as previously.

The original theories of Deshusses remain the only sustained attempts to explain and understand the series of sacramentaries of Saint-Amand.²⁹⁹ They cannot be retained. His dating, and his identification of the sacramentaries with events in the life of Charles the Bald, must be questioned. There is no specific evidence, internal or external, that Charles commissioned any of the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand.³⁰⁰ Several of the proposed events which would explain the gift of sacramentaries are very vague, especially those for **Le Mans** or **Sens**. In any case, there is no evidence that the **Le Mans**, **Chelles**, **Saint-Germain** or **Sens** were produced at Saint-Amand specifically *for* those centres. The last two, rather, reflect an original vision of production for Saint-Amand itself, since Amandus is the only patron saint added to the Canon. Additions that point to their later locations were all added to the already completed sacramentary by later hands. In particular, those indicating the nunnery of Chelles in the book in New York can only be dated from the tenth century and later.³⁰¹ Nor is the deluxe character of the sacramentaries in itself sufficient proof. Saint-Amand certainly produced rich gospel books which travelled to a similar range of centres, some more sumptuous than the sacramentaries, and Charles the Bald's patronage has never been expected to explain all of these.

Most drastically, of course, the new reconstruction of the more complex history of the fragment, **Noyon**, and the Sacramentary, **Reims**, described in the Introduction removes the possibility that the book as a whole counts as part of the immediate sequence of sacramentaries made at Saint-Amand, excepting the un-

²⁹⁹ His original dating is often replicated without comment, for example in Ildar Garipzanov, *Graphic Signs of Authority in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: University Press, 2018), 254, n. 49, or in Hen, "When Liturgy gets out of Hand," p. 207.

³⁰⁰ Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy*, 142–44; Nina-Maria Wanek, "The Phenomenon of the so-called Missa Graeca Chants: Assessing new hypotheses regarding their emergence and dating," *Clavibus unitis* 7/2 (2018), pp. 3–12, especially 4–5.

³⁰¹ The mass for the patron saints of Chelles (George, Mary, Bathildis) at New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 105v was, in fact, only added in the eleventh century, and not, as Bober, *The Sacramentary of Queen Hermentrude*, p. 20 believed, on the occasion of the canonisation of Bathildis between 858 and 867. It is also clearly not a canonisation mass but a mass for defence against some incursion or attack on the monastery (New York Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 105v: "ad te domine iesu uenimus, ad te prostrati clamamus, quia iniqui et superbi suisque uiribus confisi undique super nos insurgant." [trans. We come to You, Lord Jesus, because proud and iniquitous men, trusting in their own strength, rise up against us]. The other indication of Chelles provenance, the incomplete mass for St. Bertilla, the first abbess of Chelles, on fol. 1r, seems to be earlier and Deshusses suggested the tenth century in *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, p. 38, while misidentifying it as a votive mass for humility, but it certainly cannot be dated with precision (cf. Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, p. 316: "von einer ungetübten Hand mit weichem Ductus" [trans. from an unpracticed hand with a soft ductus]).

finished portion of the Canon of the Mass, or that this book was produced in response to Charles the Bald's reconciliation with Hincmar of Reims, as Deshusses supposed. Instead, only a fragment was written at Saint-Amand, or by Saint-Amand scribes (**Noyon**), and this was later completed by Reims scribes at Saint-Thierry (**Reims**), a series of events that makes sense in the context of Hucbald of Saint-Amand's stay at Saint-Thierry, between 893 and ca. 900, not twenty-five years earlier. This notably affects the notion that the *memoria* for a monarch originally indicated Charles the Bald before his accession to the imperial office, which Deshusses had used for dating purposes. In fact, this prayer was likely changed during the copying of **Reims** around 900, and this was done the other way round than Deshusses supposed, from originally saying emperor (as in **Sens** and **Saint-Germain**), to now speaking of a king (**Reims**). It refers therefore to one of the later Kings of West Francia, likely Odo (r. 888–898) or Charles the Simple (r. 898–922). That this apology was originally written “for an emperor,” and not for a king, can be demonstrated by another manuscript, **Rodrade**, written in Corbie around 853, in which the text appears in the same, imperial form.³⁰² At that point, Charles the Bald, the ruler of West Francia, was not even emperor! Likely, the text of this *memoria* referred originally to his father, Louis the Pious (emperor from 813–840). Inertia in copying the text could thus mean the term “*imperatore*” was preserved, even when no emperor truly ruled. Thus, the apology for an emperor is not sufficient evidence to date the two Saint-Amand sacramentaries to the years when Charles the Bald ruled as emperor. Of course, a later emperor, Charles the Fat, also ruled West Francia from 884 to 888, and I would place **Sens** within his reign, while **Reims** clearly is after his deposition.

The following close study of the palaeography and decoration of our sacramentaries, placed within the ample manuscript production of Saint-Amand, enables us to move beyond the cursory treatment of Deshusses, as well as the art historical assessment of their decoration in the standard reference works, which, to a large degree, depended uncritically on Deshusses. Instead, we propose objective new standards to order the books around a critical shift in the practice of the *scriptorium* of Saint-Amand, and in its ongoing collaboration with a group of likely itinerant artists. This shift, which can be relatively precisely dated, allows us to see that the majority of the sacramentaries were, in fact, produced in a short time scale of around a decade between 871 and 886, at the same time as

302 Paris, BnF, lat. 12050, fol. 243v; the Sacramentary of Amiens (Paris, BnF, lat. 9432), dated to the tenth century (Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 152), has the same *memoria* which is still entitled MEMORIA IMPERATORIS, but with the new wording “pro rege nostro,” see Victor Leroquais, “L’ordo missae du sacramentaire d’Amiens (Paris, Bibl. nat. ms. lat. 9432 (IXe s.),” *EphLit* 41 (1927), at p. 442. Also see De 4393.

Saint-Amand was producing other majestic works like the Gospel Books. This extraordinarily precise dating is enabled by the extent of the surviving output of Saint-Amand, and, in particular, the unique opportunities afforded by their sacramentaries. Our new study reveals just how extraordinarily productive and creative this *scriptorium* was over this short period, even during the waning of Carolingian power, and just how many resources were put at its disposal by its great supporter, Gauzlin, the Abbot, who steps forward as a hugely significant Carolingian patron of art and liturgy.

State of the Art on Palaeography and Decoration

We possess the incomparable gift of Bischoff's study of an early phase of the *scriptorium* of Saint-Amand under Arn of Salzburg (Abbot 782–810) and his direct successors, the “Arn-stil,” including manuscripts that were made in Salzburg, where Arn was bishop and later archbishop.³⁰³ However, this study ceased with the end of the “Lotharius-phase,” dated to 828.³⁰⁴ Later phases of the Carolingian *scriptorium* have not received an in-depth modern study, in contrast to other centres of equal importance like Tours or Corbie, but varied contributions have indicated the importance and richness of Saint-Amand's production, and helpfully located many manuscripts.³⁰⁵ The art historical studies are not comprehensive, since the discussions of the “Franco-Saxon school” at Saint-Amand only ever evaluated the most highly decorated and deluxe books. Such studies, as exemplified by Koehler and Mütterich assumed the decoration to be the activity of a “local school” of artists, located in a distinct place (or, more exactly, three schools of the “Franco-Saxon” style, the “Hauptgruppe” and two “Nebengruppen” which they identified with Saint-Amand and with Saint-Vaast and Saint-Bertin respectively). The paradigm of the “local school”, was however, already somewhat old-fashioned when the volume

303 Bischoff, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit*, vol. 2: *Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen*, pp. 61–72; also in CLA X, pp. VIII–XVII.

304 Ludwig Traube, “Schreiber Lotharius von S. Amand,” *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 9 (1892), 87–88.

305 Edward Kennard Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, 2 vols. (Cambridge MA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1929); Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*; Saint-Amand discussed in for example, McKitterick “Carolingian Book Production”; the unpublished dissertation of François Simeray, “Le scriptorium et bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand” (PhD Diss., Paris, 1989), a copy of which I consulted at the IHRT in Paris, lists manuscripts and summarised the scholarship on the ninth century, but focuses its analysis on a later phase of the *scriptorium*, in the eleventh century.

on the “Franco-Saxon school” appeared.³⁰⁶ In their treatment of the decoration of the sacramentaries, Koehler and Mütterich clearly depended uncritically on the articles of Deshusses, and not actually on their independent assessment of the decorative elements. They plotted the manuscript chronologically according to his hypotheses: earliest was **Le Mans**, then **Tournai**, **Chelles**, **Reims**, **Bobbio** and, lastly, **Sens** (dated 875–877).³⁰⁷ The last two (**Bobbio** and **Sens**) belonged to the “high-point” of the series, which they indicated included both the “Second Bible” of Charles the Bald and the most deluxe Gospel Book, known as the “Gospels of François II” (Paris, BnF, lat. 257).

It should also be noted that some of the identifications of manuscripts with Saint-Amand that Koehler and Mütterich made in their volume have been subsequently questioned and these judgements were often quite subjective.³⁰⁸ For example, the copy of the “Comes of Alcuin” (Paris, BnF, lat. 9452), which served as one select example of a “Hauptgruppe” manuscript which was not a Sacramentary or Gospel book, is one manuscript about which questions can be raised.³⁰⁹ The manuscript has a large F initial in Franco-Saxon style at the opening (fol. 7r), with the heads of ducks at terminus, and uses golden uncial on the page next to it. However, we read in the *Katalog* that Bischoff retracted his original identification of the script as that of Saint-Amand, but came to identify it rather with scribes of another centre in North-Eastern France.³¹⁰ In such a case, we cannot be certain that, just because a manuscript shows features of Kohler’s Franco-Saxon “Hauptgruppe,” it was produced at Saint-Amand. Artists certainly travelled, as did scribes, and manuscripts (more or less complete) might also have been “sent out” to other ateliers for their completion.³¹¹ Another important example is the

306 Tineke Neyman, and Irmgard Siede, “Überlegungen zu Theorie und Methodologie des interdisziplinären Studiums illuminiertes Handschriften des Frühmittelalters: Zum Problem des Corpusbildung,” *Scriptorium* 52 (1998), pp. 235–43; Emilia Henderson, “Franco-Saxon Manuscript Illumination and Networks of Production in Ninth-Century Francia,” 2 vols. (PhD diss., University of Leicester, 2022). My thanks to Emilia for providing of a copy of her thesis.

307 Koehler/Mütterich, DfS, pp. 20–21, 114–20.

308 Lawrence Nees, review of *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, Band 7: *Die frankosächsische Schule*, by Wilhelm Koehler and Florentine Mütterich, *Speculum* 86 (2011), p. 228.

309 Koehler/Mütterich, DfS, pp. 250–52, Pl. 81b; Digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8426289x.r=comes%20alcuin?rk=42918;4>.

310 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, 4589, p. 152: “Saint-Amand – hier zurückgenommen . . . Nordost-frankreich, IX Jh., Mitte bis 3. Viertel”; the lack of the Saint-Amand question mark (see below, p. 115–116) is, for example, illustrative.

311 Lawrence Nees, “On Carolingian Book Painters. The Ottoni Gospels and Its Transfiguration Master,” *The Art Bulletin* 83 (2001), pp. 209–39.

Sacramentary **Saint-Vaast**, today the two-volume Cambrai, Le Labo, Mss. 162–163.³¹² The first manuscript has two initials V and TE (Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 162, fol. 1v and 2v) that are strikingly close to the examples in our sacramentaries. However, the script, as well as the oblong format of the manuscript, is clearly distinct from the Saint-Amand books, and the manuscript was made for Saint-Vaast.³¹³ Masses for the vigil and feast day of the patron, St Vedastus, appear in the manuscript. However, the book is also quite distinct in artistic style from other members of Koehler and Mutherich's *Nebenschule*, which they located to Saint-Vaast. These other books from Saint-Vaast are much more lavish in their use of ornament, more colourful and profuse, which suggests that Saint-Vaast scribes simultaneously collaborated with different artists, a complication to the idea of a "local school."³¹⁴ Another manuscript, Prague, Metropolitni Kapitoly, Cim 2, shows "Hauptgruppe" artists even collaborating with scribes of the monastery of Corvey in Hessen, and also with artists of the Saint-Vaast "Nebengruppe", all working together on one manuscript.³¹⁵ How exactly such an extraordinary conjunction came together is not entirely clear, but we must begin to acknowledge that these artists were clearly not confined to a single cloister, and that some scribes seem to have also moved relatively freely, even if they were monks. This was, of course, also a time of repeated monastic exile.

Preconditions: The Colbertine Fragments and the Arn-Stil

The script of our sacramentaries can clearly be rooted in the traditions established at Saint-Amand since the time of Arn of Salzburg. Since the "Arn-Stil" was treated in depth by Bischoff, we restrict ourselves here to the most immediately relevant

312 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, p. 169: "sehr ähnlich der reifen Schrift von Saint-Amand, aber um eine Nuance gröber . . . Nordostfrankreich (franko-sächsische Zweigschule, vielleicht Arras, Saint-Vaast), IX Jh., 3. Drittel" [trans. very similar to the ripe script of Saint-Amand, but by a hair coarser . . . (Franco-Saxon branch school, perhaps Arras), 9th century, final third]; Koehler/Mütherich, *DfS*, pp. 76–78; a few images from Cambrai, Ms. 162 are available at: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md21gh93h193>

313 Distinguishing features include the *Vere Dignum* monogram, here a V with a d next to it or inside the V's belly, the abbreviated forms for "aeterne et deus" or "per christum dominum nostrum," the use of uncial also for the first lines of the first prayers of masses and use of two c a outside of the ligature ra, e.g., fol. 73v "habeas" and fol. 99r "gratiae," also with ra on fol. 82r "nostrae."

314 Such as Arras Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 233 [1045], Koehler/Mütherich, *DfS*, pp. 346–54.

315 Kateřina Kubínová, *Pražský evangeliář Cim 2: Rukopis mezi zeměmi a staletími středověké Evropy*, [*The Prague Gospels Cim 2: A Manuscript between Lands and Centuries of Medieval Europe*] (Prague: Artefactum, 2017); I thank Dr. Kubínová for sharing her book and our correspondence.

example, the Gelasian Sacramentary of the Eighth Century written at Saint-Amand, the Colbertine fragments.³¹⁶ Indeed, in this single manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2296), we have a witness to the writing of sacramentaries at two distinct stages.³¹⁷ The original scribe, termed Hand B by Gamber, belongs to later phases of the “Arn-Stil.”³¹⁸ He wrote the folios today fol. 9–15 and 28–43, which preserve two distinct portions of a Gelasian Sacramentary, respectively a portion of the Common and the quotidian masses, including a partial copy of the Canon of the Mass and, in the second part, the beginning of the Second Book of the Gelasian (“LIBER SECUNDUS DE EXTREMA PARTE”), with matins prayers, a Gelasian baptismal rite and some votive masses. The repairing (or enhancing) Hand A was active some decades afterwards, in a stage immediately preceding our “Franco-Saxon” sacramentaries. He wrote the portions fol. 1–8, 16–27. This comprised parts of a penitential which is placed directly before the Gelasian Sacramentary, the title of the latter (fol. 4v), which identified it specifically as a “LIBER SACRAMENTORUM EXCARPUS,” the opening of the Sacramentary (Christmas to Saint Agatha), and, in the second portion, with Sundays and certain limited Sanctoral masses between Pentecost and through Advent, ending with the beginning of the Common of Saints.³¹⁹ Rehle described the two hands in depth, but remained under the impression that both scribes were writing at the same time.³²⁰ Bischoff made it clear that Hand A represented a later repair to what must have been a damaged manuscript, likewise undertaken at Saint-Amand. We can, thus, use this single manuscript as an example of the script at two points.³²¹

316 Rehle, *Sacramentarium Gelasianum mixtum*; secondly in *Liber sacramentorum excarpus*, eds. C. Coebergh and Pierre de Puniet, CCCM 47 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), pp. 113–77; digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8528767x.r=latin%202296?rk=42918;4>

317 As already argued by Edward Kennard Rand, James A McDonough and Thomas J Wade, “An Unrecognized Sacramentary of Tours,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 60 (1951), pp. 235–61.

318 See also CLA V, 554.

319 Moreton, *The Eighth-Century Gelasian*, pp. 196–98; the Penitential is a partial copy of the so-called *Paenitentiale Cummeani*, see Cyrille Vogel, *Les ‘Libri Paenitentiales’* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), pp. 67–68; Raymund Kottje, “Das älteste Zeugnis für das Paenitentiale Cummeani,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 61/2 (2005), pp. 585–90.

320 Rehle, *Sacramentarium Gelasianum mixtum*, pp. 18–20.

321 The style of the surviving sections written by the older hand, Hand B, in the “Arn-Stil,” is close to that of a second Gelasian sacramentary also made under Arn of Salzburg, the “Arn Sacramentary” (fragments of which are found in Munich, Oxford, and North America); see *Sacramentarium Arnonis. Die Fragmente des Salzburger Exemplars*, ed. Sieghild Rehle (Regensburg: Pustet, 1971), and in the appendix to Rehle, *Sacramentarium Gelasianum mixtum*, 99–108; further pieces in Robert Babcock, “New Fragments of the Arno Sacramentary and Lectionary,” *AfL* 32 (1990), pp. 297–306; Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, vol. 2, p. 131, 217; the Arn Sacramentary is not, however, in the same hand as the Colbertine fragment’s Hand B, as Gamber and Rehle had suggested. Instead,

As part of Hand B, a surviving incipit for the second book DE EXTREMA PARTE, is in capitalis (Paris, BnF, Latin 2296 fol. 28v), with embellishments (a heart shaped flourish and a cross in the O of ORATIONES), similar to other “Arn-stil” books. The titles of masses and titles of individual mass prayers are written exclusively in red uncial. Initials, often taking uncial forms, are yellow or red, and very large relative to the minuscule (taking up three lines of script). Often the second letter is inside the initial; for example, the S of abbreviated DEUS inside the D (always uncial in form), or the M of Omnium. In the minuscule script, Hand B employed one of the later forms of “Arn-stil,” as described by Bischoff.³²² He noted it “stands in the direct line of ancestry of that script of the monastery, which will be bound with the masterpieces of the “École franco-saxonne”, but it does not yet possess the absolute regularity of that script.”³²³ The impression of a comparative lack of regularity comes from the diversity with which scribes write several letter forms and the fact that the line of writing is not so straight or regular. Letters often rise above it. In the “Arn-stil” the difference in thick and thin strokes is much more definite than later at Saint-Amand and the ascenders and descenders are lengthier but less regular, often reaching different lengths from one another. The scribe uses just two forms of punctuation, a punctus and punctus versus, for smaller pauses.

A final feature to note in Hand B of the Colbertine Fragments is the use of a distinctive Saint-Amand form of half-uncial for the rubrics (fol. 31r–32v). The rubrics begin in uncial, alternating red and black, but change halfway through to this alternative script. The description by Rehle and Gamber runs: “eine etwas andere, eine Art-Urkunden Schrift. Sie ist in die Breite gezogen und zeichnet sich durch die Verwendung von zahlreichen Unziale-Buchstaben aus” (trans: a somewhat different script, sort of like a charter-script. It is stretched out in width and can be differentiated by its use of numerous uncial letters).³²⁴ The half-uncial **n**, **a**, and **g** are notably used, and odd ligatures for **et** and **em**, where **e** has no upper compartment at all. The same **et** ligature is actually used as a capital form in early Gospel Books of Saint-Amand (for example, Ghent, Grand Seminaire, Ms. 13, fol. 21r), indicating this script was a Saint-Amand trait, and we shall see its contin-

it was likely written in Salzburg by a scribe trained in “Arn-stil”; the largest portion is Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29300 (12, digitised at: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00071174?page=1>).

³²² Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, vol. 2, p. 101.

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 62: “Der Schrift steht in der direkten Ahnenreihe jener Schrift des Klosters, die mit den Meisterwerken der ‘École franco-saxonne’ verbunden sein wird, besitzt aber noch nicht deren absolute Regelmäßigkeit.”

³²⁴ Rehle, *Sacramentarium Gelasianum mixtum*, p. 19.

ued use in auxiliary scripts in our manuscripts. The descenders of **p** and **f**, of varying length, also have horizontal “feet” at the ends.

The later Hand A of the Colbertine fragments wrote closer to the time of our sacramentaries (Bischoff: “IX Jh., 2.Viertel bis Mitte”), and is thus a precious witness to the transition towards the script and style distinctive to them. Bischoff also once described the script as already “belonging to the time of the developed Franco-Saxon style.”³²⁵ However, there are some differences that place it early in the development we witness in our sacramentaries. In comparison to the earlier hand which had written the sacramentary originally (Hand B), the immediately obvious differences in this repairing hand are the reduced employment of ligatures and the slant to the left rather than right, as well as the significantly reduced size of script. The difference in thick and thin strokes is also reduced, and fewer letters descend or ascend to such a degree.

In the parts written by Hand A, the title of the Sacramentary (fol. 4v) is in a balanced and square capitalis quadrata. This is written in alternating red and black, with the black letters having a green or yellow wash. The embellishment of the capitalis seen in the incipit of Hand B has been removed, and the capitalis is now much closer to the fully romanising forms of the “Franco-Saxon” manuscripts. The capital DEUS with which the sacramentary begins (fol. 5r – see Figure 2.1), could be called “Franco-Saxon”, at least as a prototype, and is clearly an ancestor of the same initial in the later, Chelles Sacramentary in New York (Figure 2.7). It has volutes, compartments, and interlace, though significantly less profuse and complex than the Chelles book, and employs only green, red, and yellow, without gold or silver. It noticeably does not use a “spearhead” script for the S inside the D, which is used in **Chelles**. This is where the terminus points of the letter S end in arrows, and it is an aesthetic motif artists adopted later. The lines of text next to this larger initial are written in uncial.

Uncial in red is thereafter used for the titles of each mass, and the titles of the individual prayers too. In the preceding penitential (also in Hand A), uncial was also used for the individual chapter titles. What most instantly distinguishes Hand A of the Colbertine fragments from Hand B is that the initials here alternate with the colours red, yellow, and green, all outlined in red, and these are significantly smaller, generally only two lines of the more compact script, though the first initial of each mass is slightly bigger. A number of the larger initials at the beginning of masses are very slightly embellished; for example, with the leaf shape (Deus on fol. 5v, 16v, 19v), or have a second letter inside them (like OMnip-

325 Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, vol. 2, p. 101: “Schrift der Zeit des ausgebildeten frankosächsischen Stils angehören.”



Figure 2.1: Initial DEUS and beginning of the sacramentary in the Colbertine fragments, written at Saint-Amand around the middle of the ninth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2296, fol. 5r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

otens, DeuS, QuaesumuS), but the employment of uncial or more fanciful forms in Hand B has been significantly reduced, and most initials are now plain capitals (for example, all of them on fol. 7r). Such tendencies also point towards the development of our sacramentaries' distinctive layout.

Ligatures are much fewer in this hand. The same form of **ra** ligature found in Hand B is employed by Hand A, particularly on words beginning with *prae* like “*praedicamus*” and “*praefulsit*” (fol. 5v), also “*celebrantes*” and on the *nostra* abbreviation (fol. 7v). It is, however, only in this form that the two-c **a** form was used by Hand A, and not in other places that Hand B used it. The name of Jesus is written with a lower case *eta ihm/ihu*, as Christ is *xpm*. Bischoff and Gamber did not note that some elements of the half-uncial script employed by Hand B for the rubrics were also employed by Hand A on fol. 27r in the writing of the announcement of a martyr’s feast, the *DENUNTIATIO NATALIS UNIUS MARTYRIS*. It is marked out from the main minuscule with the flat **a**, and the fact every descender has a foot underneath, this time drawn to the left with a curve (**s**, **r**, **f**, and ligatures), while the ascenders have a clear “head” at the top (**d**, **b**, **l**).

Therefore, the conclusion of Bischoff concerning this hand can be verified. It is probably some decades after the original Hand A, and the scribes of Saint-Amand have undergone a significant shift, which moves them away from the “*Arn-Stil*” and towards the style of the Franco-Saxon sacramentaries. Without the complete book, it is very difficult to say why it was necessary to rewrite parts of the Gelasian Sacramentary, already written by Hand B, but perhaps folios had been lost or degraded. Notably the parts of Hand B reduce even further the number of saints’ feasts celebrated in the original manuscript, as can be judged from the surviving chapter numbers.³²⁶ This is completely out of step with how later sacramentaries of Saint-Amand worked, suggesting that something significant changed between the activity of Hand A and the beginning of the sequence of production of our manuscripts, or that the Colbertine fragments had a different intended use. This rewriting was still some time before the first example of a Gregorian sacramentary extant from Saint-Amand, which is **Le Mans**. Nevertheless, the Colbertine fragments do make it clear that the Gelasian Sacramentary was still available and in use at Saint-Amand long after the Gregorian had arrived in Francia, something our sacramentaries will further attest.

³²⁶ At the point where the two hands of the Colbertine fragments overlap, in the Common of Saints (from fol. 27v), Hand A has the number 172 for the Mass *In uigilia unius martyris*, then the older Hand B has for the next mass *In natale unius martyris* the numeral 286 (fol. 9r), from whence it continues, meaning there was an extraordinary difference of 113 masses between the original manuscript (Hand B) and the later repaired form (Hand A).

Art and Script of the Late Carolingian Sacramentaries of Saint-Amand

Beginnings of a Shift in Style

Art historical, palaeographical, and liturgical evidence converges in dating the sacramentary that came to the cathedral of Le Mans by the tenth century (**Le Mans**) as the earliest of the Gregorian sacramentaries produced at St. Amand from the later ninth century, in a new phase of the *scriptorium's* activity which is the principal subject of this book. Thus, the manuscript establishes the solid foundation by which we can track the later development of this form. Capitalis appears only once in this manuscript, for the title of the chapter list (Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77, fol. 106v). Uncial is used for the writing of the *Ordo Missae* and the preface and opening of the Canon (6v–10r). In the pages with frames, the uncial is written in gold. The titles of individual masses are written in red uncial, while the individual titles of the mass prayers are written in red rustic capitals, establishing a new use of two scripts in a hierarchy (see Figure 2.2).³²⁷ The initials which begin the prayer texts are all written in alternating red or green ink (normally around 2 lines in height), the initial for the first prayer of each mass being larger (4 lines in height). Uncial forms have been removed, these are all now capitals. Occasionally the decorators have more than one letter in the initial, as the Colbertine Fragments did, but this is a lapse from the established system. On fol. 144r, for example, the initial painter has written HO to begin the word “Hostium,” with **o** underneath the larger letter **H**, while the minuscule scribe already began from **o**. In another place the **s** for “Quaesums” is also painted within the initial (fol. 85r).

The minuscule employed goes some way towards the classic script of the deluxe Franco-Saxon manuscripts, widely admired for its perfect, almost printer-like quality. Ligatures and abbreviations are generally kept to a minimum. However, their varied use does help to differentiate scribal hands, and certain features become significant in the ongoing tradition of the St. Amand sacramentaries. With such diagnostics, we can see that a number of scribes were active in the composition of this book. I could identify at least twenty-three changes of hand in the manuscript, many of which correspond to quires, but not all.

The scribe who wrote the parts of the Canon of the Mass in minuscule script, from fol. 10v, appears to use a most default version of the script, in which we can

³²⁷ Occasional exception at Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77, fol. 4r, where all are in uncial, or fol. 36v where the station is in rustic capitals.

see most of the common features. Lower-case **s** usually descends below the line. A variant form is the capital **N**, used for the start of several words that begin with **N**, such as *nota*, and on the forms of *nos* (*noster/nostrium/nostro* etc.), or also at the start of the line where a word like *seNtencia* (fol. 35v) is split. The scribe used the **et** ligature commonly, the **st** ligature often (“custodire”), the **rt** ligature only several times; for example, fol. 11v (“partem,” “martyribus”). The *nomina sacra* are abbreviated, and the name of Jesus uses **h** for the eta in the same way as the Colbertine fragments. This includes the nominative form of Jesus *ihs*; for example, on fol. 48r.

Deviations from this standard practice allow us to mark out the individual scribes in the rest of the manuscript. The employment of the **ra** ligature with a two-c **a**, for example, which we know from the Colbertine fragments, appears to mark out the practice of several scribes who use it, and several who do not. The scribe who wrote the Canon employs it just once, on fol. 15v, in an uncertain and odd *nostrae* abbreviation with the **ra**. Thereafter it first appears with the fourth scribe on fol. 26v on the word “*praesta*” commonly employed in liturgical formulae, and is then used not infrequently on words like “*praesidia*” on fol. 29r and “*Praesta*” on fol. 30v.³²⁸

It is clear that some scribes of the manuscript were much freer in their use of the **ra** ligature than others. Many do not use it at all, some scribes may avoid the use of the ligature entirely, instead writing *presta*, or using a cedilla on the **ae** of this word instead. But others employ it consistently. For example, a scribe who writes only lines 12–23 on fol. 37v and then fol. 38r employs it many times in his short stint; for example, on the words “*corpora*,” “*sacrae*,” “*nostra*,” and “*sacramenti/sacramenta*.” The scribes writing around it never use it, even when writing the same words.

A corrector who is active throughout the manuscript used the **ra** ligature widely. He rubbed out some sections of writing and wrote them anew in a more correct form. He clearly wrote before the rubrics were added, see fol. 140v, where the title *POST COMMUNIONEM* is squeezed in after his correction, so he was taking part in the writing of the original manuscript itself. This correcting hand introduces us to a significant development, when it uses the form of capital eta **H** form (fol. 17r) for the name of Jesus, see Figure 2.3. This was never present in the Colbertine fragments.

³²⁸ A change of hand is also signalled here by a more curved **s**, and the use of an **I** that descends below the line (most often at end of words, but here on “*temporalis*,” also on fol. 27v “*periculis*” which marks out a scribe writing until 33v).

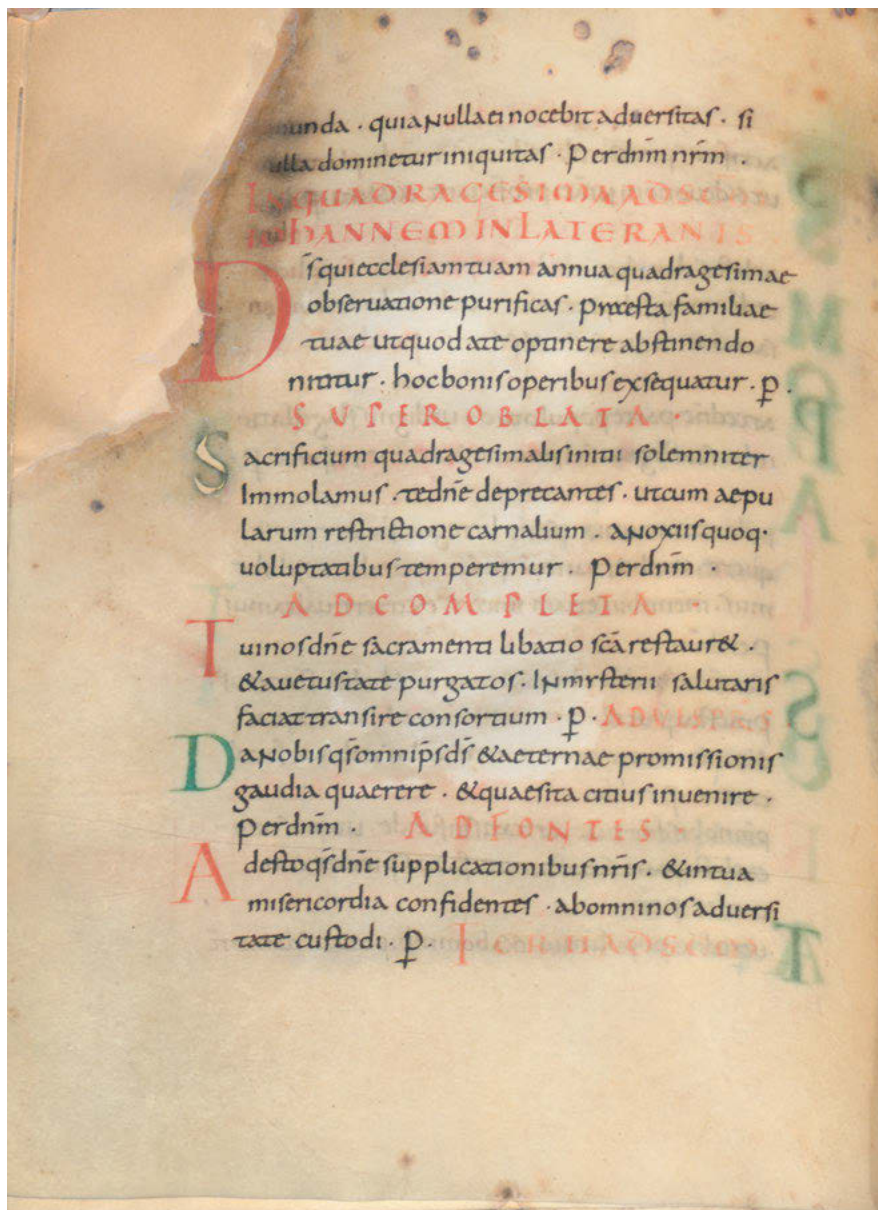


Figure 2.2: Use of scripts in a Sacramentary written at Saint-Amand in the third quarter of the ninth century. Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77, fol. 30v. Credit: Médiathèques, Le Mans.

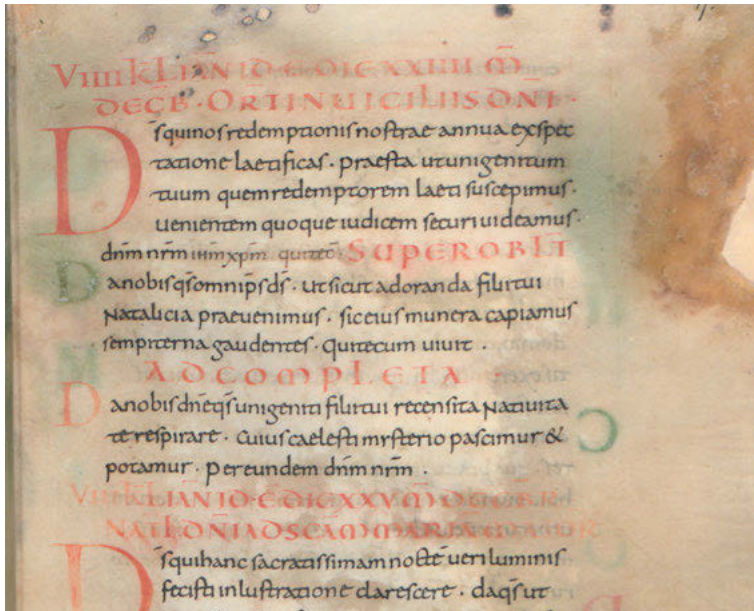


Figure 2.3: Corrections made to a Sacramentary written at Saint-Amand in the third quarter of the ninth century. Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77, fol. 17r. Credit: Médiathèques, Le Mans.

In the second half of the manuscript, the form of the name of Jesus with the capital eta appears for the first time in the main text. First on fol. 123v, the IHm abbreviation appears, and is used by scribes until 137v. There is one quite distinctive scribe who wrote the quaternion fol. 153r–160v and consistently used the capital eta form of IHm and IHu. The **ra** ligature is used in very many words by this scribe and he uses significantly more flamboyant ligatures of **rt**, and **st**. Unusually, he employed a curved, capital **s** on the abbreviation DEUS opening a prayer after a capital D (fol. 155v, 157v, 158r, and 159v), where other scribes simply use the usual, straight **s**. The following two scribes do not copy all his idiosyncrasies (**ra** is only used by them occasionally) but maintain the IHm form, including iHs on fol. 169r. However, by the beginning of the next section (and a new quire) on fol. 171r, with the mass prefaces, the older form ihu (171v) or ihs (188v, 201r) once again predominates, though it seems a scribe or two were still occasionally influenced to employ the capital form (196r and 201v). Thus, here, the sacramentary appears to have been written at a time when a new practice of using the capital eta form was gradually being absorbed by several scribes, particularly those working on the later part of the sacramentary. In many cases, using this form went together with consistent employment of the **ra** ligature.

For certain rubrics, (fol. 102r, 198v), the unusual half-uncial script visible in the Col sacramentary is re-deployed, using the half-uncial **a** and the **cu**, **et**, and **em** ligatures without an upper compartment. In the portion on the baptism of the sick (fol. 102r), this script is used for the actions (see Figure 2.4), while a rubricated rustic capitals is used for the words to be spoken. One must regard the continued employment of the distinguishing features of this script for the rubrics as a distinctly Saint-Amand tradition.

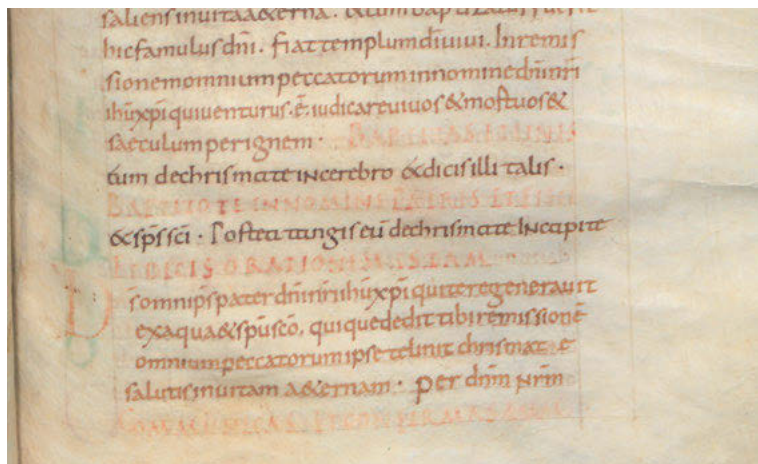


Figure 2.4: Rubrication in a half-uncial influenced script in a sacramentary written at Saint-Amand in the third quarter of the ninth century. Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77, fol. 102r. Credit: Médiathèques, Le Mans.

In terms of decoration, **Le Mans** clearly advanced away from the Colbertine fragments, which were only sparsely decorated. **Le Mans** has six decorated folios (fol. 7v–10r). The two preceding pages with the title of the sacramentary (INCIPIT LIBER SACRAMENTORUM . . .) and the *Ordo Missae* are simply undecorated and written in plain uncial, decoration thus begins with the dialogue beginning the preface “Dominus Uobiscum.” All decorated folios have borders filled with interlace that repeats similar patterns, then outlined at the top and bottom with red dots, and the text within these is written in golden uncial. The employment of the rounded UD monogram (fol. 8r see Figure 2.5) as the initial opening of the “Vere Dignum” marks **Le Mans** out clearly from the later books. It is drawn mostly in silver, which has oxidised much more than in the later books, this outlined in gold, then in red and then with red dots. Two creatures with teeth face each other over the top of the two letters, with tongues coming out of their mouths and crossing repeatedly over and over again into an elaborate floral motif. In the following

TE initial, beginning the TE IGITUR, the silver E is interlocked with the shaft of the gold T. There are two small animal faces looking down at each end of the horizontal of T, and other faces of hounds on the edges of the E as well. In both manuscripts, the gold is significantly more tarnished than in later books. The medallions at each corner of the borders also have decoration. Each pair of facing pages have the same motif repeated in all eight corners. In the first pair of pages, these are squares, with circles and interlocking forms inside them, and the third pair are four-leaf clover shapes with floral motifs inside them. In its second pair of border compartments, **Le Mans** already employed the very characteristic form of creatures wound around the borders of one pair of facing pages, and biting the border, on fol. 8v–9r, surrounding here the text of the Preface.³²⁹

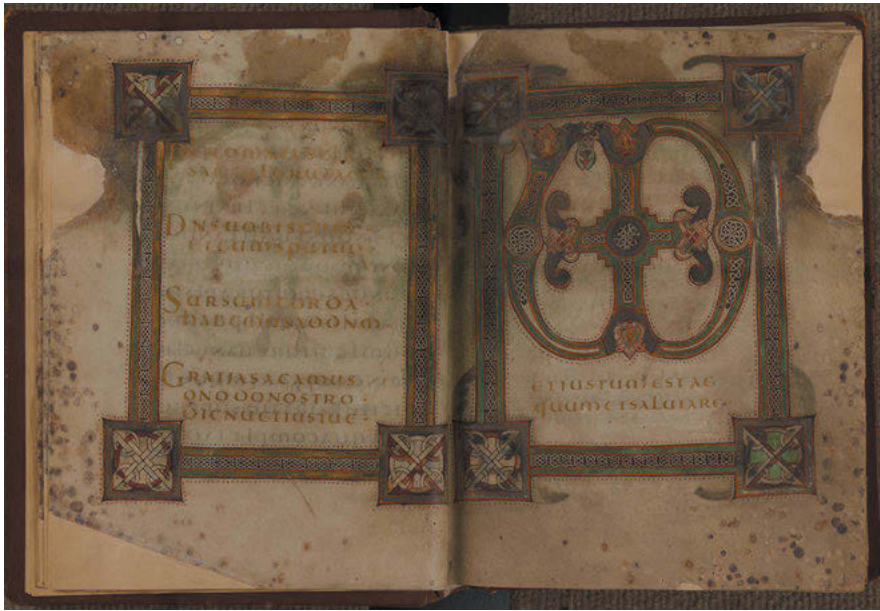


Figure 2.5: Ornamented pages of a sacramentary written at Saint-Amand in the third quarter of the ninth century. Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77 fol. 7v–8r. Credit: Médiathèques, Le Mans.

³²⁹ Koehler/Mütherich, DfS, p. 35; Henderson, *Franco-Saxon Illumination*, pp. 81–83 draws attention to “La-Tène style” shapes at the scroll of the beast’s bodies, pointing to insular precedents.

Birds, Beasts, Interlace, and “Spearhead Script”

According to Koehler and Mütterich, **Tournai** and **Chelles** perhaps belong to the same stage of development of the artistic motifs of the sacramentary.³³⁰ They suggest it is possible, however, that **Tournai** may precede **Chelles**, which has more “advanced” decoration. Perhaps more incidentally, these two sacramentaries are also the only ones which still have extant quire marks (for example, Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 50v: “VII”). In fact, the **Bobbio** fragment is likely to be of the same period. Koehler and Mütterich suggest the fragment presents the high point of the sequence of Franco-Saxon manuscripts, which was, implicitly, in their reckoning, among the last.³³¹ Crivello identified that the original manuscript pre-dated 877, the imperial coronation of Richildis in Tortona.

In their script, both complete manuscripts have absorbed and refined the conventions established in **Le Mans**. **Chelles** is consistent in using only uncial for the titles of masses, and rustic capitals for the titles of mass prayers. **Tournai** remains a little more inconsistent (for example, Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 29v, 88v–89r). For the stretch after Pentecost to Advent, this manuscript experiments with giving what appear to be more significant feasts titles in uncial, and less significant ones titles in rustic capitals (e.g. fol. 72v–73r where the Invention of the Cross and feast of John the Baptist are in uncial, while Alexander, Eventulus, and Theodulus are in rustic capitals). As in **Le Mans**, initials in both **Chelles** and **Tournai** are in alternating colours of red and green, the first initial of each mass being slightly larger. **Chelles** employs gold for this larger, first initial in every mass, giving it a significantly richer character. Individual initials in the canon and the ordination section of the **Bobbio** fragment are almost all in gold, meaning the body of the sacramentary was probably of comparable richness to **Chelles**. Instead of the half-uncial script found in **Le Mans**, rubrics in **Chelles** and **Tournai** are here now written entirely in rustic capitals that alternate between red and green (for example, New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 126r and Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 50v). One distinguishing feature of **Tournai** among the entire family of sacramentaries is found at the very beginning, on fol. 2v, where the manuscript has a grand title in alternating red and green capitalis quadrata for the calendar, attributing organisation of the apparatus to St. Jerome.³³²

³³⁰ Koehler/Mütterich, *DFS*, pp. 37–39.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³³² Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 3v: “INCIPIT ORDO SOLARIS ANNI CUM LITTERIS A SANCTO HIERONOMO . . .”; the title reappears in **Sens**, but in rustic capitals.

In general, the standard of writing in the complete books is more advanced, and the appearance of script significantly more uniform. However, it is particularly interesting to note that the conventions of the correcting scribe of **Le Mans**, used only by some scribes working on that book, are much more decisively present in the **Chelles** and **Tournai**. The **ra** ligature he used often appears in the two complete manuscripts especially on the forms of the verb “praestare,” also “nostras” or “nostram,” though not every scribe uses it, and it sometimes marks out distinctive hands.³³³ The ligature does not appear in **Bobbio**. The most striking and most thoroughly absorbed change, including in **Bobbio**, is that of the representation of the name of Jesus. In all three manuscripts the capital form is universally used: in **Chelles** (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 6r) we already see the capital form of eta on IHu (Iesu), thereafter, along with IHm, normal in the representation of the name of Jesus in the practice of all the scribes of this manuscript. In **Tournai**, the capital form of eta for Jesus has been thoroughly absorbed (for example, IHu at Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 19v, IHm 42r, also in the Canon, 16v), and even in the calendar (fol. 6r) and Creed (fol. 10v). Going even further, the use of a completely capital Greek form of the nominative with a Greek capital sigma IHC (a form never seen in **Le Mans**) appears in the two complete manuscripts. In **Chelles**, it appears on New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 35v, 36r, 37r, 43r, and 45v, employed only by the scribe who wrote the quires “e” and “f.” A scribe who takes over for the next quire (g) wrote IHS with the normal lower case Latin form of s, though notably still the capital form of eta, and this is continued for the remainder of the manuscript (for example, fol. 52v, 57r, 61v, 109r, 117r, etc.). In **Tournai**, IHC also appears once in the portion concerning Holy Week (Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 50v), but again not in other parts of the manuscript (for example, the preceding 49v and following 51v use IHS, see also fol. 126v “IHS

333 In **Tournai**, **ra** appears for the first time on fol. 28v on “praesta” and “sacramenta,” then used intermittently, until on 33v, where it is used on “nostrae,” “praesta,” “corporaliter,” and intermittently for example, fol. 58r, but then vanishes from the manuscript again until it makes a striking reappearance on the page immediately following the capitula list (fol. 145r: “mirabiliter,” “gratiam,” “praemia”), used at every opportunity, and thereafter through this supplementary portion, until fol. 187r (“abraham,” “gratiarum”), where the practice is again ended. In **Chelles**, it appears with more regularity: in the Canon of the Mass on fol. 6r on “supra” and fol. 6v on “praecceptis,” and thereafter throughout, for example, it appears twice in two lines on fol. 63v “praedixit” and “praecursoris.” However, here many scribes still do not use the **ra** ligature for example, it is not used at all after 98v until a change of hand occurs on fol. 132r, and then suddenly several times on the next few folios appears on “praetende” (fol. 132v), “praecceptis” and “adpraehendi” (fol. 133v) and then ends.

xps”).³³⁴ In **Bobbio**, in every case, the forms iHu (Vienna, ÖNB, cod. lat. 958, fol. 6v) or iHm (fol. 2v) are employed, but no nominative form appears.

In terms of their decoration, the three manuscripts include more elaboration and variety in each individual element of the decoration. **Tournai** still has only six bordered and decorated pages, however the **Bobbio** fragment and **Chelles** have advanced to eight, with four facing and interacting pairs of folios. Here, the title and *Ordo Missae* are also framed, and their texts written in gold uncial. This allows four types of distinct border medallions.

The next most obvious and consequential changes in these three manuscripts compared to **Le Mans** is the form of the first initial, for the VERE DIGNUM, where the V takes a new form, now a capital straight V, with the words ERE in gold embellished “spearhead” script, written vertically within the belly of the letter. The so-called “spearhead” script is where the terminus of many individual letters end in arrow shapes, the individual forms are drawn from insular display scripts. As noted by Henderson’s thesis, the “spearhead” script in the Franco-Saxon sacramentaries and Gospel Books remain perfectly balanced and harmonious, without taking on efflorescent experimentation with letter forms of the insular tradition.³³⁵ In **Bobbio**, the “spearhead” script is written on a red hatching background (see Figure 2.6). The new form of the VERE DIGNUM initial seems to be an invention of artists in Northern French sacramentaries of this time, a consequential artistic innovation in contrast to the previously dominant monogram form. In **Tournai** and **Bobbio**, the lower stems of the V initial thin to a simple gold strip, giving them a somewhat top-heavy appearance, while in **Chelles**, it is drawn with the more balanced “chalice shape” so admired by Bober.³³⁶

The second initial, the TE, in **Bobbio** employs the same form of the letter as in **Le Mans**, with hounds facing downwards from the horizontal shaft, but with significantly more brilliant colouring and elaboration of the volutes (on the front cover of this book). **Tournai** and **Chelles** (see Figure 2) employ a new form in which the horizontal bar of the letter takes the form of two birds’ heads facing away from each other. In **Chelles**, the birds bite the borders of the page. The animals on the terminus of the E become more dynamic and interactive too. In **Tournai**, the middle two are now eagles, and the hounds on the upper and lower part open their mouths around the beaks of the birds. In both **Chelles** and the frag-

³³⁴ A later corrector of **Tournai** (Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 25v–26r, 207r–v) uses IHC XPC.

³³⁵ Henderson, *Franco-Saxon Illumination*, pp. 85–86; for insular examples see John Higgitt, “The Display Script of the Book of Kells and the Tradition of Insular Decorative Capitals,” in *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin, 6–9 September 1992*, ed. Felicity O’Mahony (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), pp. 209–233.

³³⁶ Bober, *The Sacramentary of Queen Hermentrude*, p. 6.



Figure 2.6: Ornamented page with initial V in a sacramentary made at Saint-Amand in the 870s. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. lat. 958, fol. 4r.

ment from **Bobbio**, these animals are all ducks who bite each other's beaks. Points in red outline the initials in the **Chelles**, but become much more their own decorative feature in **Bobbio**. Here, they are used with green dots that form floral shapes around the TE, or a crossing grid around the U.

Chelles has a third initial, unique to it, the DS initial opening the first prayer of the Christmas Vigil (on fol. 9v – see Figure 2.7), followed by the first line of this Collect in gold uncial. This is larger than the equivalent in the Colbertine fragments, taking up more than half the page. It is drawn purely in gold, but offers compartments, lobes, and a medallion with a floral pattern at the middle of the

bow of the D. Within, the S initial is in “spearhead” script, but here in silver, and with yellow dots at the points, a form used in the Second Bible of Charles the Bald, but rare otherwise. This remarkable singularity of this feature of **Chelles** does suggest a special pre-eminence of the manuscript, perhaps a particularly august patron or intended recipient.

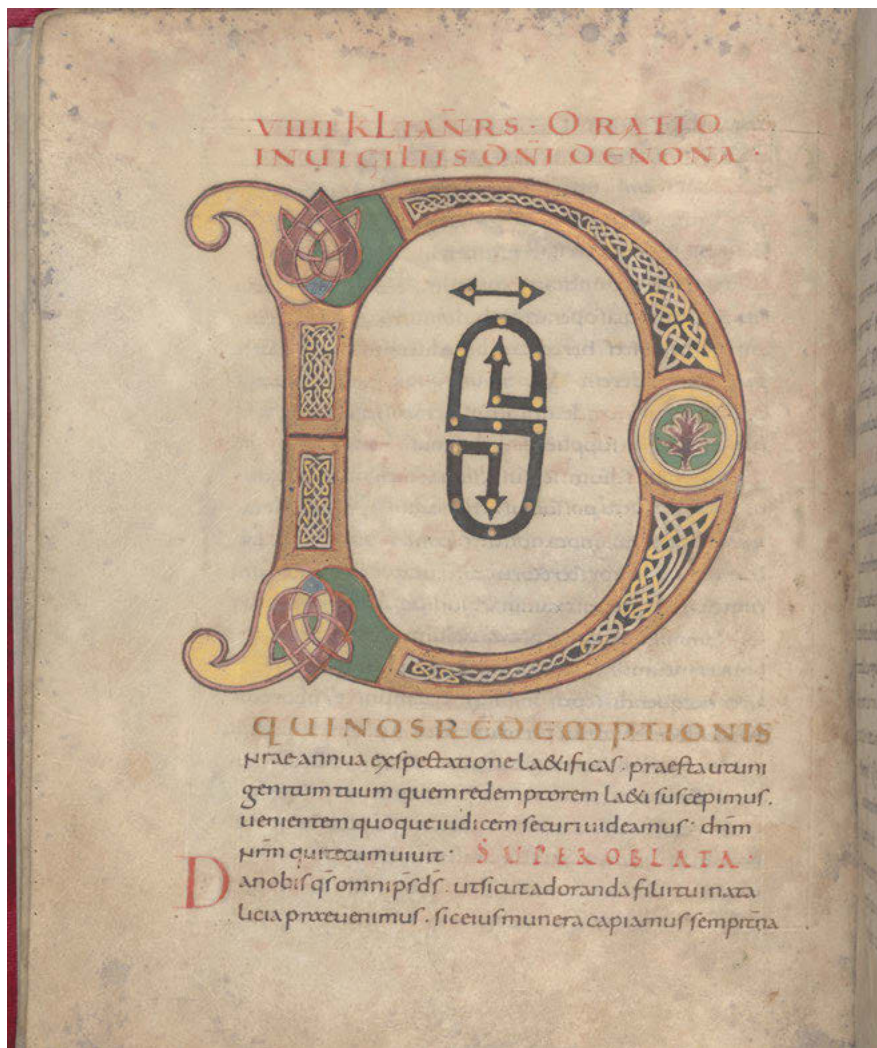


Figure 2.7: Opening of the mass sets of a sacramentary made at Saint-Amand in the 870s, with ornamented initial DEUS. New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 9v. Photographic credit: The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

The forms within the border medallions also tend to become more elaborate in these three manuscripts, using a vocabulary of leaf shapes, and geometric forms. In **Tournai**, we see the first employment of a distinctive “mirroring” effect. The same shaped compartments have different interior decoration than the one facing them horizontally on the same folio, but “mirror” the one opposite them diagonally across the folio, the identical pairs being then the top right and bottom left and bottom right and top left. The same pairs recur on the facing page, in the same configuration. This technique is also employed in **Chelles**, and in a single pair of frames in **Bobbio** (Vienna, ÖNB, cod. lat. 958, fol. 4v–5r). Another form of vivid contrast, between silver and gold also begins to be more intensely deployed in frames in **Tournai**. Here, and in the **Bobbio** fragment, the border medallions have silver borders, while the frames themselves are in gold (or in **Tournai**, the middle compartments breaking up the frames are also in silver). This contrast is even more dynamic in **Chelles**, where the silver medallions “mirror” a silver one diagonally across from them, and the gold ones “mirror” one on the other side diagonally (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 1v–2r, also 4v and 5r with the long-necked creatures – see Figures 2 and 2.8).

These manuscripts also see the breaking of some of the borders into distinctive compartments, as in Vienna, ÖNB Latin 958, fol. 3v–4r. All the borders in **Tournai** are broken (three along each horizontal, two on the vertical), and, here, a different interlace pattern is employed in different compartments, the middle ones are framed in silver, and the rest in gold. **Chelles** breaks three of the pairs of borders with another, additional medallion in the middle of them. This takes the forms of volutes (1v), silver squares (2v), or circles, with a different motifs in each facing pair (3v), with floral patterns inside them. A different interlace pattern is displayed across “mirroring” pairs of compartments diagonally across the page, further drawing the eye dynamically over the page.

Gold and Lapis Blue

Koehler and Mütterich placed the **Saint-Denis** book’s decoration with that of **Bobbio** and **Sens**.³³⁷ However palaeographically, it must be said it is closer to **Chelles** and **Bobbio** than it is to **Sens**. A clue for the dating is the addition in the margin to the *Te Igitur* of an intercession for kings “et regibus nostris” by a not much later hand.³³⁸ Given the plural, this addition can be dated to the years in

³³⁷ Koehler/Mütterich, DfS, pp. 38–39.

³³⁸ None of our manuscripts in the original text contains the intercession for the king in the *Te Igitur* “et rege nostro,” which begins to appear in manuscripts from the Court School of Charles the Bald or closely linked to him, for example, in the main text of the Coronation Sacramentary (Paris,

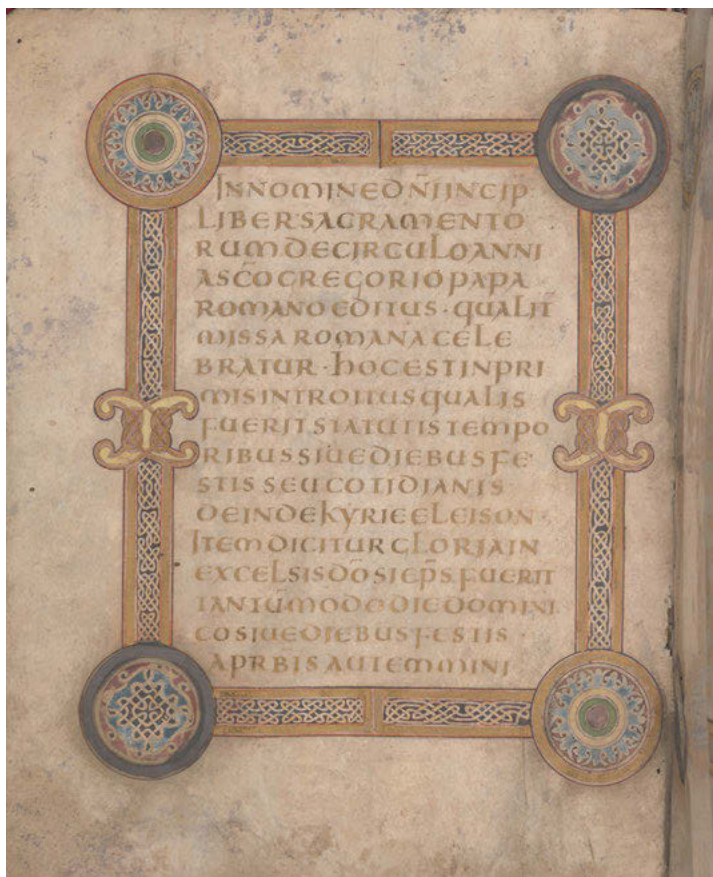


Figure 2.8: Framed page with the title and opening of the *Ordo Missae* in uncial script in a sacramentary made at Saint-Amand in the 870s. New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 1v. Photographic credit: The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

BnF, lat. 1141). Paweł Figurski has made this point to me, and suggests it further complicates De-shusses's idea that Charles himself was responsible for the books made at Saint-Amand. If he had been, we would expect to see the "et rege nostro" in the original text; see Paweł Figurski, "Liturgy, Iconography and Sacramental Kingship in the Ottonian and Salian Monastery of St. Emmeram. Case studies of the (*Politica*) *Theologica Prima*," in *St. Emmeram. Liturgie und Musik vom Mittelalter bis zur Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Harald Buchinger, David Hiley and Katelijne Schiltz (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2023), pp. 69–104, at 77–79. A more detailed treatment is forthcoming in Paweł Figurski, "Carolingian Liturgical Innovation and its Perplexing Reception in the Ottonian Empire: A Theological-Political Study of the Invocations of Kings in the Early Medieval Eucharist (Canon Missae), c. 860s–c. 1020s," (forthcoming).

which West Francia was divided between the two kings, Louis III and Carloman II, thus the 10th April 879 to 5th August 882.³³⁹ This was a division Gauzlin supported, and offers the *terminus ante quem* for this manuscript in 882.³⁴⁰ In **Saint-Denis**, all of the individual initials are written in gold, both the large ones for the first prayer of the mass and the small ones for each subsequent prayer. This lends it, in some respects, an even richer appearance than **Chelles**, where only the first larger initial was in gold. As seems to have become established practice with **Chelles**, uncial is used for the titles of masses, and rustic capitals for the individual prayer titles, without any deviations from this system. Gold rustic capitals are also used for the opening of the preface in one framed page (Paris, BnF, Latin 2290, fol. 19v), unlike all other manuscripts, in which uncial is used. The blessing of the font on Holy Saturday contains a diagram (fol. 54r) in gold, to represent how one should blow into the water. Other sacramentaries of Saint-Denis have the diagram for the font (for example, Laon, Bibliothèque Suzanne Martinet Ms. 118, fol. 151r), but it does not appear in the earlier sacramentaries of Saint-Amand (like **Chelles** or **Tournai**), only in those I would suggest were written after **Saint-Denis** (**Sens** and **Saint-Germain**). Alternating green and red for the rustic capitals is used once (Paris, BnF, lat.2290, fol. 54r), but is not so common in this book, which mostly copies rubrics purely in red. On some occasions alternating red and brown rustic capitals are employed (fol. 160r). The capital use of iHm (fol. 35r), iHu (fol. 23v) is universal in this book, while iHs without the sigma is exclusively used for the nominative form (fol. 44r–v). The **ra** ligature is almost completely avoided, other ligatures are rare. Therefore, in some ways, the script here is even more uniform than **Chelles** and a single scribe could be responsible for, perhaps a master scribe from Saint-Amand sent on secondment to Saint-Denis.

Saint-Denis also has eight decorative folios. These were added on a separate quire, a single binion with added individual folio (fol. 17–21), upon which the Canon of the Mass was copied, while the rest of the manuscript is generally quaternions. However, the medallions at the corners and middles of the borders are an entirely new set of motifs. In the first pair of facing pages (Paris, BnF, Latin 2290, fol. 17v–18r), knots break the borders in the middle, with a background in blue. In the second pair (fol. 18v–19r), the squares in the corners are a unique motif with floral centres in each corner, and knotting forming a cross-shape in the middle. These borders are simply broken into rectangular compartments,

³³⁹ Andrea Decker-Hauer, *Studien zur Memorialüberlieferung im frühmittelalterlichen Paris* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998), p. 197.

³⁴⁰ Werner, “Gauzlin von St-Denis.”

with different patterns of interlace in each one, and the third pair (fol. 19v–20r), has diagonal breaks. The manuscript noticeably does not use silver at all, in common with **Sens**. The “mirroring” effect is only very subtly employed in the first pair of corner compartments (fol. 17v–18r), where the same floral shape is blue in one diagonally facing pair of medallions and a deeper cyan green colour in the other. This book does not use the characteristic biting creatures winding around the corners (used in **Le Mans**, **Tournai**, **Bobbio**, and **Chelles**). Among the extraordinary variety of interlace forms in the borders, one, in the upper right of fol. 18r, has yellow or purple squares set in the midst of the interlace, like the false gems in the borders of other deluxe Carolingian manuscripts.

The VERE initial (Figure 1) has straight diagonals emerging from the vertical lines to meet at the end of the V. Two animals face each other across the V but do not interact with each other. Additional creatures appear at the base, also with closed mouths. They have kinds of halos, backgrounded in green. There are additional lobes in the letter in beautiful bright blue, drawn where the lines making up the V change from vertical to horizontal. For the TE (see Figure 2.9) **Saint-Denis** follows the shape of **Le Mans** and **Bobbio**, rather than **Chelles** or **Tournai**, but the forms of the animals in the E itself are like that of **Tournai** (alternating eagles in the middle with hounds at the top and bottom, biting the eagles’ beaks). Like **Bobbio**, **Saint-Denis** deployed green and red dots to create a surrounding grid pattern within the frame. The purple applied to a pair of pages with the TE initial and the facing one (Paris, BnF, lat. 2290, fol. 19v–20r) were likely to have been applied after the initials were finished, since it covers some of these dots. **Saint-Denis** remains therefore more difficult to place, as is also the case with its liturgical content. Palaeography might suggest it was among the three books treated above, but in decoration it incorporates both early and later motifs. Possibly we have here different artists working with similar motifs, or inspiring one another. Most extraordinarily, it has been established by scientific investigation that the deeper blue pigment used in decorating **Saint-Denis** is, in fact, lapis lazuli from Afghanistan, underlining the incredible resources poured into this manuscript.³⁴¹

³⁴¹ Myriam Éveno, “Étude des enluminures d’un manuscrit de Saint-Amand du IX^e siècle par PIXE, spectrophotocolorimétrie et diffraction de rayons X,” published online, 2015 (<https://irht.hypotheses.org/469>).



Figure 2.9: Ornamented page with initial TE in a sacramentary made at Saint-Amand for Saint-Denis, late ninth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2290, fol. 20r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

A Book without Ornament

Saint-Germain was most likely copied at some point just before or around the stay of the monks of Saint-Amand at the monastery of Saint-Germain, which begun likely 883. The lack of decoration speaks for this possibility, since it would be less likely that the resources and expertise for the Franco-Saxon artistry were available in an unsettled situation. The title and *ordo missae* are simply written

in brown uncial, with two monumental capitals (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 20v) outlined in red and undecorated for the preface “VERE dignum” and the opening of the Canon, “TE IGITUR.” The first two lines of these prayers, directly next to the initial, are also in uncial. Interestingly, uncial is no longer employed for the titles of masses, but only rustic capitals in red, something that potentially speaks to a shift in a once established tradition at Saint-Amand, in comparison to the grander books, **Saint-Denis** and **Chelles** foremost, in which a distinction between uncial for mass titles, and rustic capitals for individual prayer titles distinction is faithfully maintained, and a complete break with the previous fashion of the Colbertine fragments, that had used only uncial. In the attached Gradual, the initials are washed in green or yellow. A diagram in red appears for the blowing into the font (fol. 61r), in a simpler shape than the gold **Saint-Denis** form.

The **ra** ligature with two-c **a** appears here throughout with regularity, including in the Canon (fol. 23v “praemiorum,” 24r “praestare,” “celebramus,” 25v “uestras,” 34r “praedicationis,” and “praestent” etc.). Through most of the manuscript (fol. 29r, 52r, 60r, 117v etc.) the name of Jesus is written out iHs, without a capital sigma. However, the lower-case form does recur at the end of the manuscript (fol. 170r), and particularly in the lections on fol. 177v–188v, whose scribe uses the **ra** ligature consistently but also deployed the older practice with the lower case **h** (eta), ihu, or ihm universally during the Gospel narratives. By fol. 191r, and the return of the mass prayers for the final supplementary section, iHU appears again, however. We are here confronted with the possibility that the capital eta form was used particularly for some kinds of texts, or the possibility is that this scribe neglected to adjust an older exemplar of the lectionary with the lower-case form.

More abbreviations are more commonly used in **Saint-Germain** than in the **Chelles** or **Saint-Denis**, such as the **tur** abbreviation (fol. 191v “defertur”) or the **us** abbreviation (fol. 115r “exoluimus” and “pernatus”). Others are employed in cases of the lack of space (for example, “fulciamus” on fol. 34v) or “exequamur” on fol. 36r, or “igitur” (fol. 52v). The **orum** abbreviation appears here in the main text, unlike in the earlier books (fol. 34v “monachorum”, 193r “famulorum”), where it was only seen in the calendar. Notable as well is the introduction of a question mark (punctus interrogativus) to the baptismal interrogations on fol. 60r (Figure 2.10) and 61v. In **Tournai** and **Le Mans**, a simple punctus serves here. This appears in a form that is entirely characteristic for Saint-Amand’s manuscripts of the later ninth century.³⁴²

342 Jean Vezin, “Le point d’interrogation, un élément de datation et de localisation des manuscrits. L’exemple de Saint-Denis au IX^e siècle,” *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), p. 182.

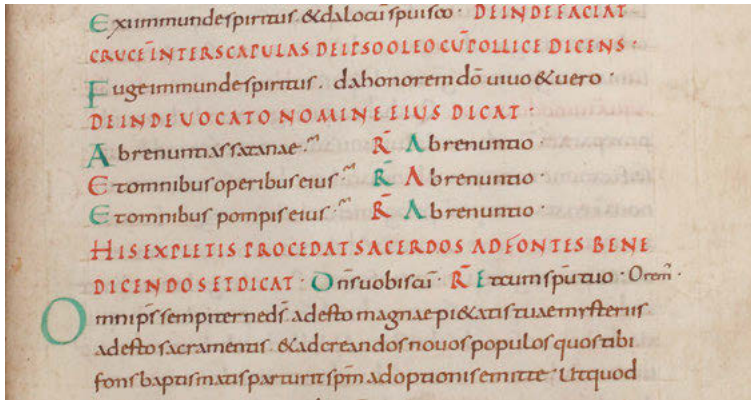


Figure 2.10: Baptismal interrogations in a sacramentary written by Saint-Amand scribes, 880s. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2291, fol. 60r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

In the copying of the litany, a less formal script is used, with forms from half-uncial, including the uncial **d** commonly, and, once again, the unusual **et** ligature without the upper compartment which we saw in the rubrics in **Le Mans**. This is also used in the added rubrics on Good Friday on fol. 53v, written out in red and green, and also in the Gradual (fol. 12r on “decoret”), which suggests it is a trait of a grade of script less formal than the main script, with an auxiliary function. Baptismal rubrics are, instead, only in rustic capitals, alternating red and green as usual (fol. 61v).

Empty Arcades: The Unfinished Fragment for Noyon

The decoration and writing of the canon of the mass in the **Noyon** fragment was plainly interrupted, and is left unfinished. Two folios (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, 9v and 10r) have decorative arcades, but there is nothing written or depicted within them. The writing begins on fol. 10v in silver uncial on purple. This was probably added during the enhancements of the manuscript, away from Saint-Amand, since the scribes and artists of our sacramentaries do not use silver for script. This text ends abruptly on fol. 11r, without even completing the *Ordo Missae*. Another blank page follows (fol. 11v) with the frame and purple space ready for writing, but nothing added. The words of the Canon begin in golden uncial with the *Te Igitur* initial (fol. 12v), again on purple. This portion, with the usual practice of gold uncial, is more likely to have been written at Saint-Amand.

This section ends halfway down the page on fol. 14r, before being continued with the minuscule as normal on fol. 14v. We have some insight into the processes of the writing, indicating that the writing of the minuscule occurred before the decoration, and the writing of uncial script in gold was probably the final stage of the compilation, and took place after the borders were added. The **ra** ligature appears in the canon several times here in fol. 15v “*praeclarae*” and 16r “*praecesserit*” and “*praestas*,” and the capital forms of **iHm** and **iHu** are also employed, again and consistently.

As noted, **Noyon** contains the most ornamented pages of all, numbering ten including the two empty arcades. It was also physically the largest of all the books, at 340 x 260mm, almost 5 centimetres wider than the next largest, **Sens** (290 x 215mm). The arcades have interlace compartments, knotted breaks (like **Saint-Denis**), floral leafs coming from the capitals, and the capitals themselves being floral, and employ silver and gold in contrast. The usual eight pages of framed decorated folios follow but the compartments and initials are thinner, to the point of being somewhat compressed. **Noyon** uses the contrast of gold and silver most intensely of all the books, since it employs gold and silver not only alternately for the frames, but also in opposition across the borders, so that gold on the left faces silver the right, and vice versa, and the silver and gold are employed likewise between upper and lower compartments and diagonally facing medallions. In the last pair, fol. 13v–14r, the inner border is silver and the outer gold. It has the creatures wound around the frames (13v–14r). One pair of frames (12v–13r) has unique “breaks” in the borders in the same pair that are diagonal, like a crack across the border, with a space in the middle that is coloured yellow. **Noyon** uses the “dotting” to simply outline the initials, but not borders as well, as **Bobbio** had previously done.

Here, the chalice of the V form is narrow and straight, like **Saint-Denis**, with which **Noyon** also shares the additional pair of creatures at the base, though this time they have their tongues out, and winged shapes above and below them, while the “spearhead” ERE is written on red hatching, as in **Bobbio** (see Figure 2.11). On fol. 12r a note remains above the initial with the word “*VERE*” in capitals, perhaps showing that the border had already been completed and this note was left for another artist afterwards to add the initial, but it was never erased. This book has the form of TE in common with **Tournai** and **Chelles**, however, the birds at the horizontal stroke have handsome crests, and bite into the borders, as they did in **Chelles**. On the E, the animals have switched places compared to the previous books and the eagles on either side have the tongues of the dogs in the middle caught in their beaks.

What was originally intended for the **Noyon** fragment’s two extra, empty arcades seems not to have been explicitly considered by Koehler and Mütterich, or elsewhere. Pairs of arcades are, in a number of the Saint-Amand Gospel Books, as we will see, the setting for the portraits of the Evangelist and a facing initial at

the opening of each Gospel. In the latest of these, Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, cod. 14, the Gospel Book opens with the portrait of St Jerome as translator of the Gospel, expanding the range of portraits to figures beyond the usual Evangelists. Thus, I would suggest that one of the last sacramentaries undertaken at Saint-Amand, the original book intended for **Noyon**, was intended to have contained a portrait of Gregory the Great, represented as author of the sacramentary, facing the initial IN in the INCIPIT of the sacramentary, under a pair of arcades.³⁴³ This would have introduced a figural element to the sacramentary for the first time at Saint-Amand. The artist intended for the figures was never available to complete them, however, as we see in other cases (for example, the Gospel Book of Jouarre, see below). Both cases show that the figural artists, who added Evangelist portraits to Gospel Books, were themselves a third group, disconnected from the artists of the “Hauptgruppe” and the scribes of Saint-Amand. The Canon quire, **Noyon**, was thus left unfinished. With Gauzlin as the most likely patron behind these books, his death in 886, or his besiegement in Paris in 885, might explain this fact.

Developing Difficulties in the Scriptorium

Koehler and Mütterich place the decoration of **Sens** with **Bobbio** (and the Second Bible of Charles the Bald) as a high point in the development of the “Hauptgruppe” that is, in the early 870s. However, there are significant reasons to dispute this association, and, rather, to place **Sens** at the end of the sequence, based on new examination of the palaeography. Delisle surmised it came to Sens under Archbishop Walter I, around 895.³⁴⁴ As Walter’s ordination is noted below the computus material, that seems a most obvious *terminus ante quem*. One tempting possibility is that it was made for Gauzlin, for his accession to the bishopric of Paris in 884, and was inherited by Walter of Sens, who was Chancellor for King Odo, as Gauzlin had been previously for Charles the Fat. **Sens** is quite profuse in use of the contrast of green and red ink, including in the calendar, litany, and the computus material. Rustic capitals are used

343 The Sacramentary of Marmoutier has a portrait of Gregory at the opening in which he is seated writing (Autun. BM, Ms. 19 bis, fol. 5r). In the lost Godelgaudus Sacramentary (see below p. 174, n.452 an Italian copy of Gregory’s works in Vercelli Biblioteca Capitolare, cod. XLVIII, and a surviving fragment which was also from a sacramentary (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. Bibl. 21, fol. 3r), Gregory stood under an arcade. The images of the Stuttgart fragment and Vercelli manuscript are in Willibrord Neumüller and Kurt Holter, *Der Codex Millenarius* (Linz: Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv Böhlau, 1959), Pl. 48 and 49.

344 Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 113–15.

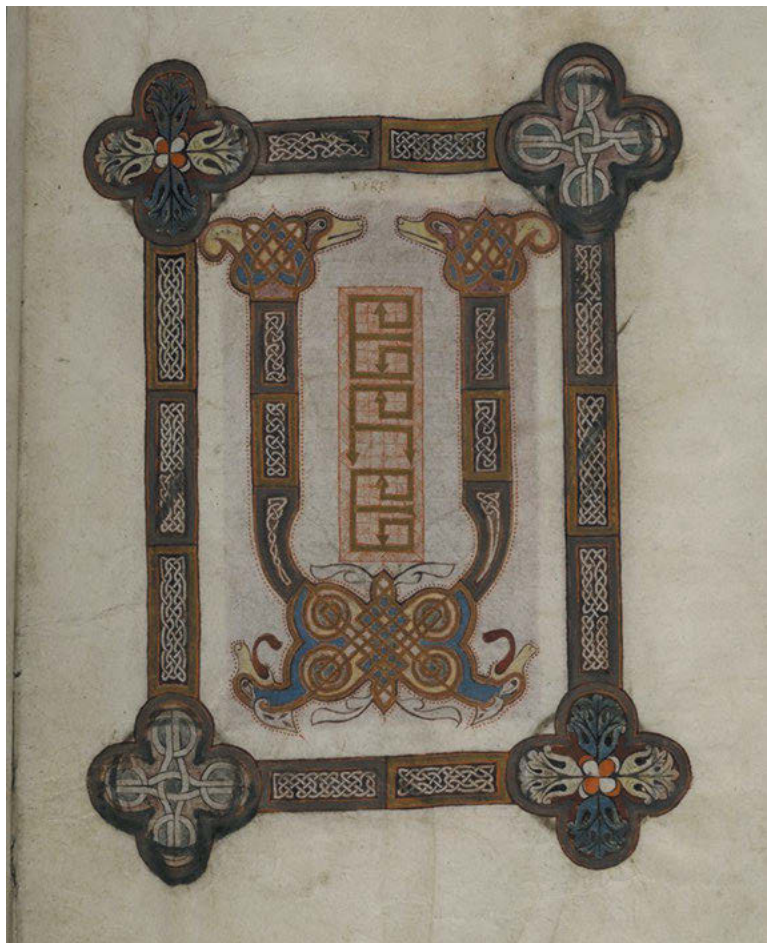


Figure 2.11: Ornamented page with initial V in a fragment of an unfinished sacramentary written by Saint-Amand scribes for Noyon, 880s. Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 12r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Carnegie de Reims.

for the title of the calendar, alternating red and green, as well as the *apologiae* and the litany. Most of the initials through **Sens** alternate red and green, except that large initials for more important feasts are in gold, outlined in red (for example, the Epiphany on fol. 36r). In the framed pages at the opening of the manuscript, the writing of one folio switches to minuscule during the preface (fol. 27v), after the first three in uncial, as at **Saint-Denis** which had the same portion in rustic capitals, though it is still written in gold. The practice of rubrication lacks consistency. Mostly using red rustic capitals in the baptismal rites, it employs red minuscule for Good

Friday (fol. 59r), or, at the end, returns to the practice of alternating red and green rustic capitals for rites around the sick (fol. 197r, 201v), or in one case alternating red rustic capitals and green minuscule (203r). The Capitula again received the capitals title on fol. 159r. A simple diagram for the blowing into the baptismal font appears on 66v, more like that in **Saint-Germain** book than the gold one in **Saint-Denis**. The Saint-Amand question mark is again deployed for baptismal interrogations (fol. 65v).

For the first section of **Sens**, during the distinct and separate Temporalis (moveable feasts from Christmas to end of Advent), the distinction between uncial for main titles, and rustic capitals for individual mass prayers is maintained. However, the rubricator sometimes found there was not enough space to add the full name and dating of a feast in the large, generous uncial, and in certain feasts he was forced to switch to the more economic rustic capitals at the end (fol. 39r ANASTASIAM, fol. 37r IDUS is in uncial, then IANUARIII OCTAUA EPYPHANIAE in rustic capitals, fol. 39v IN SEPTUAGESIMA AD in uncial, SANCTUM LAURENTIUM in rustic capitals, fol. 95v the title FERIA VI is entirely in rustic capitals because so little space was left). These problems intensify in the following sections of the book, including the section with the Sanctorale. Here, the rubricator holds initially to the established discipline, but begins to run into more and more problems fitting the uncial titles into the space left for him by the minuscule, much more poorly planned than previously. Often rustic capitals had to be employed for part of the dating at the beginning (fol. 111v, 112r, 134v), or for the end of the title (fol. 117r, 119r, 124v, 132, 142r). If it still did not fit, or for longer mass titles, rustic capitals were used for the entire title (fol. 110v, 114r, 123v, 147r). The use of rustic capitals here has no obvious relation to the importance of the feast (for example, the feast of Peter and Paul is in rustic capitals in fol. 128r). In the final section, however, rustic capitals are however used more and more for the titles exclusively, in the common and votive masses. We also encounter a curious feature where the first M of MISSA in some titles is the rounded uncial M (fol. 185r, 216v, 217v), rather than the rustic capital one. This is a feature shared with the Saint-Amand fragment in **San Marino**, which can also be placed late, see Figure 5, as well as several later Gospel Books of Saint-Amand.³⁴⁵ The impression this gives of significantly less careful planning than in the previous books is further strengthened by the writing of the ini-

345 In **San Marino**, the titles of individual masses are in rustic capitals, as well as the titles of individual prayers, indicating the same breakdown of the stricter distinction between script types that set in with the **Saint-Germain** and **Sens**. Usually the first M in MISSA has the uncial rounded form. The form IHM is present in the fragments (fol. 2v, last line), but the **ra** ligature is not used. The **rt** ligature is used twice on “virtutem” and “martyrum” (fol. 1r), and both **mur** (“deprecamur”) and **tur** (“feruntur,” “operatur”) abbreviations are freely used. This places these fragments relatively late in the sequence.

tials. We see repeatedly in this book that larger initials for the first mass prayer clash in space with the smaller ones, the small ones being either squashed into a tiny place (fol. 38r, 128v), or overlap the form of the larger initial (fol. 37v), or even placed to the left of it (fol. 129r), something that was never necessary in any of the earlier sacramentaries.

For the calendar, a less formal script is used, using the uncial **d** and the lower-case eta for the name of Jesus (for example, fol. 4r, 10v). In the litany, however, and *missa graeca* portions, the script becomes more formal, and IHU can be seen on fol. 16r and 23v. One scribe at the beginning wavers and reverts to the older practice of Ihu on fol. 18r, another copies ihs during a reading on fol. 206r. In the canon the usual forms of IHu and IHm are used, and, thereafter, in the main portion of the work, IHs appears normally (fol. 37r, 58r). Towards the end of **Sens**, a scribe takes over who uses both the IHC form and the **ra** ligature before the next page uses the lower-case (for example, on fol. 206r, see Figure 2.12). This scribe could be identified with one of the scribes of the earlier sacramentaries (**Chelles** or **Tournai**), where this distinctive feature also appeared.

We even see on fol. 216r a unique use of the form IHC XPC, with a sigma provided for both nominative forms. The **ra** abbreviation is used by some of the scribes (fol. 47v, 51v, 65r, 77r), but not, for example, in the Canon of the Mass. Some scribes have also reverted to commonly employing ligatures across two words; for example, on fol. 84r “ecclesiae tuae” and “gratiae tuae” (also with **ra** ligature) or 109r with “martyre tuo”, something that was successfully avoided in, for example, **Saint-Denis**.

Like **Saint-Denis**, **Sens** only uses gold in the decoration, and avoids silver (in contrast to the similarly late **Noyon**). The interlace that fills the borders has many varied forms (for example, Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 26r – see Figure 2.13). **Sens** also has individual compartments in the borders, and these middle medallions are even more elaborate and, in one pair, incorporate animal faces as well (fol. 27v–28r). In **Sens**, the animal faces in these middle medallions also “bite” the top and bottom of the initial TE, anchoring the letter within the borders, as if it hangs suspended (see Figure 2.14). The forms of the initials V and TE, are, however, quite basic and comparatively simple. These return, without the extra flourishes of **Noyon**, to the same forms of **Tournai** (V) or the **Le Mans** or **Bobbio** ones (TE).

In **Sens**, the comparative simplicity of the initials parallels the basic form of text of the Canon of the Mass in the same quire. As we will see (pp. 236–237), the main text of **Sens** was copied directly from **Saint-Germain**, yet the Canon of the Mass text itself is distinct, being a basic recension like **Le Mans**, rather than like any of the later sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, or like many other Carolingian

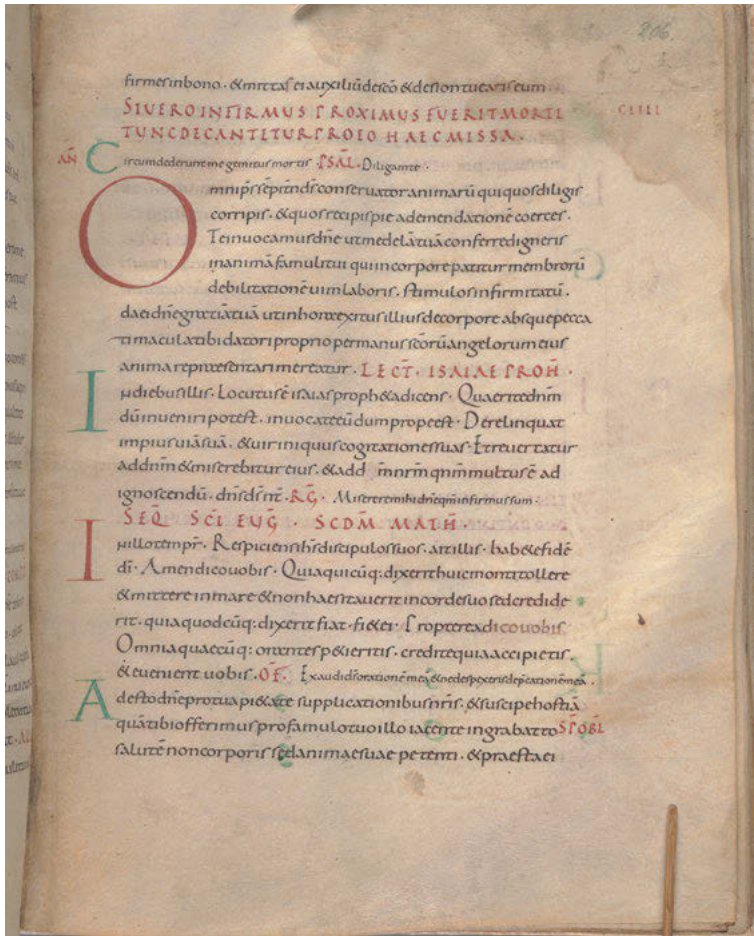


Figure 2.12: Chants and readings in the masses for the sick in a sacramentary written by Saint-Amand scribes, 880s. Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 206r. License under: Public Domain.

copies of the Gregorian, which enhanced the text in various ways.³⁴⁶ It seems, indeed, that the Canon quire with its decoration was completed elsewhere, or in a

346 Saint-Germain adds to the *Te Igitur* intercessions for our bishop “antestiste nostro ill.” present in **Chelles**, **Tournai** and **Noyon**, and also all clergy, “omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicae et apostolicae fidei cultoribus,” present in **Tournai**, **Saint-Denis** and **Noyons**. Neither of these interpolations are found in the **Sens** Canon, which, like **Le Mans** or the original *Hadrianum* text, only names the Pope (see De 5), who is also simply “papa nostro” without the addition of “sedis apostolicae,” added by **Chelles**, **Saint-Germain** and **Noyon**. Nor did **Sens** originally have the *Me-*

separate campaign to the main sacramentary, as the collation of this part of the manuscript indicates. The Canon with ornamentation is found on a quinion with a blank page first (fol. 25r–29v), and the final portion with the *Libera nos* even had to be added on an extra single leaf (fol. 30r–v), with another individual blank leaf following it (both now covered with later additions), before the main sacramentary, written exclusively on quaternions, begins (fol. 32r). **Saint-Denis** also has the Canon on a single binion with added leaf. The process of a possible separate production of the Canon in these two cases is implied by the similarly late **Noyon**, which originally lacked its corresponding sacramentary text entirely. In these cases, it may be that the artists were no longer working in the same place in close collaboration with Saint-Amand scribes as during the production of the previous sacramentaries and gospel books. **Noyon** may represent the last attenuation of the productive relationship between the *scriptorium* of Saint-Amand and an artistic atelier (the “Hauptgruppe”) before contact was lost, possibly at the death of Gauzlin in 886. The artists themselves may have continued to work elsewhere, or inspired others in other centres. It seems, for example, that some fled east, probably in search of other patrons.³⁴⁷ It is tempting to speculate further that, as the text of the canon of **Sens** is so basic compared even to **Tournai** or **Chelles**, if the independent quire with this canon was, in fact, completed some years earlier, perhaps contemporary to **Saint-Denis** or **Tournai**, and was then re-used for a later complete sacramentary, like **Noyon** was. This would certainly round off the chronology neatly, bringing both **Saint-Germain** and **Sens** together as the final books, at time at which decoration on demand was no longer readily available and the monks had to make do without it, or had to use older pieces. This would place both of these manuscripts readily in the 880s when the Vikings certainly disrupted networks and had perhaps sent the “Hauptgruppe” artists fleeing into East Francia, where patronage might have been more readily found.

mento for the Dead (De 13bis), which **Saint-Germain**, **Noyon**, **Saint-Denis** and **Tournai** all possess. This had to be added to the margin (fol. 29v), presumably in **Sens**.

³⁴⁷ London, British Library, Egerton MS 768 was written at Corvey (Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol.II, p. 110), uses silver and gold in contrast, has accomplished capitalis script and creatures biting the borders. Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Qu. Cod. 83, may also be associated with artists in the East. Like the Egerton manuscript, the art is here more heavy, the gold and silver more thickly drawn. The scribes of the latter also imitated Saint-Amand models closely, but Bischoff, as below (n.379), did not readily identify them with Saint-Amand, and some differences are evident.

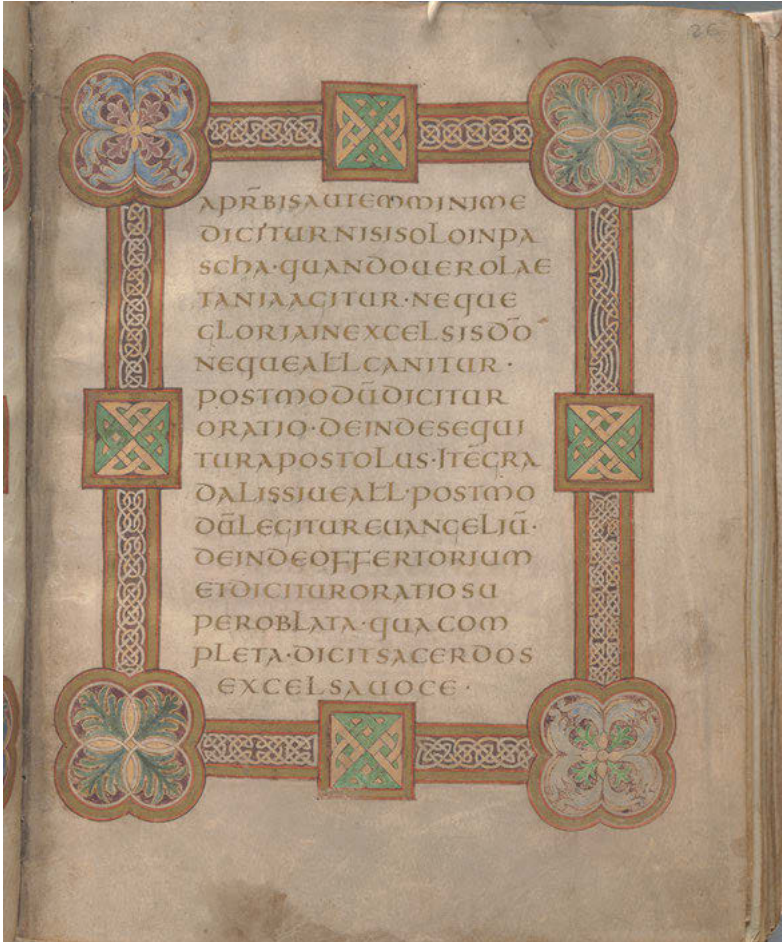


Figure 2.13: Framed page with part of the *ordo missae* in a sacramentary written by Saint-Amand scribes, 880s. Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 26r. License under: Public Domain.

Provisional Conclusions

Palaeographical differences between our manuscripts, and others in the same productive phase of Saint-Amand, provide some critical clues to their dating. One observable change was found in the graphic form of the name of Jesus.³⁴⁸ The

³⁴⁸ See Ludwig Traube, *Nomina sacra: Versuche einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung*, (Munich: Beck, 1907), pp. 149–64.



Figure 2.14: Ornamented page with initial TE in a sacramentary written by Saint-Amand scribes, 880s. Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 28r. License under: Public Domain.

earlier form employed the lower-case eta, but the change occurred at a certain point to writing the name of Jesus with a capital eta (IHs/IHm/IHu). This practice was not used in the Colbertine fragments (neither the later Hand A nor the earlier Hand B), then appeared, first of all, gradually in **Le Mans**, and then was universally used through **Tournai**, **Chelles**, and **Saint-Denis** (and the **Bobbio**, **Noyon**, and **San Marino** fragments), and thereafter consistently in **Saint-Germain** and **Sens**, though both the latter have a certain section reverting to the older form. This development suggests that, at a certain point, scribes of Saint-Amand began to write the name of Jesus in this new fashion in their most deluxe books.

The decoration of our manuscripts speaks somewhat more ambiguously than palaeography does. The disagreement over which sacramentary represents the “high point” of the series shows the difficulty of ordering them purely on aesthetic grounds. **Bobbio**, to which Niver gave the crown, is very rich and shows some distinctive decorative elements, like the dots forming patterns on the side of the initials (also seen in **Saint-Denis**), and the use of a deep green pigment.³⁴⁹ **Sens**, which Koehler/Mütherich placed with **Bobbio** at the “high point,” also has some singularities, including the unique animal motifs in the centre of the borders, but on the other hand, has unimaginative initials and does not use silver at all.³⁵⁰ **Saint-Denis** advances by having more animal faces on the V initial, more profuse knotting and lobe patterns in the top and bottom of the letters, and certainly employs lavish pigments like its bright blue, but has remained difficult to place thanks to the uniqueness of elements like its corner medallions. **Noyon** certainly has the most ornamental pages, including the additional set of arcades, and employs gold and silver in a more lavish play of contrast, but the execution is visibly “coarser and heavier,” and it was identified as a later book by Niver on this account.³⁵¹ **Chelles** may be, as Bober judged, the most balanced and accomplished in its animal shapes, the employment of gold and silver, varied forms of interlace, and the interpolation of medallions in the middle of the borders.³⁵² But a subjective verdict of quality does not automatically help with dating. For example, silver was available and used by some artists at different stages (**Chelles**, **Tournai**, **Reims**), but it was not used by others (**Stockholm**, **Saint-Denis**). While not using silver, **Saint-Denis** used lapis lazuli for a glorious blue colour not used by the others.

The Name of Jesus and the Court School of Charles the Bald

The capital form of the name of Jesus was originally not used in Caroline minuscule (for example, the minuscule scripts of the Court School of Charlemagne or in the Arn-Stil of Saint-Amand). It seems to have been used in uncial earlier than in minuscule. It is not in the uncial script of Merovingian manuscripts (for example, the Old Gelasian Sacramentary) or earlier Carolingian uncial manuscripts (for ex-

349 Niver, “A Study of Certain of the more Important Manuscripts,” p. 8.

350 The comment in Ulrich Kuder’s review of *Die frankosächsische Schule* by Wilhelm Koehler and Florentine Mütherich, *Journal für Kunstgeschichte* 14 (2010), p. 222 that the ornament of the Stockholm manuscript is, in fact, inferior to other manuscripts of Koehler/Mütherich’s “high point” is to be taken as well.

351 Niver, “A Study of Certain of the more Important Manuscripts,” pp. 102–3.

352 Bober, *The Sacramentary of Queen Hermentrude*, pp. 5–7.

ample, the Godescalc Evangeliary, or the Gospels of Saint-Medard of Soissons). Likely its first use was in monumental capitals; for example, IHS XPS appears behind the Godescalc image of the *Maiestas Domini* (Paris, BnF, lat. 1203, fol. 3r), or “IHU XPI” at the beginning of Matthew of the Ada Gospels (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 22, fol. 15v), and it also appears in capitals in at least one Merovingian manuscript, the “Missale Gallicanum Vetus” (Vatican City, BAV, Pal.lat.493, fol. 36r)

Of all the uncial gospel manuscripts prior to the ninth century, or from around the year 800, it was used in uncial script only in two: first, in the main script of the Harley Golden Gospels, dated to the first quarter of the ninth century, though strikingly it still does not ever appear in the minuscule portion of that manuscript either (which is the *capitulare evangeliorum* in London, British Library, Harley MS 2788, fol. 199r–208v). Likewise, it was used in the Vienna Coronation Gospels (Vienna, Kaiserliche Schatzkammer, Inv. XIII 18), in both rustic capitals and uncial.³⁵³ It is surely significant that two manuscripts associated with the Court School of Charlemagne are likely among the first, if not the first, to use the upper-case form of Jesus’ name in uncial.

My examination of Carolingian manuscripts of the Gospel and the Bible in Bischoff’s *Katalog* has given the result that the minuscule of early Carolingian manuscripts (that is, those during Charlemagne’s reign) likewise does not use the upper-case abbreviated form of Jesus’s name, while later Gospel manuscripts are significantly more likely to have the upper-case form in their minuscule, but do not always, and that some *scriptoria* certainly never adopted it in the ninth century, as, indeed, in later centuries some centres use it, and others still never adopt it.³⁵⁴ Likely copied under Louis the Pious (813–840), the Xanten Gospels (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Ms. 18723), appears to be the earliest manuscript to use the capital form in the minuscule (fol. 22r, 22v, etc.) almost exclusively, but also occasionally uses the lower-case in the first pages of the manuscripts (fol. 21v), showing perhaps similar initial difficulties with it as at Saint-

³⁵³ Confirmed by examination of the plates in Wilhelm Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol.III: *Die Palastschule. Die Gruppe um das Wiener Evangeliar* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1960), Pl. III,1; III,19 and 21; also in Florentine Mutherich and Joachim Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting* (New York: George Braziller, 1976), Pl.7.

³⁵⁴ A fuller publication of results is intended. One might note it is not used in minuscule portions of Charlemagne’s Court School manuscripts: Lorsch Gospels, Vatican City, BAV, Pal. lat. 50 (minuscule in fol. 116r–124v) or the Gospels of Saint-Medard of Soissons, Paris, BnF, lat. 8850 (minuscule fol. 223r–235v), nor is it used in the minuscule Ada Gospels, Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. 22 (or, in the uncial portions either).

Amand later, in the years around 870.³⁵⁵ We can observe that a similar shift also takes place in minuscule in Tours around the middle of the ninth century, since some sacramentary manuscripts linked to Tours (the Sacramentary of Marmoutier, **Modena**) of this time, have the capital form of eta in the name of Jesus, as does the Gospel Book of Lothar also made in Tours and dated to 849–851 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 266), and the Gospels of Hildegard, dated to 843–851 (Laon, Bibliothèque Suzanne Martinet, Ms. 63).³⁵⁶ However, earlier manuscripts of the famous Tours Bibles like Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 17227, London, British Library, Add. MS 11848, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Bibl.1, London, British Library, Add. MS 10546 (the Moutier-Grandval bible, dated around 840), or Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 3 (the Rorigo Bible, dated 835–843), do not use the capital form in their minuscule or their uncial, suggesting that, as at Saint-Amand, this was an innovation of a particular moment in Tours, taking place around the time of the reign of Lothar (sole emperor 840–855).³⁵⁷ In Tours, it could be linked to increasing experimentation with the monogram form of Jesus's name in the decoration of Tours Bible manuscripts, that also employed the H form too.³⁵⁸ Notably, unlike the lunata sigma for the nominative in the minuscule, which has some relatively early insular examples, insular manuscripts and those from monasteries with insular traditions are not more likely to show the capital form of the eta.³⁵⁹ Instead, it appears first in Court School books, giving it a possible royal impetus. I can only strongly recommend further research on this phenomenon, which lies beyond the scope of this book.

It is also the manuscripts of a “Court School,” that of Charles the Bald, which present the most likely inspiration for this shift at Saint-Amand.³⁶⁰ The script of these manuscripts clearly differentiates itself in other respects from the script of

355 Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 3, Part 1, pp. 85–93; digitised at: <https://opac.kbr.be/Library/doc/SYRACUSE/16994415/evangeliarium-xantense-evangeliaire-de-xanten-evangeliarium-van-xanten-ms-18723>.

356 Autun, BM, Ms. 19 bis, fol. 2r, 9v, 10r, 12r, dated 853; Modena, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. O II 7, fol. 2r–v; the Gospels of Hildegard at Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, p. 22.

357 On the production and dating of Tours Bibles, see Rosamond McKitterick, “Carolingian Bible Production: The Tours Anomaly,” *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge: University Press, 1994), pp. 63–77.

358 Garipzanov, *Graphic Signs of Authority*, pp. 297–99.

359 Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, pp. 162–63; additionally, all eighth-century insular Gospel manuscripts examined lack the form in uncial or minuscule.

360 Koehler and Mutherich, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 5: *Die Hofschule Karls des Kahlen* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1982); Rosamond McKitterick, “The Palace School of Charles the Bald,” in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, eds Margaret Gibson and Janet Nelson (Farnham: Ashgate, 1990), 326–29.

Saint-Amand. They do not use the capital N and they never use the same two-c a form of the **ra** ligature which many scribes from Saint-Amand used, but a different form of ligature. With regard to the name of Jesus, the Court School group is dominated by the capital form. The Coronation Sacramentary of Charles the Bald (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 1141), which was probably conceived in its current form simply as a highly decorated and deluxe *libellus* with the Canon of the Mass and is usually linked to his coronation as king of Lotharingia in 869, exclusively uses the form with the capital eta in its minuscule portion (IHU at Paris, BnF, lat. 1141, fol. 8r, IHM fol. 10r).³⁶¹ In the portion of the Codex Aureus of Sankt Emmeram, Munich, BSB, Clm 14000, roughly contemporary to the coronation sacramentary, that is written in minuscule (the *Capitulare Evangeliorum* at the end of the manuscript 120v–125v), the principal forms employed are IHM and, for the nominative, the form with capital sigma, IHC.³⁶² The same is true throughout the entire Gospel Book of Noailles (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 323), entirely written in minuscule, thus IHC on fol. 21v, 26r and in the *Capitulare* at the end on fol. 196v, while IHu on fol. 24r.³⁶³ Scribes working for Charles the Bald began to adopt the capital form at a distinct time (perhaps around the coronation in 869?), just as scribes did at Tours in the 840s, or at Saint-Amand in the 870s.³⁶⁴ Chronologically it is connected to the the most sus-

361 Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 1, 35–36; Koehler and Mutherich, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 5, 9–12, 165–74; digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53019391x.image>.

362 Koehler and Mutherich, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 5, 175–281; digitised (black and white) at: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00032663?page=1>; partially (including 125r–v) in colour at: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00096095?page=51>.

363 Koehler and Mutherich, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 5, 110–12; digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b550056533.image>.

364 Notably the earliest of the “Court School” books, the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald, Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz ResMü Schk 4 WL (*Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol.5, 75–87; manuscript digitised at: <https://www.bavarikon.de/object/bav:BSV-HSS-00000BSB00079994?lang=en>), (dated 846–869 as Charles’ first wife, Ermentrude, is named), uses the lower-case form at the start, and only once, at the end, the capital form (fol. 42r). The practice is inconsistent in the Court School’s complete Sacramentary, **Nonantola** (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2292), written before 876, which is less sumptuous than the other books. The scribes who opened the Nonantola Sacramentary, including those who wrote the Canon of the Mass, employed the form ihm/ihu (appearing on for example, fol. 10r, 11v, 18v, 19r, etc.). However, a shift occurs around Holy Week, and IHM appears for the first time in 37r, and the capital eta form is used consistently in Holy Week, including in the golden minuscule used for Easter Vigil and Day (fol. 50r, 51v). In the texts for the Maundy Thursday masses, the form with a capital sigma is noticeably employed, and this is applied to both the name of Jesus and to the nominative form of Christ, thus IHC XPC, from fol. 42v–43v, again on 55v, 63v. On 88v the lunate sigma is only in the name of Jesus, thus IHC xps, the same practice used occasionally at Saint-Amand. Occasionally the form of ihu/ihm recurred (on fol. 59v, 76v, 98v), but the manuscript

tained and glorious production of liturgical volumes by the “Court School” of Charles the Bald, which expressed Charles’ aspirations to remake his grandfather’s realms.

The occurrence of the nominative form of the name Jesus with a Greek sigma in **Chelles**, **Tournai**, and **Sens** from Saint-Amand indicates the likely influence of the practice of court scribes, in which, during the 870s and the later portion of Charles’s reign, employing the lunate sigma as well as the eta appears to have been the more common practice. At Saint-Amand, the upper-case form of the eta in the name of Jesus was clearly one sign of the highest possible grade of script. The adoption of it as a practice happened at a distinct point, corresponding to the production of deluxe sacramentaries there; it seems to have been a practice scribes had some difficulty with, and with which they later began to falter, implying it had a strong, but temporary, impetus behind it. No matter how large or grand, books written in “Arn-stil” emphatically do not use it, for example, the weighty Gospel book with a colophon in runic script, Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 12 does not.³⁶⁵

Other Carolingian sacramentaries confirm a gradual adoption of the upper-case form by certain *scriptoria* but not by all, taking place generally after 850. The surviving Gelasians of the eighth century, which were copied ca. 800, lack it, as does the original text of the Gregorian *Hadrianum*, **Cambrai**, for Hildoard, written in 814.³⁶⁶ It is also not, for example, in the Sacramentary of Drogo from Metz, dated 826–855 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 9433). Among other manuscripts of the Franco-Saxon “Nebenschule,” the Psalter of Louis the German (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 58 (Rose 250)), made at Saint-Bertin somewhat earlier than our sacramentaries, also still lacks it.³⁶⁷ But in **Saint-Vaast** only the capital form is used, while the form with the lunate sigma for both Iesus and Christus (“IHC XPC”) is the exclusive nominative form.³⁶⁸ The monastery of Saint-Vaast was thus even more receptive to this form as

tends to return to the capital form thereafter, e.g., IHM on fol. 63v, 67v. On **Nonantola** see Koehler and Mütterich, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 5, 199–204; Leroquais, *Le sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 1, 28–30; L. Brou, “Le sacramentaire de Nonantola,” *EphLit* 64 (1950), 274–82; Digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000687p?rk=21459;2>.

³⁶⁵ CLA VI, 758; Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, vol. 2, 102.

³⁶⁶ Confirmed absent in: Sankt Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 348 (Remedius); Paris, BnF, lat. 12408 (Gellone); Paris, BnF, lat. 816 (Angouleme); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin- Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Philipps 1997 (Philipps).

³⁶⁷ Berlin Staatsbibliothek MS Theol.lat. fol. 58 (Rose 250), fol. 114r, 115r, 116r; Koehler/ Mütterich, *DfS*, 279–97.

³⁶⁸ Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 162, fol. 17r, 53v, 54r, 90v, 91r; Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 163, fol. 92r, 111v–112r.

it was practiced in the Court School than Saint-Amand was, and may have influenced some scribes of the latter too. One should note, in contrast, that sacramentaries written by Saint-Denis scribes (**Laon**) and Reims scribes (the Sacramentary of Kroměříž) basically never use the upper-case form.³⁶⁹ The sacramentary that Reims scribes copied from Saint-Amand models, **Reims**, uses the capital form very occasionally, probably because of the influence of its model, but in the vast majority of cases does not use it, in contrast to the Saint-Amand books that Deshusses said preceded it (**Tournai/Chelles**) and succeeded it (**Saint-Germain/Sens**). We could add Bible manuscripts from Reims of this time; for example, the Ebbo Gospels (Epernay, BM, Ms. 1), or the gospel portion of the Bible of Saint-Remi, (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 2), all of the second half and later ninth century. None use the upper-case form, confirming Reims did not adopt it.

This coheres with the evidence of the famous Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura.³⁷⁰ Gaehde first argued this was not produced by Charles the Bald's Court School like the other manuscripts in that orbit, especially the Codex Aureus of Sankt Emmeram, and placed it earlier than previous assessments (before 869).³⁷¹ While using the forms IHS in uncial script and capitalis (Rome, Abbazia di San Paolo fuori le Mura, s.n, fol. 261v–262r at the beginning of Matthew), it does not use the capital form in the main, minuscule text of the Gospels, nor does it use the lunate sigma in the form XPS in the opening rustic capitals of the dedicatory poem (for example, fol. 2v). Scribes connected with Reims, even when they were working for Charles the Bald, therefore did not use this form.³⁷² The upper-case eta was thus by no means a universal practice for all scribes in the later ninth century, even in other centres that were otherwise close to Charles the Bald's Court School. It is something that, among other diagnostic criteria, help to distinguish Saint-Amand books of the 870s and 880s.

369 Once in **Senlis** it appears, in Paris, Bibliothèque Saint-Généviève, Ms. 111, fol. 109r, but as a striking exception.

370 I consulted the facsimile *Bibbia di San Paolo fuori le Mura (Codex membranaceus saeculi IX)* (Rome: Editalia, 1993).

371 Joachim Gaehde, "The Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome: Its Date and Its Relation to Charles the Bald," *Gesta* 5 (1966), pp. 9–21; see also Koehler and Mutherich, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 6, 2: *Die Schule von Reims*, pp. 109–74.

372 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, pp. 280–81: "in der nächsten Umgebung von Reims."

Constructing a Chronology: The Second Bible and Saint-Amand's Gospel Books

We are in the rare and fortunate position of having one securely dated manuscript of Saint-Amand with which our sacramentaries are closely related. This is the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris, BnF, lat. 2), a crowning glory of the Franco-Saxon school.³⁷³ Based on the introductory poem probably by Hucbald of Saint-Amand, the Bible is dated ca. 871–873. Purple background is employed for the dedicatory poem, which is written in rustic capitals on fol. 1v–3r. Rustic capitals are also used for the gospel headings in the upper margin and for explicits of individual Gospels, as well as in the Gospel apparatus. Uncial opens each book of the Bible, written in gold, while the incipits are in the best large-scale golden square capitals. Decorated golden initials open each chapter of the books of the Bible, with the fullest range of Franco-Saxon characteristics and variations (see the D on fol. 8r, with “spearhead” script E incorporated within, close to the form of **Chelle**'s extra letter DS). The Book of Genesis opens with two facing framed pages (fol. 10v–11r), with the INCIPIT in large golden capitalis, outlined in red, and, on the facing page, two separate initials **I** and **N** (IN), and the word PRINCIPIO in capitalis. The following two pages (11v–12r) are in gold uncial, but unframed. Thereafter, the manuscript continues in Caroline minuscule.

The Caroline minuscule script embodies the high standard of Saint-Amand books. As regards the name of Jesus, different practices are followed. Through the writing of the Gospels, including in the capitula preceding them, all the principal scribes used the older form with the lower-case eta (ihs or ihm) (fol. 355v lines 1–16, fol. 357v–362v, a new scribe taking over on fol. 363r). As one example, from the beginning (fol. 387v, col. 2, line 14) to the end (fol. 395v, col. 1, line 2) of John's Gospel only the old form ihs is used.³⁷⁴ Among the Gospels, there is just one exception, the one scribe, who completed fol. 355v–356r at the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew, uses the capital fashion, iHs/iHm/iHu, but is immediately preceded and succeeded by scribes who use the older style. In the Acts of the Apostles, the older fashion also predominates, ihs on fol. 396v, col. 2, line 1, then on fol. 397r, col.1, line 15, we see one example of iHm, while one folio later, fol. 398r, col. 1, line 4, ihu is again employed, and this lasts until the end of Acts fol. 407r, col. 2, line 17. But the scribes who wrote the Catholic and Pauline Epistles, suddenly and completely embraced the new form, first on fol. 408r, col. 2 and thereafter universally; for example, from

³⁷³ Digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452767n/f1.item>.

³⁷⁴ On Paris, BnF, lat. 2, fol. 384r, col. 1, a scribe correcting Luke's Gospel writes IHU, but plainly at a later time. The original scribe had written ihs just a few lines later.

the beginning (fol. 416v, col. 1, Line 5) to the end (fol. 420v, col. 1) of the Epistle to the Romans. Upon beginning Ephesians on the next page (fol. 430v, col. 2, line 1–2) one scribe perhaps shows that he had originally been educated to the old form and had to remind himself to use the capital form since he uses both forms in just two lines (ihu on line 1 and IHU on line 2 – see Figure 2.15). Thereafter, for the rest of the Epistles, iHu or iHm are commonly used.

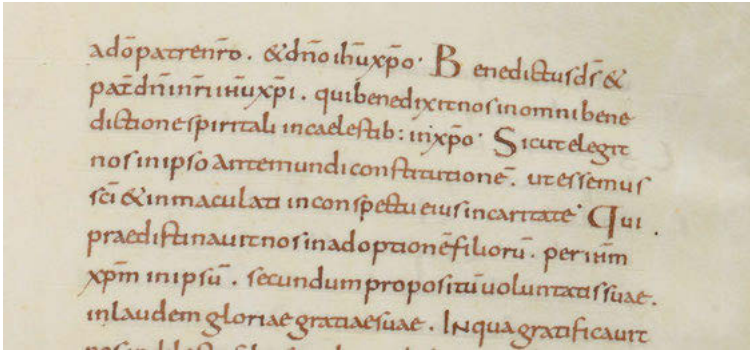


Figure 2.15: Portion of the Epistle to the Ephesians in the Second Bible of Charles the Bald, written at Saint-Amand, 870–873. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2, fol. 430v. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The word AMEN in Greek letters ends the Epistle to the Hebrews (fol. 444r), with the name IHm several lines above it. Unfortunately, the rest of the epistles and the Book of Revelations are lost.

This evidence is significant, because it suggests the Second Bible likely predates the majority of the sacramentaries, specifically **Chelles**, **Tournai**, **Saint-Denis**, **Saint-Germain**, and **Sens**, in which the forms with the capital eta iHs, iHm or iHu are used (almost) exclusively by Saint-Amand scribes. Since the Second Bible is the grandest of all the Franco-Saxon books in the number of initials and in sheer scale (430 x 335mm, in comparison to, for example, **Sens** at 294 x 220mm), differences in conventions of deluxe books cannot explain the stark distinction. **Saint-Germain** is undecorated and much less grand than the Bible, but still employed the capital form almost completely, though reverting briefly at one point. During the writing of the second Bible in the early 870s, scribes from Saint-Amand were still learning, or, in some cases, refusing, to use the new form, which appears to be employed largely according to preference or training. The appearance of the form IHC with lunate sigma, never seen in the Second Bible, in **Chelles**, **Tournai**, and **Sens** sacramentaries (perhaps the practice of a single scribe active in all three) further distances them from the Second Bible. By mea-

sure of its partial and limited use of the capital form of Jesus, the Second Bible seem to be a little advanced from that of the earliest of the sacramentaries, *Le Mans*. The Second Bible possibly post-dates that book but perhaps by a smaller interval than the other sacramentaries post-date it. Deshusses, meanwhile, had attempted to place the Second Bible in the interval between some of the last of the sacramentaries (*Reims* and *Saint-Germain*).³⁷⁵

This thesis, of a distinct change in scribal practice at Saint-Amand that took place at a distinct time, can be supported by other manuscripts. An instructive example is the so-called “Livinus Gospels” (Ghent, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, Ms. 13).³⁷⁶ This older manuscript, likely written during Arn’s period at the abbey of Saint-Amand, and copied from an antique exemplar including images, was then corrected in the second half of the ninth century by a scribe who can also be located to Saint-Amand, whose corrections correspond to the text of later Gospel Books made at Saint-Amand, like Paris, BnF, lat. 257, at the same time as which Franco-Saxon decorative initials were also added.³⁷⁷ Notable is that the corrector also went through and altered the name of Jesus from minuscule to capitals, using the H form of eta, and also “invariably rendering the S in IHS by the Greek (lunate) sigma,” as McGhurk already noted.³⁷⁸ Either he rubbed out the name entirely (fol. 45r), or he adapted the lower-case form to the new form (fol. 58r, 123v). This indicates clearly that the capital form had a certain weight at Saint-Amand, sufficient to feel the need to painstakingly adapt an older, deluxe book with it. It also links the Greek to the Franco-Saxon initials, added at the same time.

In the Gospel Books which were supplied originally with Franco-Saxon illumination, and are roughly contemporary to our sacramentaries, we see evidence of the same shifts in practice occurring at a distinct time. As with the “Livinus Gospels,” these Gospel manuscripts show that the later form IHS and, in one case, IHC, were considered appropriate to be used in the Gospel narrative itself, which makes their absence from the Gospel texts in the Second Bible, itself more richly outfitted with initials than any of them, all the more striking. Here I have used only the Gospel books which are most distinctively of Saint-Amand, leaving out some early examples Koehler and Mutherich employed, where Bischoff’s designa-

375 Deshusses, “Encore les sacramentaires,” p. 310.

376 Digitised at: <https://lib.ugent.be/viewer/archive.ugent.be%3A5459757C-5A56-11EA-85D8-2F68AA36FAF6#?cv=3&c=&m=&s=&xywh=3162%2C193%2C4967%2C4379>.

377 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, pp. 284–85 is clear: “Saint-Amand, um 800”; Patrick McGurk, “The Ghent Livinus Gospels and the Scriptorium of St. Amand,” *Sacris eruridi* 14 (1963), pp. 164–205, repr. as Article VIII in *Gospel Books and Early Latin Manuscripts* (Farnham: Aldershot 1998).

378 McGhurk, “The Ghent Livinus Gospels,” 180.

tions, and my own examination, leave doubt.³⁷⁹ In any case, many Gospel books employ more or less basic versions of “Franco-Saxon” letters and Canon tables, which have some relation to those of the “Hauptgruppe” manuscripts, but script does not permit these to be located to Saint-Amand, and some forms of the initials are distinct from the true Saint-Amand books.³⁸⁰

Manuscripts that Never Use the Capital Form of Jesus

As with **Le Mans**, these manuscripts tend to have a wide range of ligatures in use, which disappear in the later sacramentaries and gospel books.

1. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 11956 “The Gospels of Noyon.”³⁸¹ (Bischoff: “St. Amand, IX Jh., ca.3 Viertel”).³⁸² This manuscript has a very varied size and scope of writing, with varied ductus that more clearly differentiates scribes, and a lack of cleanness about the margin. The old form *ihs/ihm/ihu* (fol. 5r, 45r,

379 Those excluded are: Porrentruy/Prontrut Bibliothèque Cantonale Jurassienne, Ms. 34 at Koehler/ Mutherich, DfS, pp. 129–33, Pll. 1–3; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 261: [Franko-sächsisch (Saint-Bertin?)]; digitised at: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/fr/list/one/bcj/0034>; Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, XXIX at Koehler/ Mutherich, DfS, pp. 134–37, Pll. 4–5; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, p. 326 “Franko-sächsisches Gebiet (Saint-Bertin?); IX Jh. Noch 2. Drittel (?); Ergänzung: 3. Viertel”; Paris, BnF, lat. 259 at Koehler/Mutherich, DfS, pp. 138–41, Pl. 6; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 23: “Nordostfrankreich, IX. Jh. 3. Viertel”; mentioned by Nordenfalk, “Ein karolingisches Sakramentar,” p. 235 and Boutemy “Quel fut le foyer?” p. 760; Halle, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Qu. Cod. 83, though treated by Koehler and Mutherich as a member of the *Hauptgruppe*, (Koehler/ Mutherich, DfS, pp. 160–164) appears to be later, and uses only the lower-case form of Jesus’ name. Given its provenance in Quedlinburg, perhaps it was a product of some artists who had fled East by the end of the ninth century, who were also, in some way, responsible for the Prague manuscript written by scribes of Corvey (see above p. 93) and who imitated and/or replicated Saint-Amand models. Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol.II, p. 12 dates it clearly later than the Saint-Amand gospel books, differentiates it as a “slanted” variant of the “Franco-Saxon” script, and says only “Franko-sächsisches Gebiet, IX Jh., 4. Viertel oder IX./X. Jh.”

380 E.g. in Hildesheim, Domschatz, Ms. 13, see Marlis Stähli, *Die Handschriften in Domschatz zu Hildesheim* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), p. 2 and Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, p. 13: “Franko-sächsische, IX Jh. 3. Drittel . . . weniger starre Form der regelmäßigen Minuskel der franko-sächsischen Blütezeit” [trans. Franco-Saxon, third third of the ninth century . . . a less rigid form of the regular minuscule of the Franco-Saxon golden age].

381 Digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8426035p/f1.item.r=latin%2011956>; Koehler/ Mutherich, DfS, pp. 142–45, Pll. 7–9; Lafitte, Denoël and Crouzet, *Trésors carolingiens*, cat. 58, pp. 214–15.

382 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, p. 179n4714; also “Von mehreren Saint-Amand-Händen, teils steil, teils geneigt.” [trans. From many Saint-Amand hands, some upright, some slanted].

48v, 65r) is used throughout, without exception. This includes even in the uncial script before the opening of Matthew, see Figure 2.14. Apart from Matthew, which has the full page in uncial, the other Gospels' first pages (fol. 67r, 104r), switch to minuscule after a few lines in the golden uncial. Uncial in gold is used exclusively for titles and names of months in the *Capitulare evangeliorum* (fol. 204r–215r) and is also used for explicits (fol. 64r, 64v), or, once, rustic capitals (fol. 100v). It belonged to Noyon in the eleventh century, though was perhaps already there soon after its creation, and has been connected with Bishop Raginelm of Noyon and Tournai (862–879).³⁸³

2. Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 23³⁸⁴ (Bischoff: “Franko-sächsisch (Saint-Amand), IX Jh., 3. Viertel”).³⁸⁵ The older form of *ihs* is used throughout; for example, on fol. 15v, 22r, 65v, 171v. Some discussion of dating here is required, since Koehler had argued for an earlier date than I would support. This was because Koehler assumed the Franko-Saxon book was already in Tours just after the sack of Saint Martin's Basilica by the Vikings in 853, when he suggested it was used as an exemplar for the copying of another Gospel Book apparently undertaken at this time at Tours itself, Paris, BnF, Latin 261. The latter book, Latin 261, diverged from previous Tours Gospel Books in elements of the apparatus that show stronger agreement with the Saint-Amand tradition (chapter lists, the ordering of the preface material, as well as certain readings in the text).³⁸⁶ In Bischoff's *Katalog*, however, the case of Paris, BnF, Latin 261, is represented with considerably more ambiguity. Bischoff described it as: “Unter Mitarbeit eines in Tours geschulten Künstlers in einem westfranzösischen Zentrum entstanden, IX. Jh., ca. 3 Viertel” [trans. Created with the collaboration of an artist trained in Tours in a West-Frankish centre], and he noted also that this late Tours artist and scribe collaborated with hands uncharacteristic of Tours.³⁸⁷ This complicates Koehler's understanding of the Saint-Amand Gospel Book's direct influence on Tours itself, and his consequent dating of it to a supposed restoration of the Abbey of Saint-Martin around 853. The Saint-Amand Gospel Book in Tours would still be among the earlier books made at Saint-Amand, as it influenced Latin 261, which was at least copied before the end of the ninth century's third quarter, (that is, sometime probably before 875). But there is no reason

³⁸³ See Henry Beck, “The Selection of Bishops Suffragan to Hincmar of Reims 845–882,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 45 (1959), p. 283, 299.

³⁸⁴ Digitised at: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md26m039mw9p>; Koehler/Mütherich, DfS, pp. 151–54, Pl.13–15; see also Rand, *A Survey*, vol. 1, pp. 173ff.

³⁸⁵ Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 366n6121.

³⁸⁶ Koehler, *Die Schule von Tours*, vol. 1, 293–94; Rand, *A Survey*, vol. 1, pp. 162ff; the MS digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8427443x>.

³⁸⁷ Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 23.

to link it specifically to the restoration after 853. The monks of the Basilica of Saint-Martin and their relics certainly had to flee repeatedly before the Vikings, at Cormery and Ferrières in 853, in Léré en Berry and Marsat in Auvergne in the 860s and in Chablis in 877.³⁸⁸ Any of these sanctuaries could have been the setting for an artist and scribe of Tours to collaborate with other scribes, or indeed, another form of exchange could explain the book. Thus, Koehler's hypothetical *terminus ante quem* of 853 for the Tours Gospel Book is not satisfactory, and we cannot accept it to help us date other books.

3. The Gospels of Saint-Hubert (today in private hands, thus I could not examine it personally but relied on reproductions).³⁸⁹ According to the art historical analysis, the book is close to Paris, BnF Latin 11956. However, in this case, minuscule is no longer used in the first opening pages of the gospels, which are written in uncial next to the initial (fol. 12r, 58r), or, in the case of Luke and John, a switch to rustic capitals at the bottom of the opening page (fol. 90r and 143r), seemingly an experiment in slotting this script into a hierarchy that no other manuscript employed. Where the scribe ran out of space in uncial, he also switched to rustic capitals for the occasional letter; for example, next to Matthew's initial (fol. 12r). In the image available in the Sotheby's catalogue, we can certainly see the use of *ihs* without the capital *eta*.³⁹⁰ According to McKitterick, uncial and capitalis are used for titles, headings, and opening lines, but she does not mention further use of rustic capitals. She also identified a later, correcting hand, which she specifically linked to the scribe(s) of **Chelles**.³⁹¹

4. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB VII 13.³⁹² (Bischoff: "frankosächsisch, IX Jh., 2. Hälfte").³⁹³ Bischoff's verdict, quoted from an earlier treatment of the treasure list in the manuscript, was more ambiguous, but the Saint-Amand question mark is present (fol. 19r, 135v).³⁹⁴ It belonged to Kloster Weingarten around 1100, and it was suggested in the catalogue by Autenrieth that it was a gift

388 Pierre Gasnault, "Le tombeau de Saint Martin et les invasions normandes dans l'histoire et dans le légende," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 47 (1961) at pp. 55–56.

389 McKitterick, "The Gospels of St. Hubert"; Koehler/Mütherich, *DfS*, pp. 146–50, Pl. 10–12.

390 *Sotheby's: 25th June 1985. Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* (London: Sotheby's, 1985).

391 McKitterick, "The Gospels of St. Hubert," p. 155.

392 Online at: https://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/index.php?id=6&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=16720&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1; Koehler/Mütherich, *DfS*, pp. 155–59; Joanne Autenrieth, *Die Handschriften der ehemaligen Hofbibliothek Stuttgart*, vol. 3: *Codices iuridici et politici (HB VI 1–139). Patres (HB VII 1–71)*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963), pp. 155–156.

393 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 360n6080.

394 *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, vol. 1: *Von der Zeit Karls des Grossen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jh.*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff (Munich: Prestel, 1967), p. 103.

from Judith of Flanders (ca. 1030–1095), wife of Duke Welf I of Bavaria.³⁹⁵ The lower-case form is universal in use. Incipits of Gospels are in silver and gold capitalis quadrata, alternating by line (fol. 12v, 59v, 93v, 143v), but these, like their facing initials remain unframed. The beginning of the Gospel texts is next to the initials and in gold uncial, which also uses only the lower-case form of the name of Jesus by Mark. Explicits (fol. 89v, 180r) are also in alternating gold and silver capitalis. Jerome's prologue opens with a gold initial N, and a title in uncial, then on the second line in rustic capitals, both drawn in gold (fol. 1r). Rustic capitals are used for titles in the apparatus, uncial for the titles and months of the *capitulare evangeliorum* (fol. 151r–189v), from which a single page is missing with December.

These Gospel books which can now be dated before the shift in which IHs/IHm/IHu was adopted, also share tendencies in their decoration. Characteristic Franco-Saxon frames are not present in these books. Each initial is accompanied on the page by a significant portion of the opening of the corresponding Gospel in golden uncial. In what seems to be the earliest (the Gospels of Noyon), the opening pages of two Gospels (Mark on Paris, BnF, lat. 11956, fol. 67r, Luke fol. 104r) continue in minuscule after the first lines in uncial. In the Gospels of Saint-Hubert and Tours, the full page at the beginning of the Gospel is always uncial (or sometimes rustic capitals in the former). Thus, the grandeur of these pages increases. We might note that even the uncial used here does not yet use the upper-case form of Jesus's name (see Figure 2.16). The Canon Tables in these three manuscripts (Paris, BnF, lat. 11956, fol. 6r–12r; Tours, BM, MS 23, fol. 5r–11r) show a shared vocabulary of forms, including a pair with human heads with horned helmets, and feet at the bases (Paris, BnF, lat. 11956, 8v–9r; Tours, BM, MS 23, fol. 9v–10v; Saint-Hubert, fol. 9r) and one which has ducks whose beaks cross over the column arches and whose feet appear at the base (Paris, BnF, lat. 11956, fol. 10v–11r; Tours, BM, MS 23, fol. 4r–5v; Saint-Hubert fol. 11v). The initials also take generally the same forms among the three manuscripts, but seem to display varied individual touches in the deployment of animal heads. The LI initial of Matthew (“LIBER”) is either straight with a distinct I seated next to it (Paris, BnF, lat. 11956 fol. 130; Saint-Hubert fol. 12r) (see Figure 2.16) or sinuous (Tours, BM, MS 23, fol. 12r) with the I (which is silver) crossing over the gold L, or sinuous, with the L next to it (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB VII 13, fol. 13r). The leaves that hang from the mouths of the hounds in Paris, BnF, lat. 11956 are still close to elements of the decoration em-

395 On her other donations, Meta Harrsen, “The Countess Judith of Flanders and the Library of Weingarten Abbey,” *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 24 (1930), pp. 1–13.

ployed in manuscripts of the “Arn-Stil,” and are abandoned by the time our sacramentaries were written.

The I (“INCIPIIT”) of Mark in the Noyon and Saint-Hubert Gospels (Paris, BnF, lat.11956 fol. 67r; Saint-Hubert 58r) is still simple and without animal forms, though made up of alternating silver and gold compartments. It is larger in the latter, and largest in Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB VII 13, fol. 60r. In Tours, BM, Ms. 23, fol. 65r, eagles appear at the upper terminus and hounds at the lower. The I of John (“IN PRINCIPIO”) is very similar in form to Mark’s (Tours, BM, Ms. 23, fol. 155r; Paris, BnF, lat. 11956, fol. 163r; Saint-Hubert, fol. 143r, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB VII 13, fol. 144r, see Figure 2.17), though larger and thicker, but incorporates the faces of hounds in the Noyon Gospels. The Q of Luke (“QUONIAM”) is drawn entirely in gold (Tours, BM, Ms. 23, fol. 99r), or with a silver tail (Paris, BnF, lat. 11956, fol. 104r), and without anything inside the belly of the letter. The Q of Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB VII 13 fol. 94r, drawn in silver and gold, is the first to contain something in the belly of the letter, a green, yellow, and red interlocking series of shapes, whose colour palette seems rather closer to manuscripts assigned to the *Nebenschule* of Saint-Bertin than to the later developments of this shape at Saint-Amand.³⁹⁶ Red dots outline the last three initials in Saint-Hubert, Tours, BM, Ms. 23 and Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB VII 13, while the latter also draws a grid pattern in green and red dots around the LI of Matthew, and a series of squares around Q.

Manuscripts that Use Both Forms of the Name of Jesus

Two surviving Gospel Book manuscripts use both forms of the name of Jesus simultaneously.

5. Leiden, Bibliotheek des Rijksuniversiteit, Ms. BPL 48 (Bischoff: “St. Amand, IX.Jh., 3./4. Viertel”).³⁹⁷ It is possible this was in Ghent, maybe at the Sint-Pietersabdij, founded by Amandus himself.³⁹⁸ In the prologue material, at the beginning ihu (fol.

³⁹⁶ Compare the Psalter of Louis the German made at Saint-Bertin, for example, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 58, e.g., at fol. 3r (digitised at: https://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/view/sbb-pk_mstheol-lat-fol-58).

³⁹⁷ Digitised at: https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/1606013?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=c575c2db26b3798486bd&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=0&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=0#page/1/mode/1up; Koehler/Mütherich, Dfs, pp. 165–69, Pl. 23–25.

³⁹⁸ As noted by Koehler/Mütherich, Dfs, p. 165, it was acquired with other manuscripts from the collection of Franciscus Nansius (ca. 1525–1595). The fifteenth-century missal that served as binding



Figure 2.16: Opening of the Gospel according to Matthew in a Gospel Book written at Saint-Amand, third quarter of the ninth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 11956, fol. 13r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

leaves for the Gospel Book was similarly used as binding in other manuscript, including Leiden, Bibliotheek des Rijksuniversiteit, Ms. BPL 88, which was possessed by the Sint-Pietersabdij.

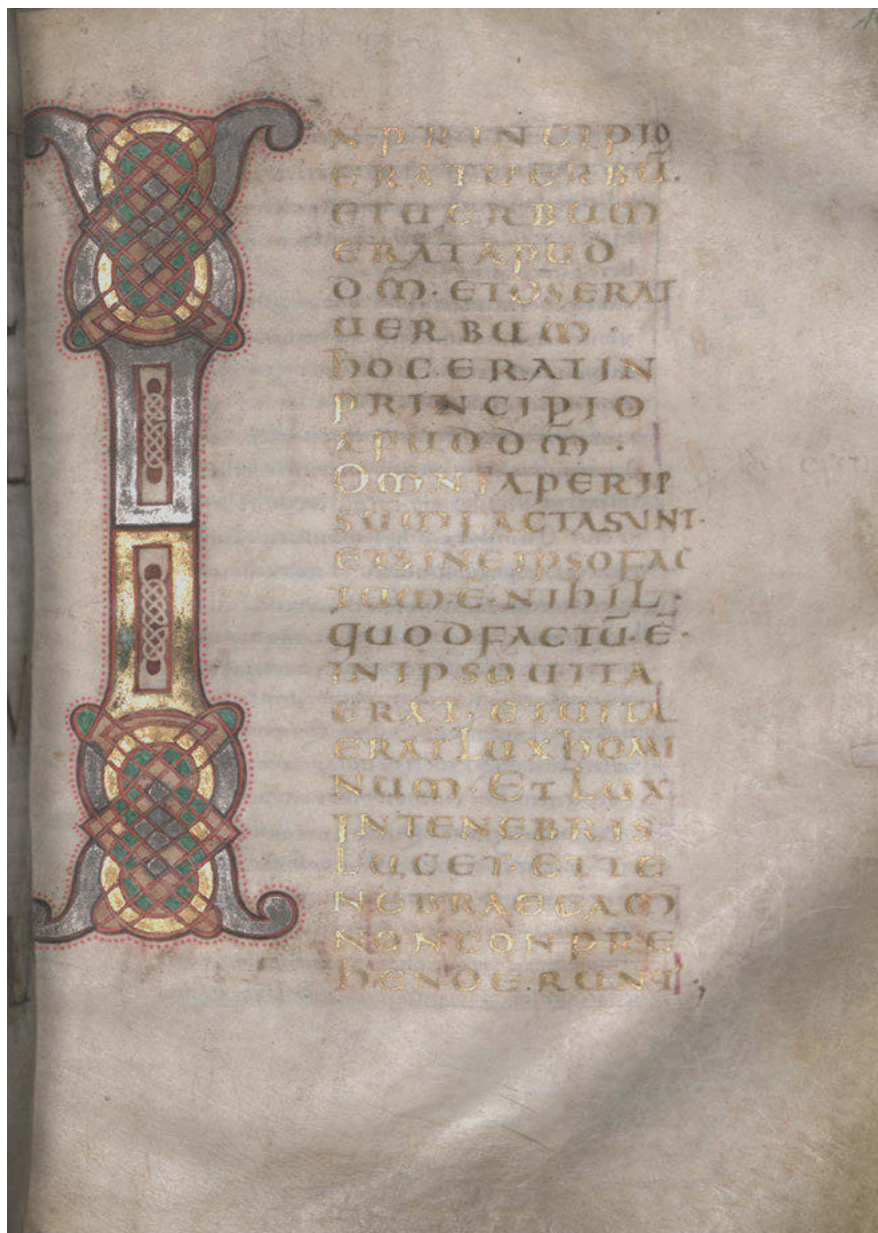


Figure 2.17: Opening of the Gospel according to John with initial I in a Gospel Book written at Saint-Amand, third quarter of the ninth century. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB VII 13, fol. 144r. License under: Public Domain Mark 1.0.

4r) or *ihs* (fol. 20r) are used, and they are also employed for the first quire of the *capitulare evangeliorum* (fol. 280r–288v), before the capital form is used again on the next quire until the end of the manuscript (fol. 239r–251v). On one page in the manuscript, fol. 19r, both *ihs* and *IHS* are used by the same scribe, indicating a scribe who had varied instincts (as we saw also in the Second Bible). But during the main portion of all four gospels from the beginning the capital form is the exclusive choice: *IHu* (fol. 15v), *IHS* on fol. 36r, 147r, 237v etc. Most scribes therefore have come over to the new use, as we see in our sacramentaries.

6. Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 431 (Bischoff: “St. Amand, IX. Jh.3.Viertel”).³⁹⁹ The forms of *IHS*/*IHM*/*IHu* are used throughout the Gospels of Mark, Matthew (for example, fol. 72v), and John, and the *capitulare evangeliorum*, but curiously, in Luke, the lower-case form is used exclusively (for example, fol. 180v).

Along with the new form of writing of the name of Jesus, the appearance of frames in the Gospel Books indicates the arrival of the same new phase of production by Saint-Amand and the “Hauptgruppe” artists. These manuscripts each share the arrangement of two framed pages at the opening of each Gospel. Both also use silver in these borders, contrasting the borders of the corner medallions in silver with the borders of the frames that are only in gold. Across these pairs, all four medallions remained identical, there is no “mirroring” effect. Alongside Matthew’s *L* in the Leiden Gospels (Leiden, Bibliotheek des Rijksuniversiteit, Ms. BPL 48 fol. 15r; Lyon, BM, Ms. 431, fol. 12r) “spearhead” script is used here for *BER*, in the former the same golden script that begins to appear in our sacramen-

³⁹⁹ Digitised in the portal at: numelyo - bibliothèque numérique de Lyon (bm-lyon.fr); Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, p. 137; Koehler/Mütherich, *DFS*, pp. 189–93, Pl.39–43; Robert Amiet, *Les Manuscrits liturgiques du diocèse de Lyon, Description et analyse* (Paris: CNRS, 1979), p. 82, n. 96; Philippe Lauer, *L'évangélique carolingien de Lyon* (Lyon: Amis de la Bibliothèque de Lyon, 1928); provenance is Lyon probably in the ninth century already, but I reject the suggestion which is made by Célestin Charlier that Florus of Lyon (d. 860) annotated the manuscript in “Les manuscrits personnels de Florus de Lyon et son activité littéraire,” in *Mélanges E. Pòdechard: études de sciences religieuses offertes pour son éméritat au doyen honoraire de la Faculté de théologie de Lyon*, ed. Fleury Lavallée (Lyon: Facultés catholiques, 1945), pp. 71–84, repr. in *RevBen* 119 (2009), pp. 252–69 at p. 266. Charlier did not specify where Florus’ hand was, though the Lyon Library website identifies that Florus corrected the manuscript on fol. 3v, line 20. These annotations (mostly erasures) are so negligible as to render palaeographical identification of them almost impossible. Pierre Chambert-Protat, the modern expert on Florus, noted that many in Lyon wrote very similarly to him and specifically rendered the identification of his hand in this Saint-Amand Gospel Book doubtful and “très probablement à tort” [trans. very probably in error] (Pierre Chambert-Protat, “Les manuscrits ‘de Florus’ conservés — état des lieux sommaire,” published online in 2020: <https://florus.hypotheses.org/1423>).

taries with the word VERE in **Tournai**. In Lyon, BM, Ms. 431, it is simply outlined and left in white parchment, though given a background of fainter red hatching. Additionally, in Mark's INITIUM of Lyon (BM, Ms. 431, fol. 72r), all save the ornamental first letter are also in "spearhead" script, outlined in blank parchment on red-hatching (see Figure 2.18). The Second Bible also uses this technique with the red-hatching effect, though with different exact forms of lettering within it.

Interlace becomes significantly more complex inside the initial letters in these two books. Altered more fully from the previous books is the Q of Luke (Lyon, BM, Ms. 431, fol. 116r; Leiden, Bibliotheek des Rijksuniversiteit, Ms. BPL 48, fol. 125r), whose belly is now filled with a symmetrical floral pattern made up of two hemispheres, with rings around their borders, yellow and blue on a red background. The significantly larger initial now also has two silver circles within the bows of the letter's larger circle, each filled with interlace. Most drastically transformed here is the opening initial of John, which takes a new form of a monogram of IN (Leiden Bibliotheek des Rijksuniversiteit BPL, 48, fol. 193r; Lyon, BM, MS 431, fol. 184r) (see Figure 2.18), the N crossing and interlocking with the larger I (see Figure 2.19).⁴⁰⁰ In Lyon, the N is silver to the I gold, and hounds appear on each of the terminus of the letter, while in Leiden there are no animals, and only the central shaft of the N is silver. The clearest distinction of the two manuscripts is the employment in Lyon. BM 431 of the red and green dots, including sophisticated decorative leaf effects (for example, in Figure 2.18). Both the Lyon and Leiden manuscripts also introduce a new extra initial NO, on the very first page (Leiden, Bibliotheek des Rijksuniversiteit, Ms. BPL 48 and Lyon, BM, Ms. 431, fol. 1r), opening the prologue of Jerome's letter to Damasus. The Canon Tables of Leiden (Leiden, Bibliotheek des Rijksuniversiteit, BPL 48, fol. 8v–14r) have new forms, such as dogs with their tongues hanging out, wing shapes in the central medallions, blossoming plants sprouting from the upper corners, and hounds facing each other across the arches. The Canon Tables of Lyon are significantly more elaborate (Lyon, BM, Ms. 431, fol. 7v–10r) incorporating repeating pairs of arcades, formed just like the ones that appear in **Reims**, with silver in the inner borders and gold on the outside in some pairs. In addition, they have the winding creatures at the base of the first pair, and other creatures emerging from the top in the second and last pairs, with long tongues, or heart-shaped with dogs in the middle portions and elaborated wave forms with eagles at their base (Lyon, BM, MS 431, fol. 10r).

⁴⁰⁰ One might compare the first initial IN for Genesis in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura, fol. 9v; Garipzanov, *Graphic Signs of Authority*, pp. 245–246.



Figure 2.18: Initial I and opening of the Gospel according to Mark in a Gospel book written at Saint-Amand, third quarter of the ninth century. Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 431, fol. 72r. Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon | Numelyo, Ms. 431.

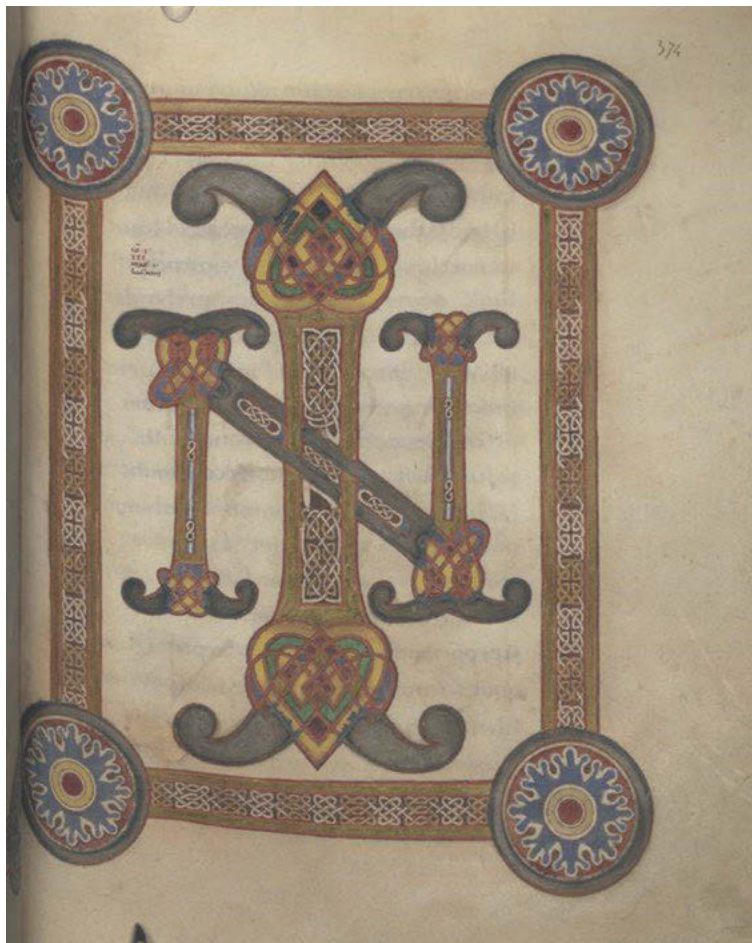


Figure 2.19: Initial IN at beginning of the Gospel according to John in a Gospel book written at Saint-Amand, third quarter of the ninth century. Leiden, Bibliotheek des Rijksuniversiteit, Ms. BPL 48, fol. 193r. License under: Public Domain Mark 1.0.

Manuscripts that Only Use the Upper-Case Form of the Name of Jesus

These manuscripts only use the capital form for the name of Jesus. They are also the manuscripts that include Evangelist portraits, or they would have done if they were complete.

7. Cologne, Museum Schnütgen, Inv. G 531 (Bischoff: “Saint-Amand IX Jh., ca. 3 Viertel”).⁴⁰¹ Use of the capital form of the name of Jesus without variation (fol. 14r, 21r, 35r etc.), also in the openings of the Gospels and the *capitulare evangeliorum*.⁴⁰² “Spearhead” script (simply parchment on red hatching) for LIBER next to the initial of Matthew (11v). Silver rustic capitals are used for the extracts from Theodulf’s poem.

8. New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS M. 862 (Bischoff: “Saint-Amand, IX Jh. 3. Viertel”).⁴⁰³ Including in the *capitulare evangeliorum*, the form IHs/IHm is used.⁴⁰⁴ Rustic capitals in the *capitulare evangeliorum*, except for the use of an uncial M (something we see in the **San Marino** fragments and **Sens**) for the first letter of *Mense* (fol. 181r). “Spearhead” script is not used in surviving portions, as unfortunately the initial for Matthew is missing, but simply gold uncial for the first lines of the Gospel (for example, on Mark at fol. 58v). It previously belonged to the Chester Beatty Collection.⁴⁰⁵

9. Jouarre, Abbaye Notre-Dame, 28 [on loan from the Grand Séminaire de Meaux]. “The Jouarre Gospels” (Bischoff: “Saint-Amand, IX Jh., ca. 860”).⁴⁰⁶ In this case, I do not feel the approximate date given by Bischoff in the *Katalog* is accurate. The catalogue on the website gallica prefers “2nde moitié,” and there is no indication of the basis for Bischoff’s judgement, even in the portions of the Nachlass I examined in Munich. “Spearhead” script is used for the BER of Mark (fol. 8r), but capitalis is used for the rest of INITIUM in Mark (fol. 68r), while gold uncial remains for the first words of Luke (109r) after the Q initial and John after the IN initial (fol. 173r). Evangelist portraits were never added to this manuscript, though arches were drawn to contain them, including the purple circle with the poem from Theodulf of

⁴⁰¹ Kohler/Mütherich, DfS, pp. 170–76, Pl. 26–30; Anton von Euw, *Das Buch der vier Evangelien. Kölns Karolingische Evangelienbücher* (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1989), pp. 30–33, 41–42; Anton von Euw, *Die Handschriften und Einzelblätter des Schnütgen-Museums Köln* (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1997), pp. 17–25.

⁴⁰² See for example, von Euw, *Das Buch der vier Evangelien*, Pl. 8, 9, 12, 14, 21.

⁴⁰³ See the website: <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/159129>; Koehler/Mütherich, DfS, pp. 177–83, Pl. 31–39.

⁴⁰⁴ I thank Josh O’Driscoll for generously providing images of the text of this manuscript to allow me to verify this.

⁴⁰⁵ Eric George Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts* vol. 1, 2 *Manuscripts 1 to 43* (Oxford: University Press, 1927), p. 44, Pl. XX–XXV.

⁴⁰⁶ Digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000621x/fl.item.r=jouarre.langFR>; Koehler-Mütherich, DfS, pp. 184–88, Pl. 34–38; See also Victor Leroquais. “Les Evangiles de Jouarre: Inconnu de l’Ecole franco-saxonne,” *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, vol. 6, Studi e Testi 126 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1946), pp. 234–57.

Orleans in rustic capitals (fol. 67r), which should have contained the Evangelists' creatures. Again, rustic capitals are used in the *capitulare evangeliorum* (fol. 220r–227v), except the uncial M in MENSE (for example, fol. 220r) is also used throughout, as above in the Morgan book, and in our **Sens** and **San Marino**. From the beginning, IHu (fol. 8v) and IHS (fol. 9v, 32v, 48v, 58v, 64r) is used, including in the capitularies, and the prologue material. In the *breviarium* of Mark, the forms IHC (fol. 65r) and, a new form for the nominative of christus with the sigma capital, XPC (fol. 65v) both appear, but the form ihs is even used on the same page as well.

Cologne, Museum Schnütgen, Inv. G 531 and New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS M. 862 are the first of the series of Gospel Books to also include images of the Evangelists. In both manuscripts, the Evangelists are seated writing, and above them each is a circle with the figure of their animal or attribute within it. The circle in which the creature is drawn has an extract from Theodulf of Orleans's poetry on the Bible.⁴⁰⁷ The portraits of the Evangelists were clearly by different artists in each case, who worked differently (for example, in the Morgan Library manuscript they are given a background in a colour wash of red and vibrant blue around their creature). In the case of the Morgan Library manuscript, this incorporation meant more framed pages, now four to open each Gospel, adding up to sixteen in total. Each portrait of the Evangelist was faced with an incipit page. These facing pairs with the Evangelist portraits have arcades over them, also framed in interlace, and with column capitals with floral or animal motifs (for example, New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS M. 862, fol. 12v). The next two pages were a framed initial page and a framed facing page with the first lines of the Gospel in gold uncial within this frame (see Figure 2.21). These frames were the usual forms, rectangular interlace, with compartments. We can see in the opening of all the Gospels, as in Figure 2.21, that the writer of the uncial in gold almost always ran out of space and must switch to rustic capitals, indicating the borders preceded the golden uncial script. This is no longer true in the Gospels of Jouarre (for example, Jouarre, Abbaye Notre-Dame, 28, fol. 172v–173r). In this case, the arcade for the Evangelist portrait had no facing page with the incipit (thus three pages with frames at each Gospel, adding up to twelve). In addition, the arcade was simply left blank and the portrait never supplied, though the circle for the creature is drawn, filled with purple, and the Theodulf poem written

⁴⁰⁷ The specific extracts are edited from Cologne, Museum Schnütgen, G 531 in *Verse in Miniaturehandschriften: Kölner Kunstgewerbemuseum* in MGH *Poetae Latini Medii Aevi*, vol. 5, 1: *Die Ottonenzeit* ed. Karl Strecker (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1937), p. 451.

within in gold (for example, Jouarre, Abbaye Notre-Dame, 28, fol. 172r). An arcade intended for Matthew was on the first page (fol. 1r), in which birds biting their wings rest on each corner.

The Cologne Gospel Book seems to belong to a less sure deployment of this arrangement. In this case there are still only two framed pages, with the Evangelist and his *Incipit* framed (see Figure 2.22). The following pages with the first initial and the opening of the Gospel book in gold uncial remained unframed. Rectangular frames were used for two of the Evangelist portraits and facing incipits (Matthew at Cologne, Museum Schnütgen, Inv. G 531, fol. 11v–12r and Luke 97v–98r), while arcades were used for the other two pairs (Mark 62v–63r and John 151v–152r). The Schnütgen Gospel book also uses red and green dots around the initials. It is also likely that another artist was responsible for these portions in the Schnütgen manuscript, since the medallions show distinctive variations and, in Schnütgen Inv. G 57, the arch of the arcades is filled with a repeating floral pattern of leaves (see Figure 2.23), while in the Morgan Library and Jouarre, only interlace pattern is used in the arch. The new forms of Q and IN for Luke and John are universally used in these three books (see Figure 2.20). The LI initial of both Jouarre, Abbaye Notre-Dame, 28, fol. 8r and Cologne, Museum Schnütgen, Inv. G 531, fol. 11v is completely drawn in gold (see Figure 2.24), giving it a particularly luminous feel, and the “spearhead” script makes up the BER next to it. The new initial NO, however, does not appear in either the Schnütgen or New York Gospel Books, simply a golden letter for the first word of the prologue, and Jouarre has no surviving apparatus preceding the Canon Tables at all.

It is in these manuscripts we see for the first time in the Gospel Books the “mirroring” effect in the medallions, just as it appeared in the sacramentaries and often with identical motifs (for example, the medallions in Morgan Library MS M. 862, fol. 58v and fol. 59r (see Figure 2.21) are identical to Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 15v–16r). The effect is used in every frame in Morgan Library, in Schnütgen in the frame of Mark but not that of Luke. In Jouarre the first pair (Jouarre, Abbaye Notre-Dame, 28, fol. 8v–9r) use the biting creatures wrapped around the borders (see Figure 2.24), and the third and fourth (Jouarre, Abbaye Notre-Dame, 28, fol. 108v–109r, 172v–173r) both deploy the “mirroring” effect. In these Gospels, silver and gold were significantly more intensely employed in contrast, particularly in Cologne, Museum Schnütgen, Inv. G 531 and New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS M. 862 (as also in **Tournai**, **Chelles**, or **Noyon**). In all three, silver and gold are also deployed in the Canon tables (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS M. 862, fol. 6v–12r; Jouarre, Abbaye Notre-Dame, 28, fol. 1v–7v; Cologne, Schnütgen Museum, Inv. G 531, fol. 5v–11r), which alternate silver and gold in the shafts of the pillars and upper arches. These are not as ornate and elaborate as the Lyon Gospels, and present

the vocabulary of the Leiden Gospel Book, with three rounded arches on each page, winding blossoming forms at their upper corners, eagles and interlace in intermediary medallions, ducks crossing beaks, or hounds in the capitals.



Figure 2.20: Initial Q and beginning of the Gospel according to Luke in a Gospel book written at Saint-Amand, third quarter of the ninth century. New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS M. 862, fol. 92v. Photographic credit: The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.



Figure 2.21: Framed page with portion of the opening of the Gospel according to Mark in a Gospel Book written at Saint-Amand, third quarter of the ninth century. New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS M. 862, fol. 59r. Photographic credit: The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.



Figure 2.22: Ornamented page for the Incipit of the Gospel according to Matthew in a Gospel Book written at Saint-Amand, third quarter of the ninth century. Cologne, Museum Schnütgen, Inv. G 531, fol. 12r. Foto: Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln / Museum Schnütgen, Köln.



Figure 2.23: Depiction of John the Evangelist in a Gospel book written at Saint-Amand, third quarter of the ninth century. Cologne, Museum Schnütgen, Inv. G 531, fol. 151v. Foto: Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln / Museum Schnütgen, Köln.



Figure 2.24: Initial LI at the beginning of the Gospel according to Matthew, written at Saint-Amand, third quarter of the ninth century. Jouarre, Abbaye Notre-Dame, 28 [Grand Séminaire de Meaux], fol. 8r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Abbaye Notre-Dame de Jouarre.

10. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 257. “The Gospels of François II.”⁴⁰⁸ “Spearhead script” and the dotting effect appear on Matthew’s page (fol. 14r), but capitalis is used for Mark’s INITIUM (fol. 62r). From the start IHu/IHs is used (fol. 4v). A

⁴⁰⁸ Digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84516351.r=evangiles%20francois%20ii?rk=21459;2>; Koehler/Mütherich, DFS, pp. 194–203, Pl. 43–44; Lafitte, Denoël and Cruzet, *Trésors carolingiens*, cat. 56, pp. 211–12.



Figure 2.25: Depiction of Luke the Evangelist by an illuminator of Reims, in the Gospels of François II, written at Saint-Amand, third quarter of the ninth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 257, fol. 94v. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

unique technique was employed here, where the name of Jesus, as well as any words he speaks during the Gospel narrative, were actually written out in gold, in contrast to the brown ink of the narrative text (see Figure 2.27). These names in gold always take the new form with the capital eta IHu xpi (14v) or IHS xps (15r) or IHm (fol. 15r), and this is true also in the *capitula* and prologues where the names are not written in gold. Gold was also employed for the other *nomina sacra*: “dominus,” “spiritus



Figure 2.26: Ornamented page with initial IN at the beginning of the Gospel according to John in the Gospels of François II, written at Saint-Amand, third quarter of the ninth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 257, fol. 149r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

sanctus,” “deus,” and so on. Despite the name, it was already in the French Royal Collection before King François II (1544–1560), and was part of the oldest nucleus of France’s royal library, put together by King François I (1515–1547).⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁹ For some additional hypotheses about provenance see Fabrizio Crivello, “L’evangelario detto di Francesco II proviene dall’Italia? Per la storia del lat.257 della Bibliothèque Nationale de

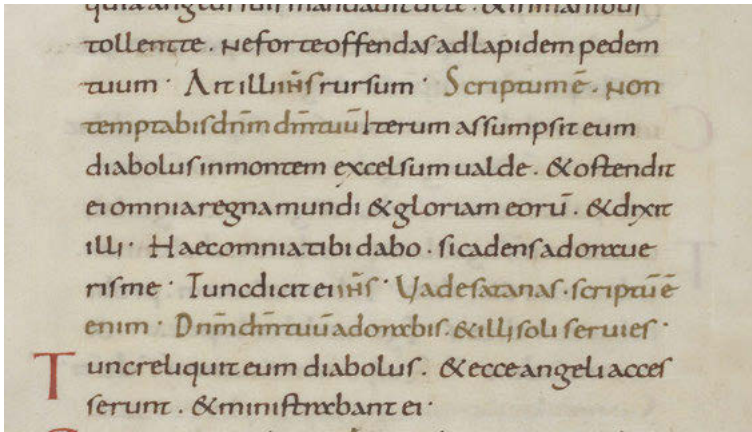


Figure 2.27: Portion of the Gospel according to Matthew in the Gospels of François II, written at Saint-Amand, third quarter of the ninth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 257, fol. 17v. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The Gospels of François II represent another artistic high point. The NO initial at the opening of Jerome's letter (fol. 1r) is larger and incorporates more characteristic motifs we describe as Franco-Saxon, supplied with interlace, and lobes, and now over a dozen lines in size. The Canon tables are the most fully ornamented of all the Gospel Books as well, containing ever more creature forms interacting, and forming parts of architectural elements (fol. 10v–11r). The most striking new element is the incorporation of the Crucifixion miniature on fol. 12v, in the finest tradition of Reims illumination, and the Evangelists were drawn in the same refined style (see Figure 2.25).⁴¹⁰ The Crucifixion is now part of a pair with the portrait of Matthew, both having frames with corner medallions and creatures wound around them drawn in silver,

France,” in *Quand le peintre était dans les livres. Mélanges en l'honneur de François Avril*, eds. Maria Hoffmann, Eberhard König, and Caroline Zöhl (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 59–61.

⁴¹⁰ Mütterich/Koehler, DfS, pp. 41–46; on Reims illumination see Koehler and Mütterich, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen* vol. 6: *Die Schule von Reims*, 2 vols; Florentine Mütterich, “Carolingian manuscript Illumination in Reims,” in *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art. Picturing the Psalms of David*, ed. Cornelis van der Horst, William Noel and Wilhelmina Wüstefeld (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), pp. 104–19.

and Matthew's incipit then follows within an arcade, entirely in gold (fol. 13v), facing his initial LIBER (fol. 14r). For the other Evangelists, each portrait faces another arcade in which the attribute animal is found alone (Mark fol. 60v–61r, Luke 94v–95r, John 147v–148r), then come the framed pages with the incipit and initial (Mark fol. 61v–62r, Luke 95v–96r, John 148v–149r). Border medallions are outlined in silver, and Mark and Luke's initials have intermediate middle medallions in the verticals of the frames. "Mirroring" is not practiced in the corner medallions and silver used in the borders and portions of the initials.

The Late Manuscripts that Revert to the Lower-Case Form

Some scribes of the last manuscripts we might discuss were attracted by the new form, but also reverted to the older form. They perhaps belong at a similar time to **Sens** (880s), which shows some reversion too, or, more likely, some time after it.

11. Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, cod. 14 (Bischoff: "Saint-Amand schule unter Beteiligung eines bretonischen Buchmalers, IX Jh., 3./4. Viertel").⁴¹¹ "Spearhead" script is no longer used even on Matthew's initial page (fol. 16v), but capitalis predominates here and as on the incipits of the Gospels. It has been suggested that the manuscript was written by a single scribe (von Euw), in which case this single scribe no longer chose to use the capital form of Jesus at all (fol. 6v, 18v, 129v, 182v).

This book has the developed format of four framed pages at the opening of each Gospel Book, with Evangelist portrait, incipit, initial, and first word in capitalis (Mark fol. 67v–69r, Luke 104v–106r, John 160v–162r), however the surviving image of the Virgin Mary and John at the opening of Matthew was originally paired with a facing, now lost Crucifixion folio, with the portrait of Matthew on the back, facing the initial.⁴¹² Finally, there is one more framed pair of pages opening the entire manuscript (fol. 1v–2r). On the right Saint Jerome is depicted as translator, facing the NO initial that begins his prologue, which has become a fully framed initial page. Thus, this manuscript has by far the most framed pages

⁴¹¹ Koehler/Mütherich, DfS, pp. 204–14, Pl. 54–62; von Euw, *Das Buch der vier Evangelien*, pp. 47–49; digitised at: <https://digital.dombibliothek-koeln.de/hs/content/titleinfo/156139>.

⁴¹² Anton von Euw, "Ein fehlendes Blatt im frankosächsischen Evangeliar Cod. 14 der Kölner Dombibliothek," in *Festschrift für Peter Bloch*, eds. Hartmut Krohm and Christian Theuerkaff (Mainz: Zabern, 1990), pp. 1–8.

(twenty were originally present), and more figures. The prologues to each Gospel each have an additional initial as well (MA for Mark on 66r, L for Luke on 100v, H for John on 158v). Though the book is lavish with silver and gold, the execution of the figures, initials, and arcades, in this manuscript is significantly less skilled, and the figures were by an artist with a different training. However, that he was Breton, as Bischoff suggested, is not proven.⁴¹³

12. Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 462 (Bischoff: “Wahrscheinlich Saint-Amand, IX Jh., 4. Viertel”).⁴¹⁴ The manuscript is also unfinished and has a pair of blank folios before each Gospel, where planned incipit and initial pages were never added. Thus, it was not included in Koehler/Mütherich’s survey. It is possible that a new exemplar was used, because, for example, the Gospels have running headings SECUNDUM MATTHEUM at the top of each two pages, and some original passion letters, not found in any preceding books. Scribes start using the capital form of Jesus exclusively, in the *capitulare*, and opening of Mark, but the form with sigma IHC (fol. 15v, 71r), and even IHC XPC (fol. 21r) soon appear. Nevertheless, the lower-case form appears and becomes more and more common, first used freely alongside the upper-case form, but becoming almost exclusive by the Gospels of Luke and John, with occasional capital forms. The confusion of the scribes is manifest on single pages where three forms of the nominative for Jesus even appear, *ihs*, *IHS*, and *IHC* (fol. 40r, 71r), or different forms within two lines of each other (fol. 56r). The impression we receive here is that the scribes had been led to use the capital form, but were still somewhat uncomfortable with it, and, without constant reminder, perhaps from the head of the *scriptorium*, often switched back to lower-case.

It remains very difficult to place accurately all these Gospel Book manuscripts on an exact scale of artistic development, even the one proposed by Koehler and Mütherich, which placed Tours and Saint-Hubert in one stage, then Leiden, Schnütgen, and New York, then Jouarre, and, at the high point, Lyon, BM, Ms. 431 and Paris, BnF, lat. 257 together with the Second Bible (Paris, BnF, lat.2). It is clear that different artists were using “Franco-Saxon” motifs and playing with them, while a distinct choice in materials and patterns was available to them. So, for example, the book in Lyon and, to a greater extent, the Gospels of François II, created the most extravagant and ornamented Canon Tables, which draw further arcades or arches

⁴¹³ As Nees “On Carolingian Book painters,” p. 225 notes, Breton seems to be often used synonymously with “unskilled.”

⁴¹⁴ Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, p. 174n792.

around the original sets of three columns, but neither uses “mirroring” or silver any more than cursorily on their border and initial pages, rendering them less dynamic, though perhaps more ornate, than the Morgan Library and Schnütgen books. Yet Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 431, for all its quality, does not have portraits of Evangelists, and so has fewer frames than the Morgan Library or Jouarre manuscripts. Some ornamenting techniques show up only intermittently in the series. The Schnütgen Museum Gospel Book uses dots in patterns behind the initials, as does the Lyon book and the Gospels of François II, but others do not. A “yellowing” of parts of the interlace is used in the Leiden book and the Gospels of François II (see Figure 2.25) (as in **Saint-Denis** in Figure 1). The winding creatures around usually the first pair of framed pages appears often, but not always, as in our sacramentaries. Two forms of “spearhead” script are used, where Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 431 exclusively uses blank parchment on red hatching, and others generally employ gold letters. Finally, Cologne Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, cod. 14 clearly represented another critical shift in practice and is visibly less skilfully executed (both in art and script in the abandonment of the capital monogram), yet this book had more framed pages and portraits than any other, and used silver abundantly. Among the sacramentaries, **Noyon** did as well, but **Noyon** is still of higher quality than the Cologne book, though less expert in execution than those sacramentaries that came before it.

But a clear distinction can be made, and that is between those manuscripts which come before the adoption of the capital form IHs/IHm/IHu, and those that came after it. At the same time as the capital form was adopted, frames appeared in the Gospel books, the forms of the initials for John changed to be more distinct from that of Mark, and the Q of Luke was filled in with floral patterns, rather than left blank. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB VII 13, whose Q has a filling ornament in the centre of the letter, though a distinctive form, was on the very cusp of these changes. Along with this, we should highlight the deployment of the “spearhead” script especially in the initial page for Matthew, which first comes into the repertoire also in Leiden, Bibliotheek des Rijksuniversiteit, Ms. BPL 48, and also increased deployment of rustic capitals as an alternative script in a more developed hierarchy. Notably, early Gospel books of Saint-Amand (Douai, BM, Ms. 12 or the Livinus Gospels), just like the Colbertine fragments, use capitalis and uncial for display scripts, but do not use rustic capitals.⁴¹⁵ They then began to be used more clumsily in the Noyon Gospels and Saint-Hubert Gospels, but increasingly in

⁴¹⁵ Rustic capitals began to be adopted in some manuscripts of the end of the “Arn-Stil,” perhaps on the basis of certain exemplars: for example, Valenciennes, BM, MS 172, of Cassiodorus, who used rustic capitals sparingly at opening (1r after capitalis, 2r, 6r), sometimes alternating red and green (11r), but reverts to uncial often (10r) in preference, see Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 396:

Leiden, Bibliotheek des Rijksuniversiteit, BPL Ms. 48 and then universally as part of the repertoire. A secondary proof that clearly supports the ordering of the Gospels in this fashion is the form of the *Capitulare Evangeliorum* at the end of the book. In the Gospel Books which script and art placed earliest, Klauser's form Σ is copied (for example, in the Gospel Book of Noyon or Saint-Hubert).⁴¹⁶ With Leiden, BPL Ms. 48, the form Δ is used, and thereafter for all the following Gospel Books.⁴¹⁷ This again, seems to be a distinctive change in practice, perhaps the availability of a new exemplar, that took place in the *scriptorium* at a distinct time, and it corresponds with the same indications of the change in the writing of the name of Jesus. We should remember that the earliest of our sacramentaries, **Le Mans**, already confidently integrated rustic capitals into its hierarchy and **Tournai** uses "spear-head" script for the final three letters of VERE, as do all the others. Along with their use of the capital form of Jesus, this places most of our sacramentaries during the same time as the height of the finest Gospel Book production (from Leiden, Bibliotheek des Rijksuniversiteit, Ms. BPL 48, to the Gospels of François II).

So, finally, where to place the Second Bible, dated 871–873? The inventiveness and breadth of initials in the Second Bible is the chief glory of the manuscript. Yet it must be noted that certain tendencies in the Gospel Books and sacramentaries are not yet fully brought to realisation here. The only two fully framed pages are the first two for Genesis, Paris, BnF, lat. 2, fol. 10v for the incipit in capitals and 11r for the initials I and N, separate, and the word PRINCIPIO in capitals. These have as frames the long-necked biting creatures, and the frames are also broken by medallions in the middle, with floral or interlace motifs. Silver is not used, and the creators of the manuscript never take advantage of the contrast between silver and gold. These first opening pages are followed by two pages in golden uncial (11v–12r), but these are not framed at all. Glorious indeed is the opening of the manuscripts, but it is striking that the frames, which are so vital in the Franco-Saxon tradition at the time the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand were made, are used nowhere else in the book. In the Second Bible, the initial for John is still the simple I (387r), basically identical to the form of Mark, except with eagle heads, a form abandoned in Gospel Books from the Leiden manuscript onwards, which started to use an IN form instead. The most fully ornamented page in the Second Bible is that of Matthew, the first Gospel, which has a facing incipit page (Paris BnF, lat. 2, fol. 354v) and initial page (fol. 355r), in which the LI and

"Saint-Amand, IX Jh., wohl noch vor der Schwelle zum 2. Viertel." [trans. probably still before the threshold of the second quarter].

⁴¹⁶ Koehler/Mütherich, DFS, p. 90; Theodor Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum*, vol. 1: *Typen*, LQF 28 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1935), pp.93–129.

⁴¹⁷ Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum*, pp. 131–73.



Figure 2.28: Opening page of the Gospel according to Matthew in the Second Bible of Charles the Bald, written at Saint-Amand, 871–873. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2, fol. 355r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

the following words in “spearhead” script BER GENERATIONIS take up one column (see Figure 2.27). The “spearhead” script uses both techniques, parchment on red hatching, and writing drawn in gold. Notably, the creatures around the LI do not have “halos” or “rings” around them, which our Gospel Books integrate from the manuscript in Leiden onwards, see Figure 2.24. It is notable as well that the Paris, BnF, lat. 2’s Canon Tables are simply not as ornate and elaborate as some other Gospel Books (particularly, those of the Gospel Book in Lyon and the Gospels of François II).

Thus, as we already saw in the palaeography, the Second Bible was the announcement of a new phase in the splendour of Saint-Amand’s deluxe manuscripts, and not the “end point” of the style (as Koehler and Mütherich argued). In this observation, I return, in fact, to an opinion originally stated by Nordenfalk, who distinguished between what he saw as an “early” Franco-Saxon phase, including the sacramentaries **Le Mans** and **Tournai**, and a “high” Franco-Saxon phase, including the Second Bible, Gospels of François II and the rest of the sacramentaries.⁴¹⁸ The shift I have suggested is likely to be the responsibility of Gauzlin, and hangs upon the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (created ca. 871–873). Ordering Saint-Amand manuscripts “pre” and “post” this historical shift is likely to be more accurate and successful than tracking a strict development of “style.”

Non-Deluxe Manuscripts Made at Saint-Amand

Although it is not possible to go through all manuscripts of Saint-Amand in as much depth, our examination allows us to show that the capital form of the name of Jesus does seem to present an important diagnostic feature for manuscripts that were produced in a particularly productive phase in the 870s and 880s. Here I employ the manuscripts of Christian texts, which would use the name Jesus, as associated with Saint-Amand by Bischoff’s *Katalog*.

Manuscripts with Exclusively the Lower-Case Form (IX, Middle to Third Quarter)

- Laon, Bibliothèque Suzanne Martinet Ms. 80, a copy of a Commentary on John.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸ Nordenfalk, “Ein karolingisches Sacramentar aus Echternach,” pp. 233–36.

⁴¹⁹ Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, n. 2062: “unmittelbare Vorstufe des strengen Stils der Blütezeit des franko-sächsischen Stil . . . Saint-Amand, IX Jh., (kurz nach?) Mitte” [trans. the immediate precursor

- Paris, BnF, lat. 2996 (Bischoff: “ca Mitte, Bis 3.Viertel”): Paulinus of Aquileia’s *Liber Exhortationis*.⁴²⁰ A comparatively simple Franco-Saxon style O on fol. 3r (yellow with interlace compartments).
- Paris, BnF, lat.2999 fol. 1–32 contains a copy of the *De Poenitentiae* of Halitgar of Cambrai (d. 830/831).⁴²¹ One initial A on fol. 7r, suggested to be in the Franco-Saxon style of Saint-Bertin. Dated to the mid-century (“Mitte bis 3. Viertel”) by Bischoff, possibly in the abbacy of Adalhard, who also led Saint-Bertin. This probably places it at around the same time as Hand A of the Colbertine fragments, before scribal changes beginning with **Le Mans** and the Second Bible.
- Fragments of a *Capitulare Evangeliorum* today in Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek (Bischoff: “Saint-Amand, IX. Jh. 3. Drittel”).⁴²²
- Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 173, fol. 59–110. Passion of Saint Sebastian (Bischoff: “IX ca. 2. Viertel/Mitte”).⁴²³ A single use of IHS on first line of the text (fol. 59r), later ihs (fol. 89v and 95v, 98v, 110v). Uncial for the title in red, while rustic capitals used for Explicit (fol. 82v) and incipit of second book, alternating red and green rustic capitals on 108v. My criteria might date this later than Bischoff, who seemed more uncertain in this case.⁴²⁴
- Munich, BSB, Clm 8837 (guard folios) and Clm 29260 (7 and strips in Ottobeuren, Bibliothek der Benediktinerabtei, MS O 13/3. (Bischoff: “Wahrscheinlich Saint Amand, IX Jh.Mitte oder 3. Viertel”).⁴²⁵ This presents several fragments of what was once a complete Bible. As Bischoff’s dating indicated, it is proba-

sor of the strict style of the Golden Age of the Franco-Saxon style . . . Saint-Amand, ninth century, (shortly after?) Middle]; Digitised at: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md33rv04508d>.

420 Digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10537357q/f23.item.r=latin%202996>; Text edited in: Angelo De Nicola, *Sancti Paulini Patriarchae Aquileiensis Liber exhortationis*, Antichità Altoadriatiche. Monografie, 2 (Triest: Centro di Antichità altoadriatiche, 2005).

421 Digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9066172n/f24.item.r=latin%202999.zoom>; text edited in Hermann Joseph Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren. Nach handschriftlichen Quellen* (Mainz – Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1898, repr. Graz: Akademische Druck, 1958), pp. 264–300.

422 Alban Dold, “Ein Fragment eines ‘Capitulare Evangeliorum’ aus der Fragmentenmappe des Stifts Engelberg.” *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 11 (1931), pp. 67–77; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, n. 1161.

423 Digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84525973/f121.item.r=Valenciennes%20173>.

424 ANA 553, A, I VALENCIENNES: “Minuskel wohl nicht vollendet geprägte franko-sächsische Minuskel, wohl IX 2/4-Mitte, ihr aber schon in dem Proportionen nahekommend (jedenfalls Saint Amand)” [trans. The minuscule is probably not the fully shaped Franco-Saxon minuscule, and is probably of the ninth century’s second quarter to middle, but comes very close to it in the proportions (in any case, of Saint-Amand.)]

425 Clm 29260 (7 is online: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb00071136>; Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, vol. 2, p. 234.

bly to be placed earlier than the Gospel Books of the monastery, possibly around the same time as Hand A in the Colbertine fragments. In the Munich Fragments displaying extracts from Acts, the name of Jesus is rendered “ihu xpi” or “ihs xps.” Seemingly, the habit of using capital **n** in minuscule words has not yet caught on here, placing the Bible likely even before **Le Mans**, in which several scribes used it.

Manuscripts with Exclusively the Upper-Case Form (870s and 880s)

- The fragment of a lectionary in the Vatican City, BAV, lat. 10644, fol. 34–35.⁴²⁶ One of few manuscripts to also show the special sigma form of the nominative IHC (fol. 34r, 34v, two lines from bottom).
- The single folio, Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 583 fol. 9, the folio from a Collectar mistakenly described as a sacramentary by Bischoff, has the form iHm.
- Ghent, Grand Séminaire, Ms. 224, fol. 1–79 (Bischoff: “IX Jh., 3. Drittel”).⁴²⁷ Copy of the Life of Saint Amand given to Saint-Bavo in the ninth century, including Easter Tables (741–941) with brief annals (*Annales Sancti Amandi Breves*) which go up to the year 855, but were therefore copied from an earlier exemplar.⁴²⁸
- The monks of Saint-Amand were involved in adding to a manuscript of the *Liber Pontificalis* and Royal Frankish Annals in Vienna, ÖNB, cod. lat. 473.⁴²⁹ They clearly added the life of Charlemagne by Einhard in the middle of the

⁴²⁶ Digitized at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.10644.

⁴²⁷ Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, p. 286; digitised at: <https://lib.ugent.be/catalog/rug01:000766642>.

⁴²⁸ Life of Saint-Amand by Baumund, MGH *Scriptores rerum Merovingiacarum*, vol. 5, pp. 395–449, with the *Suppletio* added by Milo of Saint-Amand, *Ibid.*, pp. 450–59; *Annales breves Elnonenses*, ed. Georg Pertz, MGH *Scriptores*, vol. 2 (Hannover: Hansche Buchhandlung, 1829), p. 184; another copy of the life of Saint-Amand is now fragmentary between Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 339, ff. 39–46 and Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1396 V (41–44), carrying in fol. 41r of the Vatican portion a large non-figural Franco-Saxon initial A with a facing incipit page in capitalis.

⁴²⁹ Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, 479: “Nordostfrankreich (Saint-Amand?), IX Jh., 2. Hälfte” (quoting from Bernhard Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften* (Lorsch: Heimat- und Kulturverein Lorsch, 1974), 132); Helmut Reimitz, “Ein karolingisches Geschichtsbuch aus Saint-Amand. Der Codex Vindobonensis Pal. lat. 473,” in *Text, Schrift Codex. Quellenkundliche Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Österreichische Geschichte*, eds. Christoph Egger and Herwig Wielg (Vienna: Böhlau, 2000), pp. 34–90; unlike Reimitz, I would hesitate to attribute the rest of the manuscript to Saint-Amand at the same time as these enhancements, and suppose an earlier manuscript from elsewhere (similarities in script and initials to **Berengar** could imply Cysoing) was enhanced slightly later by scribes writing in the Saint-Amand deluxe style.

annals, which shows the characteristics of our sacramentaries, which do not appear in other hands of the manuscript. The scribe of this portion uses the two-c **a** only for the **ra** ligature, and, in the writing of the will of Charlemagne (fol. 150r), employed the capital form of the name of Jesus IHs, which can be seen nowhere else in the manuscript.

- A curiously small pocket-book sized copy of Adramnus's *De Loci Sancti* in fragments from the monastery of Tegernsee, today in Munich, BSB, Clm 19150.⁴³⁰
- A manuscript of Bede's *Chronica*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Philipps 1895 (Rose 132) (Bischoff: "Saint-Amand, IX Jh., 3. Drittel"). Also later in Reims, and uses the capital form IHs xps (fol. 23v), as part of a portion described as "closest to the script of the deluxe codices."⁴³¹

Reversion of Some Scribes (End of Ninth Century)

- Paris, BnF, lat. 12016 is a copy of a commentary on Job, copied, according to Bischoff, "by many hands in the late style of the Franco-Saxon golden age at Saint-Amand" or ("IX Jh., 4. Viertel").⁴³² Potentially, this manuscript accompanied **Saint-Germain**, either being written by Saint-Amand scribes at the monastery of Saint-Germain or being left behind there by the monks of Saint-Amand, as the timing would fit, and it was clearly at one point in the possession of that monastery (fol. 1r. "SANCTI GERMANI A PRATIS"). The writing of the name of Jesus in this manuscript lacks consistency: for example, upper-case forms (IHs/IHu) are found on fol. 12v, 26r, 38v, and 51r but then lower-case is used on fol. 26v, 39v, 52v, 58r, 62r, 66r.
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 430. Martin of Braga, Ferrandus and Ambrosius Autpertus (Bischoff: "Ende oder IX/X").⁴³³ The single use of the name Jesus employs the form ihs (fol. 35r).

⁴³⁰ Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, p. 270; also Bischoff, *Schreibschulen*, vol. 2, p. 228.

⁴³¹ Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, p. 93: "Typische Minuskel des späteren Saint-Amand Stils von mehreren Händen, der Schrift von Prachtcodices am nächsten 14rff."

⁴³² Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, 181; Digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90768122/f1.item.r=latin%2012016.zoom>.

⁴³³ Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, 180; Digitised at: <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/sr322fp9792>

- Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 294, fol. 1–19 (Bischoff: “IX Jh., 4. Viertel”).⁴³⁴ Cassiodorus, *De Anima*.⁴³⁵ Use of lower case form ihu (fol. 18r). Rustic capitals only as display script (19v).

This brief survey displays the breadth of material copied at Saint-Amand, and also confirms the appearance of the capitalised eta in the monogram of Jesus at a distinct point in the *scriptorium*'s practice, which Bischoff's dating places in the later ninth century. The unique testimony of the Second Bible indicates this was adopted in the early 870s.

Imitating Saint-Amand at Reims

Having established the characteristics of script and decoration of genuine Saint-Amand books, including the fragment **Noyon**, we might now briefly investigate the features of the later enhancement, **Reims**. As indicated above, palaeographical analysis makes it clear that **Reims**, as a whole, does not belong with the ninth-century sacramentaries of Saint-Amand. Unfortunately, Leroquais made an error and attributed folios 8 to 133 to the same hand, and he was followed by Deshusses, and then by Koehler and Mütterich. The change from Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 16v (the Canon Missae in the ninth-century Saint-Amand hand) to fol. 17r (the body of the Sacramentary in a Reims hand of ca. 900) is visible in the digitised facsimile, or in Figures 5 and 6. In general, the script of **Reims** is sharper and less rounded, significantly less expert and uniform in appearance.

The scribes clearly imitated the style of our sacramentaries, with some competence. As in the Saint-Amand books, the capitals are in alternating red and green. Uncial is used on fol. 17r, the first mass of the new sacramentary, for both the title of the masses and mass prayers, but the scribe seems reluctant to use uncial thereafter, sometimes employing uncial for titles of masses (seemingly the most important feasts Epiphany, Candlemas, Palm Sunday fol. 33v, Easter Sunday 41r, Ascension 47v, Pentecost 50r, Advent 66r etc.), but thereafter always using rustic capitals for mass prayers and for most of the mass titles. Uncial was generally avoided in Reims, as Carey already stated.⁴³⁶ For several of the masses with decorated initials (for ex-

⁴³⁴ Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 398; Digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84526071.r=valenciennes%20294?rk=21459;2>.

⁴³⁵ Ed. J. W. Halporn, in CCSL 96 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1973).

⁴³⁶ Frederick Carey, “The Scriptorium of Reims during the Archbishopric of Hincmar (845–882 A.D.),” in *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand*, ed. Leslie Webber Jones (New York: Leslie Webber Jones, 1938), pp. 41–60.

ample, All Saints on fol. 109v, the first Sunday after Christmas fol. 117r, De Sapientia on fol. 126r) the first line of the first mass prayer is also written out in rustic capitals, something Saint-Amand scribes never do. In the rubrics, the scribes use alternating green and red rustic capitals. Some of the first capitals for a few masses in the middle of the book are also in silver (fol. 103v, 104r, 108v).

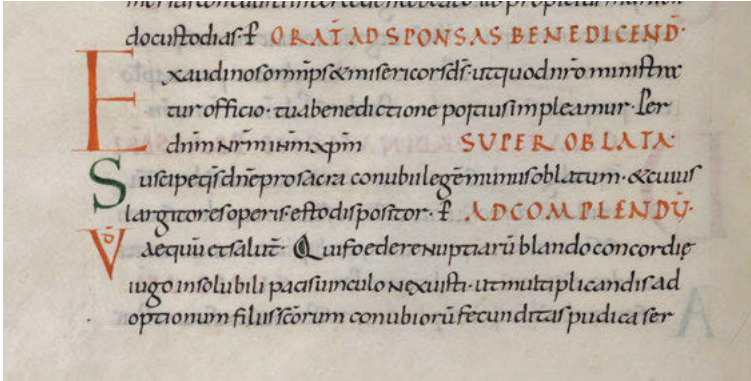


Figure 2.29: Portion of the Mass for blessings of a marriage in a sacramentary written at Saint-Thierry, ca. 900. Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 69v. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque Carnegie de Reims.

In particular, the initials for each prayer distinguish **Reims** clearly from the genuine Saint-Amand books, commonly taking forms that never appear in the genuine Saint-Amand sacramentaries of the ninth century. The horizontal stroke of capital A, for example, is not always straight but has an alternative form in which a v shape is within the letter, more embellished than the universally simple Saint-Amand form (for example, fol. 95r or in Figure 6). Two forms of capital E are also used (fol. 96r) and two forms of D, the uncial and the capital (for example, fol. 97r). We never see the uncial form used as an initial in our Franco-Saxon sacramentaries, with one exception (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 13v), that proves the rule. A DEUS capital is used with the S inside the D, a feature, again, that the books from Saint-Amand after **Le Mans** do not use (for example, Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 169r).

A particularly important demonstration of the difference of this sacramentary from all the others is the VD initial for VERE DIGNUM during the prefaces. The **Reims** scribes use two main forms, the traditional UD monogram (principally in the preface collection, fol. 187r–234v) and a form with a capital V, and a tiny uncial d nestling inside it (Figure 2.29). The second form is used principally within the main portion of the Sacramentary (fol. 17v, twice on 18r, 40v, 46v, 65v, 69r,

69v). This form is never seen in the Saint-Amand sacramentaries, and no decorator in them ever uses it. However, the only other extant complete Reims sacramentary from the Carolingian period, the Sacramentary of Kroměříž, uses this form.⁴³⁷

In the minuscule, the **Reims** scribes also imitated the Saint-Amand scribes. For example, they use the uncial N for many of the same words (“nostrae,” “in,” etc.). Other traits are, however, used here, which were not present at Saint-Amand. An uncial **d** is employed in the minuscule of the main text (it is used for all abbreviations of “deus” by one scribe for example, fol. 174r), but is entirely different from the same letter employed only in subsidiary portions and not in the main text in the Saint-Amand sacramentaries, with a vertical stroke that curves back again on itself. Additionally, ligatures take forms they never do in the hands of Saint-Amand. In the **et** ligature, the upper compartment of **e** is significantly more pronounced, and taller than the shape of **t** (fol. 149r or in Figure 7 twice in line 7 and 8 at the beginning of the line). For the **ct**, an upwards curve can be quite flourishing to the left (see also Figure 7 “cuncta” in the fifth line). The scribes can use the **ra** ligature, but it is spikier, for example, Reims, Bibliothèque Carnégie 213 fol. 50r or Figure 2.29. This form of the two-c **a** is used here in other contexts, like the **a** at the end of the word “Praesta” on fol. 63v, where we never see this form employed in Saint-Amand books. The scribes of the main portion of the manuscript generally avoided the capital form of Jesus (fol. 20v, 38r), which was universally adopted in **Chelles** and **Tournai** that supposedly precede Reims, but occasionally they do imitate this as well (as in Figure 2.29).

Unlike all the other Saint-Amand sacramentaries, additional decorated initials in “Franco-Saxon” style are used to highlight feasts throughout the book, not just in the Canon. The Vigil of Christmas has a decorative initial DEUS (in Figure 6), as in **Chelles**, though much smaller and cruder, then Easter (fol. 41r) Ascension (fol. 48r), Pentecost (fol. 50r), All Saints’ Day (fol. 109v), the first Sunday after Christmas (fol. 117r), the first votive mass, DE SAPIENTIA (fol. 126r) all also have decorated initials. Four have purple behind them, probably indicating that the purple was added to the Canon quire, **Noyon**, too at Reims, as purple was not used as a background at Saint-Amand. While they closely imitate the Franco-Saxon style of the Saint-Amand books (including the “spearhead” letter S inside the D of 41r, the facing animal heads of 48r), there were no such initials in the body of the other Saint-Amand sacramentaries. These use shapes and forms in configurations that are not seen in the “Hauptgruppe” books, the **D** is a curious form, a circle leaned against a straight

437 Westwell, “The Carolingian Sacramentary in Kroměříž.”

line, though the interlocking shapes inside forming a square can be seen in Franco-Saxon letters (fol. 126r, also on 50r). This indicates that Franco-Saxon initials were practiced and likely directly copied in Reims, sufficiently convincing to suggest even to Koehler and Mutherich that this was a genuine product of the “Hauptgruppe,” and this was, again, a sign of their uncritical dependence on Deshusses in the matter of the sacramentaries. The Reims example destabilises further the assumption that linked such initials to the practice of a single atelier rooted in a single place. These initials seem most likely to be from imitators, but it may be that artists who had some experience with Franco-Saxon motifs were also given refuge in Reims by Archbishop Fulk, who seems to have taken on Gauzlin’s role as patron and protector, after the latter’s death.

We can surmise, therefore, that the main sacramentary of **Reims**, excluding the Canon portion added to it, was not written at Saint-Amand at all, since the similarities of the script stem from imitation. Most likely is that **Reims** was written by scribes from there. In the additions which were made to the manuscript clearly at Reims, including the first quire where there appear two masses for St. Theodericus, and the mass of St. Remigius on fol. 186r, the script does not distinguish itself significantly from the content following the Canon. The text of the *apologiae* (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 2r) have the A capital with a v form inside it, and the mass for St. Theodericus (fol. 7v) has the same **ct** ligature. Moreover, palaeographical traits seen throughout the Sacramentary are clearly also present in manuscripts produced at Reims, including sacramentaries like the ninth-century Kroměříž Sacramentary, a fragment bound in Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 163, and the tenth-century Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 214 (**Saint-Thierry**), which copied and developed the older **Reims**.⁴³⁸

438 The Utrecht fragment is digitised at: <https://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-240476&>; Evina Steinová, ed., “A fragment of a ninth-century liturgical book in the holdings of Utrecht University Library,” *Codices Manuscripti*, 82/83 (2012), pp. 1–9; Steinová offers the possibility the original manuscript was of Saint-Amand itself, *Ibid.*, p. 4: “(Perhaps directly from Saint-Amand)” and identified a connection to the monastery with an apparent Bishop of Utrecht, Altfried, appointed around 866 (who, if he existed, is not obviously the same as the Abbot of Saint-Amand of the same name, as argued by Platelle, *Le Temporal*, p. 58). However, the palaeography does not especially resemble the characteristics here established as of Saint-Amand (note the **et** ligature, large belly of **a**, varied forms of **s**, exclusive use of rustic capitals for headings), nor does the curious very small book format (ca. 183 x 120/130 mm). The direct incorporation of chants to the masses was also never done at Saint-Amand. As in Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 393: “[Reims, IX. Jh. Mitte/ 3.Viertel],” Reims is most likely. New information added by Bart Jaski, “Sacramentary’ (fragment). The sacramentary of Odilbald?” published online, 2012: <https://www.uu.nl/en/special-collections/collections/manuscripts/other-medieval/sacramentary-fragment> indicates the fragment was written by the same scribe as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 272, the “Achadeus Psalter” of Reims (dated

Intensive collaboration between Reims and Saint-Amand in the production of manuscripts can be noted in the period of the late third or fourth quarter of the ninth century, in addition to the painting of figures of Evangelists by artists trained in Reims to “Hauptgruppe” manuscripts. Hucbald of Saint-Amand embodied and deepened this connection. We know he acquired several books written at Reims, to which he came at the invitation of Archbishop Fulk, who asked him to help reconstruct the school.⁴³⁹ After Gauzlin’s death, Fulk of Reims seems to have been an unofficial advocate of Saint-Amand and represented the monks to Charles the Simple, at time when their own new lay, noble abbots were much less invested than Gauzlin had been.⁴⁴⁰ Bischoff noted at least two manuscripts dated to this period, that were produced by a collaboration between Reims and Saint-Amand scribes, now in Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 174 and Ms. 415, and both of which have some connection to Hucbald.⁴⁴¹ Ms. 415 is a copy of poems by Milo of Saint-Amand, Hucbald’s uncle, in Saint-Amand hands (fol. 1r, 5v–64r) to which a poem of Hucbald’s own in praise of Charles the Bald (“Aurea lux mundi . . .”) was also added later by Reims scribes (fol. 2r–4v).⁴⁴² In the final line of the Hucbald poem on fol. 4v, the name of Hucbald (“*Hucbaldique*”) is strikingly written in red, and is clearly in a different hand from the rest of the poem, including the “que.” The hand seems much more like Saint-Amand than the rest, being significantly less spiky and cursive than the Reims hand preceding it, with thicker ascenders. It seems fair to say that we might have the poet’s own signature here. The acrostic palindromic maxim in

883–884), providing a date for the fragment around 880, that would cohere with my conclusions about this original book given here and below, p. 318.

439 Gerhard Schneider, *Erzbischof Fulco von Reims (883–900) und das Frankenreich* (Munich: Ardeo-Gesellschaft, 1973), pp. 242–43; for his invitation to Hucbald see Rosamond McKitterick, “Knowledge of Plato’s *Timaeus* in the Ninth Century: The Implications of Valenciennes Bibliothèque Municipale 293,” in *From Athens to Chartres: Studies in Honour of Edouard Jeuneau*, edited by Haijo Jan Westra (Leiden: Brill 1992), pp. 85–96.

440 DChs 18, dated 899; see Geoffrey Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840–987)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), p. 502n173; Schneider, *Fulco von Reims*, p. 124.

441 Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 174 digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84526308/f1.item.r=valenciennes%20174.zoom>; Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 415 digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452611x/f1.item.r=valenciennes%20415>; see also David Ganz, “Carolingian Manuscripts: The Verdict of the Master,” *Francia* 42 (2015), 267–72 on Valenciennes MSS.

442 On Ms. 415, ANA 553, A, I VALENCIENNES: “1r kalligraphische Franco-sächische Minuskel, sehr mitgenommen (Werken Milos Schule), 1v–5r Reims Minuskel, 5v–64r meist vorzeigbare franco-sächische Minuskel, mehr als eine Hand” [trans. On 1r the calligraphic Franco-Saxon minuscule, very ropy (Works of Milo’s school), 1v–5r Reims minuscule, 5v–64r mostly presentable Franco-Saxon minuscule, of more than one hand]. It has a Carolingian binding with certain imprints of leaves and wheel shapes.

the shape of a cross written in red rustic capitals, with wording adapted from Pliny, following on fol. 5r is certainly accounted as Hucbald's work (ed. Traube, MGH *Poetae latini aevi carolini III*, p. 612: "Si bene te tua laus taxat, sua laute tenebis" [somewhat opaque in meaning, but something like trans. If your own praise rates you well, you will maintain yourself splendidly]).⁴⁴³ A most reasonable reconstruction is that Hucbald may have taken a Saint-Amand copy of his uncle's works to Reims and there overseen the copying of one of his poems into it, signing it in his own hand.

Ms. 174 appears to be the result of a collaboration between a single hand from Saint-Amand, described as "Franco-Saxon," with more than one Reims scribes, possibly then taking place in Reims itself. In the calendar in this manuscript, which is a collection of Bede's works on history and computus, we find notes for the date of Hucbald's ordination and the death of his uncle, Milo, which are likely to be in his own hand.⁴⁴⁴ Recorded in the same calendar is another event of undoubted significance to Hucbald, the assassination of his patron, Archbishop Fulc, in 900, an event which likely ended his stay in Reims.⁴⁴⁵ Hucbald's own death was recorded later, likely after he took the book back to Saint-Amand (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 174, fol. 36r: "Obiit hucbaldi philosophi anno domini dccccxxx feria 1").⁴⁴⁶ The Nachlass of Bischoff is considerably more detailed than usual in the case of the manuscript, as well as informative, and I will reproduce some extracts from the three pages found here on Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 174, having done my best to decipher his writing and expanding his abbreviations:

ANA 553, A, I VALENCIENNES: The first page, undated: "Es scheinen in der Handschrift eine Mehrzahl von Händen vorwiegend mit einem Reimser Typ mit bestimmt einer kultivierten spät franco-sächsische Hand abzuwechselln . . . In dem Kalender in der Mehrzahl S. Amand Einträgen, einziges aber von dem anderem Typ (Reims)"

⁴⁴³ Milo, Hucbald's uncle, wrote acrostic poems too including for Charles the Bald, *Sequuntur Paginae duae in speciae sanctae crucis editae ad gloriosum regem karolum*, edited by Ludwig Traube MGH *Poetae Latini medii aevi*, vol. 3: *Poetae Latini aevi carolini III* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896), pp. 562–65.

⁴⁴⁴ Valenciennes, BM, MS 174, fol. 38r: "Obitus milonis anno domini dcclxxii" and "ordinatio Hucbaldi in sacerdotium. Anno domini dcclxxx"; Chartier, *L'oeuvre musicale*, 8n44 thought they were likely Hucbald himself; obits on fol. 39r "Obitus hunbaldi anno domini dcclxxviii" and 39v "Obitus hungeri anno dcclxxviii" likely would be other relatives of his.

⁴⁴⁵ Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 174, fol. 36r: "Archeviseopus folco interfectus est anno domini dcccc feria iii."

⁴⁴⁶ Also in ANA 553, A, I VALENCIENNES Bischoff suggests the manuscript was most likely in Saint-Amand after the ninth century as the tenth-century additions were "meines Erachtens eher Saint-Amand [als Reims]" [trans. in my opinion these are more Saint-Amand than Reims].

[trans. There seem to alternate in the manuscript a number of hands mainly using a Reims type of script with a single cultivated late Franco-Saxon hand . . . in the calendar the majority of the entries are in a Saint-Amand script, but some are from the other type (Reims)].

The second page dated 21.VIII.63: “(die erste Blätter mehr oder weniger verblaßt) . . . wohl IX 4/4 . . . zum Teil Reimse zum Teil frankosächsische Hände in der Arbeit . . . von der Saint-Amand Hand <könnte Hucbald sein>”

[trans. The first folios are more or less faded . . . probably of the fourth quarter of the ninth century. Partly Reims and partly Franco-Saxon hands took part in the work. Of the Saint-Amand hand <it could be Hucbald>]

And in the smaller note dated 28.VIII.79 indicating correspondence with P. K. Marshall (likely Peter Kenneth Marshall, Professor of Classics at Amherst College (1934–1984): “von vornherein Saint-Amand oder Reims – Exil? Oder Hucbald, ab 882?”

[trans. from the outset Saint-Amand or Reims – exile? Or Hucbald, from 882]. Here, Bischoff discussed an extract from Jordanes on the half folio fol. 41v, and additions of extracts from Aulus Gellius and Isidore (“frühes X. Jh.”) on the recto.

Finally, his very helpful identification of the folios by the Reims scribes and the Saint-Amand hand, in the second page from 1963.

Munich, BSB, ANA 553, A, I VALENCIENNES (the page dated 21.VIII.63): “Reims mehr 42r–49r, 51r–56v, 58v–124r Mitte, 126r oben–159v, 163r–167v, 169r–170v . . . Saint-Amand wohl eine Hand 49r Mitte–50v, 57r–v, 124v Mitte–126r oben, 159v–163r oben, 168r–v . . . die Texthände von 1rff (offensichtlich meist Reims) IX 4/4, wann auch der Reims-Typ nicht immer so klar . . . auffindbare Scholica im verschiedenen Zustand von der Saint-Amand Hand, deutlich fol. 3vff and 29rff.”

[trans. more like Reims script 42r–49r, 51r–56v, 58v–124r middle, 126r upper part–159v, 163r–167v, 169r–170v . . . of Saint-Amand, probably a single hand 49r middle–50v, 57r–v, 124v middle–126r upper part, 159v–163r upper part, 168r–v . . . the hands in the main text from 1r onwards (apparently mostly Reims), IX 4/4, even if the Reims is not always so obvious . . . visible glosses in a diverse state of preservation are from the Saint-Amand hand, clearly on fol. 3v onwards and 29r onwards].

In these two manuscripts, portions copied by Saint-Amand scribes demonstrably use IHu (for example, the calendar and computus in Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 174, fol. 32v and Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 415 fol. 44r uses the form IHs). In a portion which Bischoff's Nachlass tells us was copied by a single Saint-Amand hand that “could be Hucbald,” in Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 174; for example, on fol. 57r we also see both the form IHm and a sigma form of the nominative of Christ “xpc (see Figure 2.30).”

These portions also employ other conventions we find in our sacramentaries.⁴⁴⁷ The portions undertaken by Reims scribes can be differentiated from Saint-Amand by the form of an open two-c a (Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 174, fol. 174r, fol. 43v “de annis dominicae, de epactis lunaribus” etc.) and abbreviations or ligatures not used at Saint-Amand; for example, a poem by Hucbald for Charles the Bald and Milo’s *Conflictus veris et hiemis* added to Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 574, fol. 2r–4v, uses a different form of the **et** ligature. Bischoff’s slight hesitation with the script, though his identification with Reims was clear enough, could be explained by the fact that these hands were monks of Saint-Thierry, not from the more productive centres at Saint-Remi or the cathedral, from which come most other surviving Reims manuscripts.

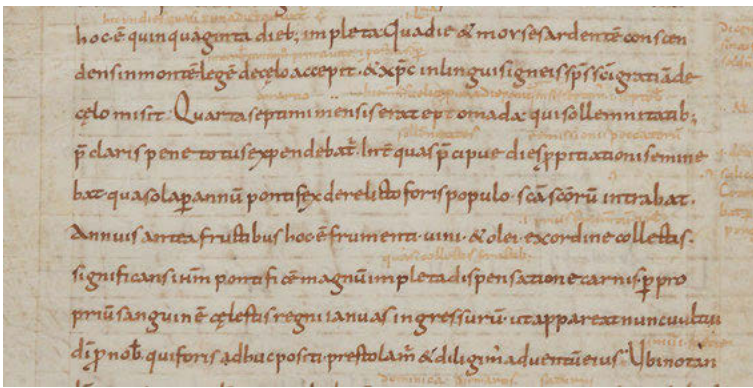


Figure 2.30: Portion of a miscellany written by Saint-Amand scribes collaborating with Reims scribes, possibly with the hand of Hucbald of Saint-Amand (ca. 840–930). Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 174, fol. 57r. Source: Bibliothèque municipale de Valenciennes, Ms. 174 (166) / BnF-Gallica.

These manuscripts prove a close connection between Reims, particularly Saint-Thierry, and Saint-Amand, while other manuscripts from Saint-Amand ended up in Reims, and were bound with Reims additions.⁴⁴⁸ The intensive link helps to explain clearly how our **Noyon** fragment (originally intended for the cathedral of Noyon but left unfinished) also ended up in Reims, and a Saint-Amand sacramentary was then copied to complete the text by the Reims scribes, our **Reims**, along with artists who imitated “Franco-Saxon” forms. This places this eminently “networked collabo-

⁴⁴⁷ Notably the copies of the poems by Milo in Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 415 fol. 5v–66v alternate red and green capitals and fol. 6v is written in alternating red and green rustic capitals.

⁴⁴⁸ For example, Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 994, a canonical collection written at Saint-Amand which was taken to Reims), or Paris, BnF, lat. 2999 fol. 1–32 (Halitgar of Cambrai), bound into a copy of the Life of St. Brigid (fol. 33–40) copied in Reims.

ration” probably during Huchald’s residence at Saint-Thierry, 893–ca. 900.⁴⁴⁹ Huchald was certainly back in Saint-Amand by 24th September 906, as he signed two charters there of that time, but it is still possible to date the creation of **Reims** in the very early years of the tenth century, if Huchald did stay at Saint-Thierry for some time after the murder of his patron, Archbishop Fulk.⁴⁵⁰

Conclusion: A Mighty Abbot, Gauzlin of Paris

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, Deshusses had initially hypothesised that each sacramentary would have taken the *scriptorium* of Saint-Amand around four years to complete, on the basis of his dating due to the events in the life of Charles the Bald.⁴⁵¹ He also hypothesised a potential lacuna in the production due to the need to supply the Second Bible of Charles the Bald in ca. 771–773, which he placed between **Reims** and **Saint-Germain**. However, there is no reason to suppose that each sacramentary would have occupied the attention of the atelier in Saint-Amand for such an extended period. We have the precise indications from the lost Godelgaudus Sacramentary of Saint-Remi in Reims that just a single scribe/artist could copy and decorate a comparable, or even more ornate book, over a period of just over two years.⁴⁵² As we have seen, more than one scribe worked on many of the Saint-Amand sacramentaries, and the artists were clearly distinct individuals.⁴⁵³ Deshusses also took no account of the simultaneous production of equally deluxe or more deluxe Gospel Books at Saint-Amand.

My dating would suggest, instead, a much more rapid production of the sacramentaries and of the richest Franco-Saxon Gospel Books than Deshusses supposed,

449 Lawrence Nees, “Networks or Schools? The Production of Illuminated Manuscripts and Ivories During the Reign of Charlemagne”, in *Charlemagne: Les temps, les espaces, les hommes. Construction et déconstruction d’un règne*, edited by Rolf Große and Michel Sot (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 385–407.

450 Chartier, *L’oeuvre musical*, p. 9, and n. 52.

451 Deshusses, “Encore les sacramentaires.”

452 The Godelgaudus Sacramentary, a copy of Gelasian of the Eighth Century, was destroyed at the fire at Saint-Remi in 1774 but the text had been partially copied, and is edited in *Sacramentaire et martyrologie de l’Abbaye de Saint-Remy*, ed. Ulysse Chevalier (Paris: Picard, 1900), pp. 305–57; the colophon, on 305 states that Lambert, an anchoritic priest, copied and decorated the manuscript for Godelgaudus, monk and dean of Saint-Remi, between the eleventh Kalends of April in the sixth indiction and the tenth Kalends of August in the twelve indiction, which was the thirty-first year of the reign of Charlemagne, thus giving us a precise production between 798 and 800. His work included portraits of Gregory the Great and Saint Remi, as well as Godelgaudus himself.

453 See above, pp. 147–156.

mostly within the period of just over a decade, from the production of the Second Bible in ca. 871 to around the death of Gauzlin in 886. **Le Mans** and the less decorated Gospel Books without the upper-case form of Jesus (the Gospel Books of Tours, Stuttgart, Saint-Hubert, and Noyon), probably precede this intensely productive phase, and may be placed in the late 860s, but the rest of the manuscripts, the glories of the Franco-Saxon “Hauptgruppe”, fit within this period. For dating of early medieval manuscripts, this is a very precise hypothesis, but the extraordinary nature of the sources from Saint-Amand allows it. Firstly, there is one securely dated manuscript, the Second Bible of Charles the Bald. Secondly, the series of sacramentaries can be ordered along their liturgical development (as confirmed below), which parallels and confirms palaeographical and artistic trends. Our ability to precisely order the sacramentaries allows us to identify crucial shifts in both the practice of the *scriptorium* (to the upper-case name of Jesus) and the identifiable shifts in the collaborating artistic atelier (to the use of borders, more elaborate initials, etc.), and see that both occurred in parallel to one another, and confirm one other, with the Second Bible as the hinge upon which the shift takes place. In particular, the shift in the upper-case form of Jesus is both clear and largely consistent in this testimony from Saint-Amand, in all kinds of manuscripts. Thanks to the Second Bible, in which the shift is only beginning to take place, we can date it to the early 870s. The production of that extraordinary manuscript is a perfect context for both scribes and artists to enact significant changes in practice. We can thus be very clear about which manuscripts are prior to the shift and which post-date it. This represents an objective standard for analysis, and one which avoids personal aesthetic judgements, like the inflexible framework of a rise to a “high point” and subsequent degeneration within a rigidly localised “school,” assumed by Koehler/Mütherich. This set of circumstances are particular to the *scriptorium* of Saint-Amand, at a particular time, and, in this case allow dating to be so precise, but such precision is not entirely singular. Similar precision can be applied to Tours’s production of Bibles or to the Ottonian sacramentaries of Fulda.⁴⁵⁴ More attention to sacramentaries made in other institutions, which combines attention to their liturgical features with an assessment of palaeography and decoration, is also likely to be rewarding and is strongly recommended.

With all due caution, and giving due credit to the artists and scribes as individuals, who did vary their practice and seem to have travelled much more than the rigid “local school” paradigm assumes, we have in this case the rare opportunity to

⁴⁵⁴ Winterer, *Das Fuldaer Sakramentar*, pp. 172–77; David Ganz, “Mass Production of Early Medieval Manuscripts: The Carolingian Bibles from Tours,” in *The Early Medieval Bible*, ed. Gameston, pp. 53–62.

clearly study a singular and lasting collaboration between the monastic *scriptorium* at Saint-Amand and a group of artists whom we have termed the “Hauptgruppe” of the Franco-Saxon style. The artists were probably itinerant, yet likely stayed at Saint-Amand or nearby for an extended period in the 870s. They seem to have possibly moved away at the time of production of **Sens** and **Noyon**, necessitating that quires with the Canon be produced separately and sent out to them. In the case of some Gospel books, like Cologne, Museum Schnütgen, Inv. G 531 separate quires for the ornamented pages, which clearly disrupt a sequence of quaternions, are also in evidence.⁴⁵⁵ It is only in the ornamented pages, whether in the sacramentaries or the Gospel Books, where quire irregularities appear, otherwise the manuscripts use exclusively quaternions. Artists who supplied the Evangelist figures to four Gospel Books, New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS M. 831, Cologne, Museum Schnütgen, Inv. G 531, the Gospels of François II and Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, cod. 14, seem to have been other distinct individuals, in each case. The master of the Gospels of François II, trained in Reims, is particularly noteworthy, and demonstrates that the decoration of these Gospel Books was a fully “networked” production among varied centres, rather than a school firmly rooted to Saint-Amand itself.

There existed clearly a “stock” of motifs that could be employed in Franco-Saxon decoration, and likely different artists placed them in different configurations, perhaps while based in different places. Touches of personalisation appear, particularly in the forms and interaction of the animal heads, and one can only identify the humour of certain artists where their tongues hang out and are bitten by other creatures.⁴⁵⁶ In the case of the increasingly sophisticated diagonal “mirroring” effects, these might also have guided the reader across the page. Discerning what spiritual meaning individual motifs had, if there was one, remains here much more difficult than in the case of figural illuminations, as in famous cases like the sacramentaries of Gellone or Drogo.⁴⁵⁷ Many of these motifs have com-

455 At Matthew: Cologne, Museum Schnütgen, G 531, fol. 62r–67v, a mere ternion, as also at John 150r–155v, Luke has only four pages 96v–99v, with two blank folios prior to it; Henderson, *Franco-Saxon Manuscript Illumination*, p. 51 indicates the same is true of the Gospels of François II.

456 Leclercq, *L'amour des lettres*, pp. 133–134, on monastic humour.

457 Hahn, “The Performative Letter,”; Celia Chazelle, “The Exemplum of Humility: The Crucifixion Image in the Drogo Sacramentary,” in *Reading Medieval images: The Art Historian and the Object*, eds. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), pp. 27–35; Elizabeth Leesti, “The Pentecost Illustration in the Drogo Sacramentary,” *Gesta* 28, 1 (1989), pp. 205–16; Éric Palazzo, *L'invention chrétienne des cinq sens dans la liturgie et l'art au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Cerf, 2010), pp. 243–300; Garipzanov, *Graphic Signs of Authority*, p. 254–255 argues for a multivalent meaning of the TE initial, in which the letter E is “crucified” on the T, including a visualisation of the “authoritative verdict” on the nature of the eucharist, in agreement with

monalities in many other media, and the earlier emphasis on Anglo-Saxon origins of the “Franco-Saxon” motifs risks obscuring the essential fact of the ubiquity of similar motifs in the early medieval world.⁴⁵⁸ It is likely that the motifs spoke to grandeur and status, edifying the Canon of the Mass, whose words they adorn, and beyond which the sacramentaries remained essentially un-decorated, though still extraordinarily fine.⁴⁵⁹

The conspicuous use of contrast and play between material and ornamental juxtaposition, which is an essential element of the decoration, expressed a fundamental early medieval taste for “varietas.” The term was taken from the Vulgate translation of Psalm 44: 14–15: “Astittit regina a dextris tuis, in vestitu deaurato, circumdata varietate” [trans. The princess stood on thy right hand, in gilded clothing; surrounded with variety].⁴⁶⁰ Influenced by and feeding into the rich exegesis on this passage, the artists and patrons of early medieval Europe, both in West and East, found most suitable and desirable a complex mixtures of styles, colours, and materials in juxtaposition.⁴⁶¹ This has generally been noted with regard to architecture, but, recently, by Friedrich also with regard to the “minor arts,” and his treatment of decorated metalwork, for example, has some direct resonance with the decoration of our manuscripts.⁴⁶² We might highlight Friedrich’s comment on “the use of different styles from various traditions . . . as a means of creating variety,”

Ratramnus of Corbie (d. 868). By representing Christ in a “crucified” Word, it implied his spiritual representation in the Eucharist rather than the actual presence of the incarnate body. But our sacramentaries likely post-date the controversy, and there is no direct evidence of Saint-Amand’s involvement with it on either side. Further to suggest that Saint-Amand reflected the official verdict, implicitly that of Charles the Bald, by dispensing with a figural image of the crucifixion in the TE, seems odd when Charles the Bald’s own Coronation Sacramentary, includes a crucifixion image at that point (Paris, BnF, lat. 1141, fol. 6v). Some eucharistic associations of the initials are still likely and, particularly perhaps, in the new VERE ornament, which places the word “truth” within a vessel or “chalice” shape, see Palazzo, *L’invention chrétienne*, pp. 290–92 on **Tours**, where the symbolism is more blatant as the V encloses the image of a hand holding the Host.

458 Matthias Friedrich, *Image and Ornament in the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: University Press, 2023), pp. 133–47 offers a historiographical summary and critique.

459 On royal associations of silver: Egon Wamers, *Die Macht des Silbers. Karolingische Schätze im Norden* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2005), pp. 63–64, 86–90; biblical resonances in Jeffrey Hamburger, *Script as Image* (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), p. 23

460 William Diebold, “Medium as Message in Carolingian Writing about Art,” *Word and Image* 22 (2006), pp. 106–201, at 197; Mary Carruthers, “‘Varietas’: A Word of Many Colours” *Poetica* 41 (2009), pp. 11–32; Friedrich, *Image and Ornament*, pp. 148–70.

461 Mary Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in The Middle Ages* (Oxford: University Press, 2014), pp. 135–64, also 187–93, at 197 she quotes the influential John Scotus Eriugena (d. ca. 877), “haec vero multiplicatio et variatio universorum est pulchritudo” [trans. this variety and multitude of all things is beauty].

462 Friedrich, *Image and Ornament*, pp. 155–59.

since the “Franco-Saxon” style has always been defined by eclecticism, and by the use of classical principles of balance and harmony with specific artistic motifs of the post-classical West, like interlace and animal heads.⁴⁶³ “Franco-Saxon” manuscripts, especially our sacramentaries and Gospel Books, fully embrace these aesthetic principles, “bewildering” with their play on silver and gold, and between various patterns of interlace, over and across the manuscript page in “mirroring” effects. Even the continual and careful alternating red and green initials through the rest of the manuscript continues the same principle through the book. Thus, the manuscripts were simply and most importantly beautiful, in the way early medieval people most appreciated, and which they applied to other status objects like jewellery, swords, or book bindings.

The Franco-Saxon school has been depicted as hostile to figural imagery, in contrast to, for example, “the school of Tours.”⁴⁶⁴ Certainly, Saint-Amand did not have a strong tradition of figural illumination in the time of Arn of Salzburg, although the “Livinus Gospels” in Ghent does have Evangelist figures copied from a late antique exemplar.⁴⁶⁵ After Hucbald’s own dedicatory poem, the Second Bible of Charles the Bald also copies a poem by Theodulf of Orleans *Quicquid ab Hebraeo* (Paris, BnF, lat. 2, fol. 4v–5r).⁴⁶⁶ This is here unattributed, but the copyists of the Second Bible were familiar with Theodulf’s recension of the Bible, which, in surviving copies, was entirely without images.⁴⁶⁷ Theodulf’s ambiguity around figural representation is well established as a legitimate Carolingian position in the controversy over images, one that may have influenced Saint-Amand in the

463 *Ibid.*, p. 156.

464 Florentine Mutherich, “Die Buchmalerei in den Klosterschulen des frühen Mittelalters,” in *Monastische Reformen im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, eds. Raymund Kottje and Helmut Maurer (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989), pp. 18–19; Edmond de Bruyn, Henri Lavachery and Camille Gaspar “Recherches sur l’enluminure carolingienne de style franco-saxon dans le nord de la France au IX^e siècle,” *Bulletins de l’Académie Royale de la Belgique* 33 (1951), pp. 136–49 at pp. 146–48; Charlotte Denoël, “Saint-Amand et l’école Franco-Saxonne,” in *Trésors carolingiens*, eds. Lafitte, Denoël and Crouzet, pp. 207–22, at p. 209; Henderson, *Franco-Saxon Manuscript Illumination*, pp. 49–52.

465 Wilhelm Koehler, “Die Denkmäler der karolingischen Kunst in Belgien,” *Belgische Kunst Denkmäler* vol. 1, ed. Paul Clemen (Munich: Bruckmann, 1923), at pp. 7–11.

466 Edited by Ernst Dümmler, *MGH Poetae latini medii aevi*, vol. 1: *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini I* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), pp. 532–38.

467 McKitterick, “Carolingian Bible Production,” p. 68; a fragment of Theodulf Bible written near Saint-Amand (perhaps Saint-Vaast or even at another of Gauzlin’s abbeys, Jumièges) survives in Chicago, see Evina Steinova, “Chicago, Newberry Library, Masi Fragm. 14 and the Fate of the Theodulf Bible in the Long Ninth Century,” *Quaerendo* 49 (2019), pp. 119–34.

early ninth century.⁴⁶⁸ In fact, Hucbald's own Passion of Saint Cassian suggests this master had inherited some of Theodulf's ambiguity, in how he reframes Prudentius's original text to emphasize that images were not automatically truthful.⁴⁶⁹ But, as chancellor, Gauzlin would have been accustomed to Charles the Bald's lavish visual style, including Bibles like *San Paolo fuori le mura* with sophisticated design and figural associations.⁴⁷⁰ It might have been self-evident to him that lavish books should include figures.

Gauzlin's assumption of the tenure of Saint-Amand was the decisive event which led to new tendencies in decoration and script in both the Saint-Amand Gospel Books, and the accompanying sacramentaries. Gauzlin merits recognition as the principal supporter and patron of the "Franco-Saxon style" in the circles termed the "Hauptgruppe", involving their intensive collaboration with scribes and liturgical creatives of Saint-Amand. Gauzlin's power during the reigns of Louis III and Charles the Fat over much of the northern portion of West Francia, and his network of monasteries, as well as his political ties, supplied a rich base of resources, perhaps including the silver used in our manuscripts.⁴⁷¹ Gauzlin's prodigious career adds to the unique set of circumstances that allow us to date Franco-Saxon manuscripts of Saint-Amand so precisely.

Gauzlin was clearly a wide-ranging patron of literary and manuscript production. A new life of Germanus of Paris was commissioned by him from Aimon, a monk of Saint-Germain, and his epitaph indicates his influence on literature in that abbey.⁴⁷² He has even been connected with the Old High German poem, the *Ludwigslied*, copied into a manuscript held at Saint-Amand (Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 150, fol. 141r–143v), since the text coheres with Gauzlin's political position by extolling

468 Thomas F. X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

469 William Diebold, "Changing Perceptions of the Visual in the Middle Ages: Hucbald of St. Amand's Carolingian Rewriting of Prudentius," in *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication*, ed. Marielle Hagemann and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 160–74; the life edited in Francois Dolbeau "Passion de S. Cassian d'imola composée d'après Prudence par Hucbald de Saint-Amand," *RevBen* 87 (1977), pp. 238–56.

470 Diebold, "The Ruler Portrait of Charles the Bald."

471 On increasing silver production at this time in Poitou see Florian Téreygeol, "How to quantify medieval silver production at Melle?" *Metalla* 20 (2013), pp. 59–86; at Werner "Gauzlin von St-Denis," p. 406, Gauzlin was related to for example, Bishop Ebroin of Poitiers; Otto Gerhard Oexle, "Bischof Ebroin von Poitiers und seine Verwandten," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 3 (1969), pp. 138–210.

472 Werner "Gauzlin von St-Denis," pp. 434–35, 459; the epitaph is copied *Epytaphium domini Gozlini epyscopi* ed. Paul de Winterfeld, MGH *Poetae latini medii aevi* 4.1: *Poetae Latini aevi carolini IV* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), pp. 136–137.

the virtues of the young king, Louis III (d. 882).⁴⁷³ Gauzlin likely also brought about “networks” of production which could supply additional artists who painted the figures of Evangelists in the style of Reims, the master in the Gospels of François II. Gauzlin was himself educated at Reims, as a pupil of Hincmar of Reims (d. 882), and worked closely with Hincmar’s successor, Fulk (Archbishop, 883–900).⁴⁷⁴ Gauzlin and Fulk were both at the court of Charles the Bald, and both of them were supposed to support and restrain Charles’s unruly son, Louis the Stammerer (d. 879), according to the Capitulary of Quierzy, which names a select group of noblemen who formed a clear group of Charles’s closest supporters at the end of his life.⁴⁷⁵ The aristocrats and ecclesiastics named by Charles the Bald at Quierzy, principally with a power base in Northern France, maintained a lasting alliance into the following succession disputes, and, for example, orchestrated the division of the kingdom between Louis III and Carloman and the subsequent succession of Charles the Fat.⁴⁷⁶ It is possible that manuscripts written by Saint-Amand monks and decorated by “Hauptgruppe” artists were shared among this circle of Gauzlin’s allies, and possession of one of them could have even been a sign of allegiance to his policy, or, likewise, given as gifts to those with whom he negotiated. Unfortunately, the provenance of the Saint-Amand Gospel Books is, in most cases, very unclear, but what is known does seem to confirm that such links possibly explain the production and distribution of them.⁴⁷⁷

473 Mathias Herweg, “Ludwigslied,” in *Althochdeutsche und altsächsische Literatur*, ed. Rolf Bergmann, (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), pp. 241–52; Werner, “Gauzlin von St-Denis,” p. 433.

474 Werner, “Gauzlin von St-Denis,” pp. 407–9; for Fulk see Schneider, *Fulco von Reims*.

475 Schneider, *Fulco von Reims*, pp. 22–23.

476 Simon MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: University Press, 2009), pp. 115–17; specifically Charles was invited to take over the kingdom by Count Theoderich of Vermandois, a close ally of Gauzlin, also named at Quierzy; Schneider, *Fulco von Reims*, pp. 107–8, 111; Werner “Gauzlin von St-Denis,” p. 410, 449; Horst Lösslein, *Royal Power in the Late Carolingian Age: Charles III the Simple and his Predecessors* (Cologne: MAP, 2019), pp. 89–111.

477 Successive bishops of Noyon/Tournai, Raginelm (860–879), who was named at Quierzy as well, and Hetilo (880–902), were also in this group, see Henry Beck, “The Selection of Bishops,” which is important context for the production of a sacramentary **Tournai**, and also a Gospel Book, for that bishopric, and planned production of another sacramentary, **Noyon**. If **Bobbio** was briefly in the hands of someone linked to Liège, as the name of St. Lambert added twice implies, another ecclesiastic named at Quierzy, Archbishop Franco of this see (856–903), might have possessed or used it. Of the Gospel books, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB VII 12 seems to have been in possession of the Counts of Flanders, as Judith of their family probably gave it to Weingarten in the eleventh century. Baldwin I of Flanders (d. 879) was also named at Quierzy. Though it is impossible to say how long the Gospels of Jouarre had been in the possession of the nunnery, Jouarre’s known abbesses of the later ninth century were linked to members

My new emphasis on Gauzlin does not, however, suggest that the Carolingian kings never saw these books at all. It seems that Gauzlin also supplied successive monarchs with some of these manuscripts, as he did the Second Bible: the original manuscript of **Bobbio**, which came to Tortona with Charles, or perhaps, rather, with Queen Richildis, and **Chelles**, which might also have been in the possession of female members of the family, as it came to the nunnery of which they were abbesses.⁴⁷⁸ Rosamond McKitterick commented that, of the sacramentaries, only **Chelles** has the appearance of a royal commission.⁴⁷⁹ The fact that the manuscript was originally bound in red and yellow Byzantine silk, a fragment of which remains in the spine, strengthens a probable royal or imperial association.⁴⁸⁰ The singularly lavish Gospel Book of François II is likely to be a prime candidate too. My new dating would suggest this could have been prepared for the Emperor Charles the Fat, at whose court Gauzlin was, once again, chancellor.⁴⁸¹ The Gospels of François II may have been in Italy from early medieval times, coming back to France only with the nucleus of the original royal collection

of this circle, and particularly the later Robertians and Odo, with whom Gauzlin was in alliance, by family ties as well. See Barbara A. Watkinson, "Lorsch, Jouarre et l'appareil décoratif du Val de Loire," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 33 (1990), pp. 49–63 at pp. 60–62. Of the Gospel Book in Cologne, Museum Schnütgen, G 531, it was clearly in Cologne from ca. 1000, perhaps Archbishop Willibert (870–889), whom Franco of Liège knew personally, might have acquired this, or perhaps it was sent to East Francia during negotiations of Gauzlin with King Louis III, as was hypothesised in the case of the Saint-Hubert Gospels, evidenced in the possession of the monastery of Saint-Hubert from the eleventh century: see McKitterick, "The Gospels of St. Hubert," p. 157.

478 Charles the Bald's first wife, Ermentrude (823–869), was abbess there from the year 855. Although we do not know exactly who succeeded her as abbess, the manuscript need not be bound to her time in office, since, after Ermentrude, the abbey certainly at some point came to Charles's own daughter, Rothild (d. 926/927). She may have been abbess of Chelles from a very young age as a commendatory abbess, though she is only known there only after her widowhood and retirement, see Charles Torchet, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Chelles* (Paris: Retaux-Bray, 1889), vol. 1, pp. 70–71.

479 McKitterick, "Carolingian Book Production," p. 32: "except for the Glazier Sacramentary, they do not have the appearance of royal gifts; they have, rather the character of good quality working texts, commissioned for active uses."

480 The Lindau Gospels (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS M. 1), whose front cover was likely created at the Court School of Charles the Bald, is still lined with silk, see Frauke Steenbock, *Die kirchliche Prachteinband im Frühen Mittelalter* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1966), pp. 92–96.

481 MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, pp. 103–4 argues that Abbo of Saint Germain's demonstrates respect for Charles the Fat at Gauzlin's Abbey, and among the circles he patronised.

of François I.⁴⁸² Charles the Fat was closely connected to Italy, and travelled there considerably more often than Charles the Bald.⁴⁸³ The changes in the copying of **Sens** and in the Cologne or Cambrai Gospel Books can also be explained by historical circumstances in the case of Saint-Amand, if the flight from the monastery disrupted established practice and networks.⁴⁸⁴ Gauzlin's death in 886 may have finally and decisively broken the link between the "Hauptgruppe" artists and Saint-Amand, and some of them may have fled East towards Corvey.

The key shift in practice in writing the name of Jesus had a similarly powerful ideological resonance, drawing on the conscious adoption of this form in manuscripts made for Charles the Bald, and allowing us to further situate this shift in the 870s, at a distinct point in time. The importance of monograms in Carolingian political discourse has been amply demonstrated by Garipzanov, and some examples he used show that monograms were of particular historical interest at Saint-Amand, back to the time of Arn of Salzburg, as they also were later certainly at the forefront of innovation with initials, in the TE initial and VERE initial of our sacramentaries, both novel forms at this time, and the IN initial for John in the Gospel Books.⁴⁸⁵ Indeed, Hucbald of Saint-Amand may have had a personal interest in the power of monograms, since it seems he specifically collected manuscripts with the innovative monogram of Archbishop Hincmar in Reims. The majority of those manuscripts surviving with this monogram are those that came with him to Saint-Amand.⁴⁸⁶

The manuscripts of the Court School of Charles the Bald also experimented with many new forms of monograms and letter shapes, which could be deemed one of the defining traits of this group of manuscripts, and probably indicates a

482 Crivello, "L'evangelario detto di Francesco II."

483 MacLean, *Kingship and Politics*, p. 91.

484 von Euw, *Das Buch der Vier Evangelien*, p. 49: "Vielleicht ist die Handschrift [Cologne, Dombibliothek, cod. 14] deshalb als ein nach dem Normanneneinfall (881 und 883) entstandenes, mit dem Wiederaufbau des Klosters des hl. Amandus verbundenes Werk der Schule von Saint-Amand zu betrachten" [trans. Perhaps one should therefore regard the manuscript (Cologne, Dombibliothek, cod.14) as a work of the school of Saint-Amand connected with the restoration of the monastery of St. Amandus after the Viking incursions].

485 Garipzanov, *Graphic Signs of Authority*, p. 265, 276.

486 Jeremy Thompson, "The Character of Hincmar of Reims in Four Ninth-Century Manuscripts," in *Radical Traditionalism. The Influence of Walter Kaegi in Late Antique, Byzantine and Medieval Studies*, eds. Christian Raffensperger and David Olster (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2019), pp. 139–62.

direct interest of Charles the Bald.⁴⁸⁷ The ruler portrait in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura incorporates Christ's name in monogram, with the Greek capital form.⁴⁸⁸ In the use of Greek lettering, Charles's court school drew on the traditions of his grandfather, since the lunate sigma was even used in some of Charlemagne's denarii, minted soon after his imperial coronation, which showed the temple in Jerusalem surrounded by the inscription XPICTIANA RELIGIO, in which the mix of Greek and Latin scripts expressed universalist ambitions and presented Charlemagne as protector of all Christian churches, including Jerusalem.⁴⁸⁹ Charles the Bald probably saw the conspicuous incorporation of Greek in his manuscripts in a similar way, as well as imitating his grandfather.⁴⁹⁰

As Traube already noted, the adoption of the Greek forms, particularly of sigma, in the monograms for the name of Christ in the Latin West resulted probably not from direct influence of Greek exemplars, but was an intellectual recovery ("rationalistic, unhistorical") based on the study of Greek by learned folk.⁴⁹¹ It even, one must admit, hindered the reading of the text, which is probably why most scribes of our sacramentaries and the Gospel Books tended to avoid the sigma in the nominative form, except occasional usages. The capital eta form alone still highlighted the name of Jesus considerably, and would have had specifically royal associations of Christ's kingship, further stressed by the golden lettering of the name and the words of Jesus in the particularly sumptuous, and possibly royal, Gospel Book of François II.

487 Galispanov, *Graphic Signs of Authority*, p. 275, and n. 107: Munich, BSB, Clm 14000, fol. 207r, 240r and Paris, BnF, lat. 323, fol. 20v and 67v use illuminated initials of M to make innovative monograms for the names of the Evangelists Matthew and Mark, at the opening of their gospels.

488 William J. Diebold, "The Ruler Portrait of Charles the Bald in the S. Paolo Bible," *The Art Bulletin* 76 (1994), at p. 8n7.

489 See an example in the Staatliche Museen Berlin, Münzkabinett at: <https://smb.museum-digital.de/object/180807>; Karl Morrison and Henry Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1967) Nr. 319; another is depicted in Abb. 50 in *Macht des Silbers*, 154; Simon Coupland, "Charlemagne's coinage: Ideology and economy," in *Charlemagne - Empire and Society*, ed. Jo Story (Manchester: University Press, 2005), p. 224; see also Bernd Kluge, "Normen imperatoris und Christiana Religio. Das Kaisterum Karls des Großen und Ludwigs des Frommen im Licht der numismatischen Quellen," in *799 Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit*, ed. Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff (Mainz: Zabern, 1999), pp. 82–90.

490 William J. Diebold, "Nos Quoque Morem Illius Imitiri Cupientes: Charles the Bald's Evocation and Imitation of Charlemagne," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 75 (1993), pp. 271–300; manuscripts produced in Charles's court school also drew directly on Byzantine exemplars, see Archer St. Clair, "Narrative and Exegesis in the Exodus Illustration of the San Paolo Bible: Aspects of Byzantine Influence," in *Byzantine East and Latin West. Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. Christopher Moss and Katherine Kiefer (Princeton: University Press, 1995), pp. 193–202.

491 Traube, *Nomina sacra*, pp. 163–64.

At an age of considerable interest in the study of Greek in the Carolingian world, Saint-Amand also played a role, particularly under Hucbald of Saint-Amand.⁴⁹² Hucbald conspicuously introduced Greek lettering into his poetry, including his poem for Charles the Bald in the Second Bible, and for technical terms in his texts on music, often writing in Greek letters and employing the lunate sigma.⁴⁹³ He used Greek letters, on the model of Boethius, for musical notation.⁴⁹⁴ What is more, in script that has some claim to be Hucbald's own hand (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 174, fol. 57r), it is the capital eta, and also the lunate sigma, form of Jesus's name that he used (see Figure 2.30).⁴⁹⁵ Likely familiar with the practice and ideological preoccupations of the Court of Charles the Bald, Hucbald could easily have transmitted this practice to the scribes of Saint-Amand.⁴⁹⁶ Hucbald's early movements are difficult to track, but we know he was

492 Yves Chartier, *L'oeuvre musicale d'Hucbald*, pp. 78–79 suggests he learnt Greek from John Scotus Eriugena (ca. 815–877) at the palace school of Charles the Bald; on Eriugena, see R. Le Bourdèlles, “Connaissance du grec et methods du traduction dans le monde carolingien jusqu'à Scot Érigène,” in *Jean Scot Érigène et l'histoire de la philosophie. Colloques internationaux du CNRS no.561, Laon 7–12 Juillet 1975* (Paris: CNRS, 1997), pp. 117–23.

493 In the Second Bible's poem, one line (MGH *Poetae latini aevi carolini III*, p. 257) is made up of words in Greek praising Charles's virtues, glossed with their Latin translations: “NHΦΑΛΕOC sobrius ΦPONIMOC sapiens ΣΠOYΔAIOC fortis KAIAE atque ΔIKAIOC iustus”; also another of Hucbald's poem for Charles “Aurea lux mundi,” the dedication he added to his uncle Milo's poem *De Sobrietate* incorporated the word ΠAΝAΔEKTEC with lunate Sigma in surviving manuscript Valenciennes, BM, MS 414, fol. 59v (ed. Ludwig Traube, MGH, *Poetae latini medii aevi*, vol. 3: *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini III* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896), p. 611); Hucbald of Saint-Amand, *De Musica*, ed. Chartier, *L'oeuvre musicale d'Hucbald* at p. 152: “AΠO TOY ΦΘEITECΘAI . . . EMMEAEC,” 182: “primum es his quod et grauissimum uel infirmum YPATON, secundum MESON, tertium SINEMENON, quartum DIEZEUGMENON, quintum YPERBOLEON”; see other Greek terms in Hucbald of Saint-Amand, *De Harmonica Institutione*, trans. Warren Babb in *Hucbald, Guido and John on Music: Three Medieval Treatises*, ed. Claude Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 34–35.

494 Yves Chartier, “Hucbald de Saint-Amand et la Notation Musicale,” in *Musicologie Médiévale. Notations et sequences*, ed. Michael Huglo (Paris: Champion, 1987), pp. 143–55; Henri Potiron, “La notation grecque dans l'Institution Harmonoique d'Hucbald,” *Études Grégoriennes* 2 (1957), pp. 37–50; Palisca, ed., *Hucbald, John and Guido on Music*, pp. 6–10; on his personal interest in Plato, see Rosamond McKitterick “Knowledge of Plato's Timaeus.”

495 See above, pp. 172–173.

496 Chartier, *L'oeuvre musical*, p. 8, 78 suggests Hucbald trained at the Court under John Scotus Eriugena; it has been suggested that Eriugena had distinctive influence on the artistic production of Charles the Bald's Court School, see Christe, “Influences et retentissement de l'oeuvre de Jean Scot sur l'art médiéval: Bilan et perspectives,” in *Eriugena Redivivus. Vorträge des V. int. Eriugena-Colloquiums, Werner-Reimers Stiftung, Bad Homburg 26–30 August 1985*, ed. Werner Beierwaltes (Heidelberg: Winter, 1987), pp. 142–61, and Jeanne-Marie Mustro, “Jean Scotus Eriugena and the Upper Cover of the Lindau Gospels,” *Gesta* 40, 1 (2001), pp. 1–18; Hucbald could have ex-

at Saint-Amand from around 871 or 872, at the same time as Gauzlin's succession, to replace his uncle, Milo, as *scholasticus* after the latter's death.⁴⁹⁷ A prodigious and long-lived scholar, Hucbald's likely involvement is another factor that enables us to date and contextualise the Saint-Amand books so precisely, and provides more context for our "shift," also placing it in the early 870s, when he took over as *scholasticus*.

Flowing from the ambition of the Carolingian monarchs to a universal Christian dominion, the use of Greek in our books reflected the universal character of the Christian message in the Gospel Books, and, likewise, of the liturgy compiled and gathered in the sacramentaries. Indeed, the aesthetic preference for "varietas" emerged partly, argues Carruthers, out of a recognition of the universal nature of the Church and its many diverse members, "recorded in Acts, theologized in I Corinthians, and celebrated in the commentators' understanding of Psalm 44."⁴⁹⁸ Our books deliberately expressed a universal sanctity that was expressed in a huge variety of ways by varied saints from varied places, as Hucbald too celebrated it in his life of Richtrudis of Marchiennes (see p. 321), and in which Saint-Amand displayed an unusual interest. Indeed, a heightened interest in and acceptance of the Church's universal proclamations in all languages at Saint-Amand has been proffered to explain the writing of the Old French Eulalia Sequence and the Old High German *Ludwigslied*, alongside Latin hymns, into Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 150.⁴⁹⁹ This manuscript was itself a copy of a translation from Greek, as its principal content is a sermon collection of Gregory of Nazianzus. These vernacular additions appear near a Pentecost sermon by Gregory, when the Christian message was shared in all languages. We can very likely point to the conspicuous use of the Greek monogram in our sacramentaries in connection to a strong sense of a universal liturgical mission, which, as we will see, our sacramentaries

exercised similar influence on decoration applied to books made at Saint-Amand, as argued by Pizzinato, "The Second Bible of Charles the Bald," in the case of the Second Bible, who saw Hucbald's influence in the initial I and N opening the Book of Genesis (Paris, BnF, lat. 2, fol. 11r). Here, individual geometric shapes unfold a range of eschatological references to the Incarnation and Crucifixion. At pp. 91–93, Pizzinato drew parallels between the geometric complexity of the letters and the stress in Hucbald's introductory poem on the ordering of creation by Wisdom, accessible to Charles the Bald in Scripture.

⁴⁹⁷ Chartier, *L'oeuvre musical*, p. 8, nn. 38, 39.

⁴⁹⁸ Carruthers, "Varietas," pp. 30–31.

⁴⁹⁹ Renée Balibar, "Eulalie et Ludwig: Le génie littéraire," *Le Gré des Langues* 3 (1992), pp. 172–87; Yves Chartier, "L'auteur de la Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie," in *Chant and its Peripheries: Essays in Honour of Terence Bailey*, eds. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1998), pp. 159–76.

embody in their content too. The copying of *missa graeca* in our sacramentaries is the clearest expression of this, for which see chapter 5.

Greek names and the art of our sacramentaries are associated in at least one telling case, which can clearly be identified in the same circles; this is an Anglo-Saxon chrismatory (a container for holy oils) now in private hands that was given a new ridge pole made of copper alloy, in a Northern French monastery around this same time as our sacramentaries were produced.⁵⁰⁰ The Carolingian ridge pole added to the object is inscribed with titles for Christ in Greek, and also Latin written in Greek letters standing for *kapsa baptismatis*, among repeating motifs of interlace and quatrefoils close parallels to which Webster explicitly identified in the manuscripts of Saint-Amand, especially the Second Bible and **Saint-Denis**. This recurrence suggests “Franco-Saxon” motifs, here applied to an actual Anglo-Saxon object, were at least in some artistic conceptions drawn together and associated with Greek lettering. This strengthens the idea that the art and script of our manuscripts were posed as “international” or “universal,” which helps to explain their content in especially comprehensive mass books.

The survival of quite so many manuscripts written and decorated in this style, which has allowed our unusually precise dating, shows that it had a lasting magnetism and appealed strongly to medieval ideas of beauty, grandeur, and status. The history of the Franco-Saxon Gospel books, like the sacramentaries, reveals ongoing use and appreciation, as, for example, in the outfitting in Cologne ca. 1160–1170 of the Gospel Book today in the Museum Schnütgen with a deluxe frontispiece, displaying a golden enthroned Christ and enamel figures of the winds.⁵⁰¹ As we will see, this prestige included the use of Franco-Saxon sacramentaries as liturgical exemplars across Europe.

500 Leslie Webster, “A Recently Discovered Anglo-Carolingian Chrismatory,” in *Matter of Faith: An Interdisciplinary Study of Relics and Relic Veneration in the Medieval Period*, ed. James Robinson and Lloyd de Beer (London: British Museum, 2014), pp. 66–74.

501 von Euw, *Das Buch der vier Evangelien*, p. 41 and Pl. 29.

Chapter 3

The Liturgical Organisation of the Sacramentaries of Saint-Amand and the Making of the “Gelasianised” Gregorians

Introduction

In the previous chapter, it was shown that the script and decoration of the sacramentaries generally allowed a clear ordering of these manuscripts, and they also provided convincing dating to a more restricted period than previously assumed in the only in-depth study of these manuscripts by Deshusses, refining and correcting the sometimes arbitrary judgements of Koehler and Mütherich. This being established, we can now come to the content within these books, and the dramatic and comprehensive work of liturgical compilation undertaken over this short period at Saint-Amand. Deshusses had established the ordering of the sacramentaries principally on the basis of their organisation or the structure of the mass book; that is, the extent to which the original order of the Gregorian *Hadrianum* with *Hucusque* Supplement had broken down, and how many foreign elements had been incorporated. This process entails the formation of what we call the “mixed” or “Gelasianised” Gregorian sacramentaries. The *Hucusque*, largely as edited by Deshusses, was reproduced in **Le Mans**, the earliest of the books. The later books then disclose this process as it took place in a single *scriptorium*.

In the case of Saint-Amand, we can uniquely follow this process at several stages. There are, in addition, some striking and critical elements which Deshusses left unmentioned, and which his edition could not incorporate. These render the Saint-Amand manuscripts even more singular, and even more important in the history of the Latin mass book. They establish to a greater degree how involved and complex the work of compiling these books was, and urgently require explanation. In this chapter I will go through the manuscripts in turn, showing how the structure of the Supplemented Gregorian, as present in **Le Mans**, was gradually broken down and new ways of structuring the sacramentary were worked out from one manuscript to the next. Then, for each manuscript in turn, I will highlight divergences from the text of the Gregorian *Hadrianum*. These divergences took two forms, both of which I will examine. First is the simple addition of Gelasian and later masses to the Gregorian calendar. These are listed out, with folio numbers, and their presence in other manuscripts noted, with begin to fill in a picture of the broader relations of our sacramentaries to others. Second, I begin to establish how

the compilers intervened in the structure of Gregorian mass sets, changing Gregorian prayers for their Gelasian alternatives, adding Gelasian ALIA and SUPER POPULUM prayers, and thereby beginning a more complete, and considerably more sophisticated transformation of the Roman tradition than was attempted in any other surviving mass book of their time.

Two *Hucusque* Manuscripts of Saint-Amand

This manuscript provides the foundation from which we can begin our work. **Le Mans** is one of the best and most complete copies of the *Hadrianum* with Supplement *Hucusque*, although it has lost several quires with significant elements of the text, and it has a handful of features that divide it from the form edited by Deshusses, which was principally based on the manuscript, Autun, BM, MS 19 bis, “the Sacramentary of Marmoutier.”

Structure of **Le Mans**, Médiathèque Lous-Aragon, Ms. 77

- fol. 3–6r: *Hucusque* Supplement (Ordinations of the Minor Orders). The preface *Hucusque* supposes that these came at the end of the book in the original structure, which would make their status as additions to the Gregorian clearer (as in **Rodrade**, Paris BnF, lat. 12050, fol. 201v–204v). It was an obvious change to move them, however, nearer the major orders, and most copies do so (as also in the Sacramentary of Marmoutier: Autun, BM, Ms. 19 bis, fol. 1r–4v).
- fol. 6v–13v: *Hadrianum* (The Canon of the Mass).
- fol. 6v–13v: *Hadrianum* (Ordinations of Major Orders).
- fol. 15r–24v, 26r–103v: *Hadrianum* (the mixed Gregorian Sanctoral and Temporal and additional material for varied blessings, occasions, daily masses. Up until the ORATIONEM AD BARBAS TONDENDAS (De 993), thereafter the loss of a quire covering several votive masses).
- fol. 104r–v *Hadrianum* (the end of the Gregorian with the mass for the dead and the ordination of the Pope (De 1018)).
- fol. 104r–108v the *Hucusque* Preface and the Capitula for the Supplement. The Capitula list the content of the Supplement, and each mass has a corresponding number in the margin.
- fol. 105v–204v The *Hucusque* Supplement. Several quires are missing and the manuscript ends with the prefaces for Advent (the title DOMINICA III ANTE NATALE DOMINI ends the manuscript, but the corresponding preface has

been lost). A number of prefaces and the entire collection of episcopal blessings are missing. **Le Mans** notably omits a second preface “Haec studiose” that introduces the mass prefaces in other *Hucusque* manuscripts.⁵⁰²

It is unfortunate that the end of the manuscript is missing, since several manuscripts, including even Deshusses’s “best” example, the “Sacramentary of Marmoutier” in Autun, added further material at the end of the Supplement *Hucusque* of their own (“propre de Marmoutier”), and it is possible that Saint-Amand had done likewise.

Unfortunately, we have only the single quire, plus an extra leaf, of the original Saint-Amand manuscript which came to Bobbio via Tortona. However, this does suffice to show us that **Bobbio** had minor ordinations before the Canon, just as the **Le Mans** did, since Vienna, ÖNB, cod. lat. 958, fol. 1r–v contains the texts for the ordination of the subdeacon, including the exhibition of the paten and chalice to him by the bishop (De 1802–1805). This indicates that the **Bobbio** manuscript preserved this feature of the Supplement *Hucusque*, just as it was also included in **Le Mans**. The manuscript was also briefly described with shelf mark 45 in the catalogue of Bobbio of the year 1461, at which point it was more complete. The catalogue describes it thus:

COLLECTARIA MISSALIS MONASTICI. Missalis collectarius, id est oratio, secreta et postcommunio per circulum anni, in cuius initio continetur benedictio palmarum et plura alia, deinde quaedam miniaturae deauratae, in quibus continentur litterae antiquae de capiversis in quinque cartis, quae ita incipiunt videlicet: In nomine domini Incipit liber sacramentorum de circulo anni etc., habens omnes minios aureos usque ad medium voluminis. In fine habemus missam ad postulandam serenitatem.⁵⁰³

[trans. A collectar-missal, that is to say it has a Collect, secret and post communion for the whole cycle of the year, at whose beginning are found a blessing of palms and numerous other things, then certain gold illuminations, in which are found antique letters *de capiversis* (uncial script) on five pages, which begin thus: *In nomine domini Incipit liber sacramentorum de circulo anni* etc. It has throughout gold initials until the middle of the volume. At the end we have a mass asking for serenity].

The indication of the catalogue implies that, in the original manuscript, most of the masses did not yet have prefaces, but only three prayers each, as in the original Gregorian, or as in **Le Mans**. This would suggest that the **Bobbio** manuscript had

⁵⁰² Also, a mistake made in the copying disrupted the numbering of the elements of *Hucusque*, so that they are one number lower than they should be usually: one ALIA MISSA (fol. 128v) has no number, so the next mass takes number XLIII, and so on.

⁵⁰³ *Inventarium librorum monasterii S. Columbani*, ed. Peyron, p. 57.

not yet reached the point of **Chelles**, in which prefaces were attached to many masses, or the later books, where most masses were expanded beyond three prayers with ALIA forms. It is probable that the blessing of palms “et plura alia” constituted additions made to the blank folios at the opening of the manuscript. Gold letters continued through the manuscript, until a middle point, possibly where the Supplement began, and apparently, the manuscript ended at a mass “ad postulandam serenitatem.” Such a mass (more often “ad postendam serenitatem”), is found in all our sacramentaries, except **Saint-Denis**, and it was a part of the votive mass section of the Supplement *Hucusque* (De 1372–1374), or the entry XCV in the Hucusque’s *Capitula*. In no such sacramentary, however, does it come at the end of the book. The most likely explanation is that the end of the **Bobbio** manuscript had already been lost by the time of the catalogue in 1461. The lost portion might have had prefaces, still separate from the masses themselves.

This information taken together suggests that the original manuscript still maintained the overarching structure of the Supplement *Hucusque*. It is thus “earlier” in terms of its liturgical development than both **Chelles** and **Tournai**. **Bobbio** also made none of the interventions in the Canon of the Mass that most later manuscripts make, but preserves a basic form, like **La Mans**.⁵⁰⁴ These indications parallel the decoration, and place **Bobbio** early in the sequence, earlier than **Chelles**. It is also true that we cannot find traces of any of the unique features of Saint-Amand sacramentaries in the later plenary missal made at Bobbio in the Ambrosiana. Although this new manuscript certainly made use of some Northern French sources, including a manuscript likely to be from Saint-Riquier and the influence of the Supplement *Hucusque* can be detected, unique indications of Saint-Amand’s liturgical work which are established below are missing from the text of the Ambrosiana missal, even if it copied decoration from the Saint-Amand book.⁵⁰⁵ This would make sense if the manuscript available at Bobbio did not have many Saint-Amand interventions in the text of the Supplement *Hucusque*, indicating that the original manuscript of **Bobbio** was probably still close to the similarly unaltered **Le Mans**. We placed the manuscript in the 870s (with a *terminus ante quem* of 877). At that point, dramatic interventions in the Gregorian text made at Saint-Amand had not yet begun.

504 It lacks “et antestite nostro” in the *Te Igitur* or other additions made already in **Tournai**, see above n. 346.

505 Nicholas Orchard, “St. Willibrord, St. Richarius and Anglo-Saxon Symptoms in Three Mass-Books from Northern France,” *RevBen* 110 (2000), pp. 261–83; also see below n. 950.

Additions and Adjustments to Gregorian Masses in the Sacramentaries of Saint-Amand

The incorporation of elements that differentiated these books from the Gregorian went beyond the structural reorganisation, and this quickly began to include texts beyond those that were selected for the Supplement *Hucusque* as well, showing that the selections made by *Hucusque*'s compilers did not fully satisfy our compilers at Saint-Amand. Even the Gregorian Canon of the Mass could be adjusted, particularly in the books intended for cathedrals, **Tournai** and **Noyon**, which add to the Canon most substantially, and expand it in ways that suggest they specifically intended to include the lay inhabitants of the city or diocese in the Canon's intercessions.⁵⁰⁶ We see the radical overhaul of the Roman Gregorian with masses from outside, including not only the texts directly extracted from the Gelasian of the Eighth Century, but also new compositions, what I call Carolingian masses. This is the defining attribute of the "Gelasianised" or "mixed" Gregorians of this period, and analysis of the choices of texts made reveals certain parallels of our sacramentaries of Saint-Amand to other books being made nearby, indicating the process was a broadly shared and collaborative endeavour. However, the extent of the interventions in the Gregorian undertaken at Saint-Amand is, even in its immediate chronological and geographical context, completely extraordinary.

Adding Saints in Chelles

In **Chelles**, the structure of the *Hadrianum* with an entirely separate a Supplement with chapter list and the *Hucusque* preface is still maintained. However, the

⁵⁰⁶ Both manuscripts incorporate the addition to the *Memento* for the living, speaking of the specific city's congregation, also found in a fragment of a ninth-century sacramentary from Liège (Stadsarchief Tongeren, Begijnhof, 390), where it speaks of the congregation of Saint-Lambert ("Memento domine famulorum famularumque tuarum omnis congregationis beati lantberti martyris tui . . ."). I was alerted to this interesting fragment, that includes yet more decoration with "Franco-Saxon" traits, by a Tweet of 30/04/2021 by the account *Medieval Manuscripts in Flemish Collections* run by Godfried Croenen: <https://twitter.com/mmfcb/status/1388128275994746880> (accessed 25/10/2023). The sacramentaries intended for monasteries lack this interpolation, suggesting it was commonly used in cathedral cities in the area, and so the congregation named probably included the lay inhabitants of the city, and not only the clergy of the cathedral. Both **Tournai** and **Noyon** also possess the second *Memento* "Memento mei quaesio Domine . . ." (De 7*), another Frankish interpolation, where the priest asks for himself. The text occurs earliest in the Canon in the Gelasian Sacramentary of Angoulême, in the same position (Eng 1765).

book is already “strongly re-worked” (Deshusses), and shows initial strides towards what we call the “mixed” or “Gelasianised” form of the Gregorian.⁵⁰⁷ The purity of the original Gregorian, which the *Hucusque* explicitly claimed to have recovered, was seemingly no longer so important, so that elements from the Supplement, originally foreign to the Gregorian, could now be interpolated into the Gregorian’s own structure. First of all, the proper mass prefaces from *Hucusque* are incorporated to their corresponding masses, rather than remaining at the end of the book, as they are in the Supplement. In the same way, the *Exultet* and rites for catechumenate and baptism from the Supplement were all inserted into the Gregorian’s Holy Saturday rituals (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 39v–48v). The Pentecost vigil prayers (fol. 58r–59r) from the Gregorian (De 507–515), which accompany only five readings, are also replaced with those taken from the Supplement for seven readings (De 1023–1037), the Gelasian system. Without these elements, the Supplement to **Chelles** begins directly with the Sunday masses, but still ends with the episcopal blessings (fol. 164r–169v), from which several folios are lost. Other edits to the Gregorian itself include the removal of all the Roman station notices from the masses of Lent. The stations were still copied in Easter Week (fol. 50r) and Pentecost (fol. 60r) and the days following. The manuscript also lacks the ordinations to minor orders, added in the final stage of *Hucusque*, but it has only the Gregorian’s text for major orders, in their original place directly after the Canon.

In addition to the material from *Hucusque*, in **Chelles**, masses entirely foreign to both the *Hadrianum* and the Supplement *Hucusque* were incorporated into the Gregorian calendar.⁵⁰⁸ The festal masses were simply inserted into the place in the year in which they would appear, without being distinguished in any way from surrounding Gregorian masses. These are:

- Fol. 14r Vigil of Epiphany. The Gelasian mass (Sg 91–94), including the preface used in the Supplement (De 1524).
- Fol. 55r The Invention of the Cross (3rd May). Although Deshusses did not note this insertion in his first volume, as he did other additions to Chelles, the mass is the Gelasian (Sg 743, 744, 747), with the preface from the Supplement (De 1609).
- 67v–68r Benedict (11th July) De 173*–176*. The mass is a developed form of an ALIA MISSA for the same day found only in the Sacramentary of Gellone

⁵⁰⁷ Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. I, pp. 38–39.

⁵⁰⁸ At Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 605–6, the edition mistakenly includes the sigil of **Chelles** (“T1”) in the apparatus of a mass for Mark the Evangelist added to some books (De 126*–128*), but there is no trace of such a mass in the manuscript.

(Paris, BnF, lat. 12048, fol. 96r) edited in Gel 1237–1240.⁵⁰⁹ It may have been used here in preference to the more prolix first mass (Gel 1234–1236), which is also found in other Gelasians. The preface attached to Gellone’s mass was also used in **Chelles** in preference to that found in the *Hucusque* Supplement (De 1637).

- 71r Vespers and octave for Laurence (9th August and 17th August). The Vespers come from the Gelasian (Sg 1070–1072), as does the Octave (Sg 1098–1102), in which the preface from the Supplement is incorporated (De 1653).
- 74r–v The Beheading of John the Baptist (29th August). This is the Gelasian mass Sg 1140, 1142, 1144, with the “orphaned” preface of the Supplement (De 1661).
- 79r–v The Vigil and Feast of Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius (8th–9th October). These are the patronal masses, from Saint-Denis itself. The Vigil mass was made of prayers neither in the extant Gregorian nor Gelasian traditions, edited in De 253*–257*. The manuscript of **Chelles** also has an AD POPULUM, not seen in our **Saint-Denis**, which sticks more strictly to a Gregorian three-prayer format. The feast day mass can be identified as constructed from the *Hadrianum* (Collect from the feast of Saint Hermetis De 671, secret from the feast of Priscus De 106 and post communion from the feast of St. Vincent De 119), with the addition of a common preface from the Supplement (De 1713), for the feast of many martyrs.
- 80r–v The Vigil and feast of All Saints’ Day (31st October–1st November). De 258*–261*. Alcuin’s masses.⁵¹⁰

A majority of these masses are straightforwardly Gelasian. In four cases, the manuscript supplied masses which had “orphaned” prefaces in the Supplement without corresponding masses in the Gregorian. The compilers thus, first of all, recognised that the preface collection attached to the Supplement was out of sync with the content of the Gregorian itself, and filled in the gaps. In the case of Benedict, an “orphaned” preface of *Hucusque* could have been identified (De 1637 – originally from the Gelasian), but the alternative, Gelasian preface found in Gellone, was used with the accompanying mass, and the Supplement’s preface was discarded. In addition, three other “orphaned” prefaces for the Rogation litanies from the Supplement are all inserted into the mass of the Roman Great Litany (fol. 56v–57r).

⁵⁰⁹ On masses for Benedict, see Jean Deshusses and Jacques Hourlier, “Saint Benoît dans les livres liturgiques,” *Studia Monastica* 21 (1979), pp. 143–204.

⁵¹⁰ Deshusses, “Les messes d’Alcuin.”

Many of the same feasts appear in the same places in other Gregorian sacramentaries whose copyists began to experiment in similar ways, and thus could have been source or inspiration for **Chelles**. The masses for vigil and feast of All Saints were likely extracted from a deposit of Alcuin's masses to which compilers of **Chelles** had access (see below in the discussion of votive masses). Among their earliest appearances, for example, in **Trent**, these two masses for All Saints were still distinguished from the Gregorian and appeared in a Supplement among other votive masses authored by Alcuin. This probably reflects their transmission in a deposit of Alcuin's masses which he sent out to friends, such as Arn of Salzburg, Abbot of Saint-Amand. With access to such a deposit, it was an easy next step to insert the festal masses for All Saints into the calendar, as **Chelles** has done, and was already done in **Modena**, before the end of the first half of the ninth century.⁵¹¹ Nevertheless, the last addition, the feast of St. Benedict, probably indicates the direct consultation of a Gelasian Sacramentary in the specific tradition of the Sacramentary of Gellone, which was written not all that far from Saint-Amand in Meaux, and likely for Cambrai.⁵¹² Where this same mass appears in Gregorian sacramentaries from Tours (Tours, BM, Ms. 184 fol. 33r–v and in Autun, BM, Ms. 19 bis, fol. 187v) it is used for and the wording adapted to the feast of St. Benedict's translation in March (21.03), and not his July feast, as here and in the Sacramentary of Gellone (Gel 1237–1239). In the Tours cases, the mass also lacks the preface provided by Gellone, with the Supplement's preface simply used instead.⁵¹³

In the case of St. Dionysius, the masses for Vigil and Feast are the patronal masses from the monastery itself, since the same masses were later employed for the later **Saint-Denis**, as well as other books produced at Saint-Denis itself (including later portions of **Laon**). At Saint-Amand, the vigil mass has a preface (De 3148) and AD POPULUM (De 3147) not found in the manuscripts of Saint-Denis, however, but found in **Tours**, **Modena**, and **Senlis** for an apostle's Vigil. Summed up, these additions do not offer explicit support for an assertion that the manuscript was written *for* the nunnery of Chelles itself. Patrons of that nunnery (George, Bathildis) are conspicuous by their absence. Only St. Dionysius and Benedict had patronal masses added, while John the Baptist received an additional mass for his martyrdom (a popular and important Frankish feast), and Dionysius was the only one who had a vigil added as well. Only St. Laurence received a new Octave. Given Charles the Bald's abbacy of Saint-Denis from 867, it is possible he

511 Likely in Alcuin's Missal too, to judge by **Modena** or Paris, BnF, NAL 1592 ("Tu2"), which together best preserve the structure of the lost missal, see Westwell, "The Lost Missal of Alcuin."

512 Deshusses, "Le sacramentaire de Gellone."

513 See *Le sacramentaire de Marmoutier*, ed. Décréaux, vol. 2, p. 749.

was indeed a likely, initial recipient of the manuscript, in which case the selected and added masses may represent his own preference for celebration in his chapel, or the understanding of the compiler and/or patron of what those might have been.

In addition to these straightforward additions of masses, there were also several interventions in the Gregorian itself, some of which can be extracted from the apparatus of Deshusses's edition.

Particularly important is the mass for the third Thursday in Lent (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 28r–v). The provision of stational masses in Rome for the Thursdays in Lent was a comparatively late development, taking place only under Gregory II in 725. New masses had to be written for these Thursdays, and stations assigned to them. The new third Thursday of Lent had its station at the Basilica Santi Cosma e Damiano, previously not a stational church.⁵¹⁴ The mass that was created for this day took prayers also used in the Gelasian mass of the feast day of Cosmas and Damian. It also specifically mentioned the saints in the Collect (“Magnificet te domine sanctorum tuorum cosme et damiani beato solemnitas . . .” etc.) and post communion, as well as the theme of martyrdom in the secret.⁵¹⁵ This was amply appropriate for the celebration in Rome, but, it seemed, began to cause problems in Francia, especially when, as in the **Chelles** Sacramentary, the station notices were removed and the mass's invocation of the two saints in particular no longer made sense. Already, in **Le Mans** (Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77, fol. 35r), the mass was one of those marked with an obelus, noting the unhappiness of a compiler or later user. While many Gregorian copyists were still happy to keep it intact, in many later copies of the Gregorian the Cosmas and Damian mass was thus removed and replaced with an alternative, normally the equivalent Gelasian mass (as noted by Deshusses, De 80*–84*). This was done, for example, in the related **Saint-Vaast** (Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 162, fol. 127v–128r), and also in **Cologne** (Cologne Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, cod. 137, fol. 22v–23r). If justification for such a move was needed, the pre-Hadrianic Gregorians which left Rome before the new masses were written, would naturally already have an alternative mass in place, as we see in **Trent**, and in the Sacramentary of Kroměříž, in which the Thursday masses were all a mixture of Gelasian texts and borrowings from the Gregorian, edited at De 347*–350*.

Our **Chelles** actually worked quite similarly to **Trent**, but selected different texts. The mass put in place of the Cosmas/Damian Mass is here likewise a hybrid creation (edited at De 85*–88*). The original SUPER POPULUM (De 247) was left in

514 Geoffrey Grimshaw Willis, “Roman Stational Liturgy,” in *Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (London: SPCK, 1968), pp. 3–87 at 48.

515 De 244–247.

place, since it made no mention of Cosmas and Damian. Meanwhile, the preface from the Supplement was added (De 1565) and the secret was taken from one of the masses for an Ember Day in the *Hadrianum* (De 710), whose focus on fasting was still viewed as appropriate for Lent. The Collect was taken from the Gelasian mass of the same day (although a different choice to that made in **Saint-Vaast**, Sg 377 rather than 376) and a secret was supplied from a mass for the Saturday of the same week of Lent that came afterwards in the Gelasian Sacramentary (Sg 389). The creators of **Chelles** worked more actively in the confection of an appropriate mass from the material available to them. This mass is, however, a special characteristic of **Chelles**, and is notably not found in any other Saint-Amand books. It is thus possible that **Chelles** was one book that had left the *scriptorium* soon after it was made, as Deshusses supposed, and perhaps it went to the Court, as suggested above.

A Distinctive Family of Saint-Amand Emerges in Tournai

In **Tournai**, while the structure of a separated Supplement with its *capitula* list remains (Saint Petersburg, Publichnaia Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 141v–144v), the *Hucusque* preface itself was removed entirely, and thence from all subsequent books produced at Saint-Amand. It was clearly no longer viewed as particularly significant, and had lost any force. The disjunctions of the Supplement which we see in **Chelles** are replicated, so the *Exultet* and baptismal material appear in their place on Holy Saturday, the Supplement's readings for Pentecost Vigil replace the Gregorian's, and prefaces are incorporated to each mass. However, the manuscript does not have two components of the *Hucusque* Supplement at all: it is missing both the major and minor ordinations, and nor are the episcopal blessings present. The original manuscript ended with the prayers over possessed persons (De 1512–1514). The absence of both ordinations and episcopal blessings potentially indicates the creation of the manuscript for the cathedral or a basilical community at Tournai and not for their bishop, or simply the copying of a monastic exemplar. As we also saw, these were also among the last additions to the Supplement, probably along with the *Hucusque* itself, that **Tournai** also eliminated. The common masses indicate some lingering difficulty with the structure of the Supplement, since there are two distinct Common sections, one in the Gregorian section, between the end of the year's festal masses and the section with Advent Sundays (fol. 113r–122v), the second as counted in the *Capitula* after the Sunday and Alcuin masses (161r–163v), including the repetition of some prayers and masses in each. The second Common is simply that for *Hucusque*,

with the prefaces “fused” into it (as in **Chelles**), and with one additional mass (an extra mass for a Virgin, De 3417–3419).⁵¹⁶ The first diverges entirely from *Hucusque*. Many of the non-*Hucusque* masses in the first Common Section are also found in the portions added by Fulda hands to a deluxe Sacramentary of Saint-Alban in Mainz, Martinus-Bibliothek, Hs. 1 (**Mainz**), though there is some crossover with the Corbie Sacramentary **Rodrade’s** second Supplement “propre de Corbie.”⁵¹⁷ These Common masses are, in general simply ALIA at Saint-Amand where in **Mainz** they have more distinct titles:

- IN UIGILIA UNIUS MARTYRIS (De 3205–3207). Also found in **Tours, Mainz, Rodrade**, and Dusseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS. D 1 (see below, p. 332). Our manuscript has the preface from the Supplement (De 1710).
- ALIA (De 3219–3222). Found in **Mainz**, which our manuscript most closely resembles, for example, both with the Preface De 1712.
- ALIA (De 3228–3233). Shared with **Mainz**. Our manuscript has two additional ALIA prayers (De 3232 and 3233), which are also found in **Rodrade**, appended there to the previous mass.
- ALIA De 3259–3261 As in **Rodrade** and **Mainz**;
- ALIA (De 3269–3271). Also in **Mainz**, but unlike **Mainz**, our manuscript has a long list of 9 ALIAE ORATIONES (De 3272–3282). Most of these individual prayers show up in **Rodrade** appended to other masses (De 3361–3366 and 3266–3268, 3264);
- IN UIGILIA UNIUS CONFESSORIS (De 3303–3308). Also in **Mainz**, though our manuscript has the unique prayer AD UESPERAS (De 3308).
- IN NATALE UNIUS CONFESSORIS (De 3321–3326). Also found in **Mainz**, without the final ALIA.
- (De 3327–3333). Also found in **Mainz**, though our mass has five additional ALIA prayers that are found (De 3313, 3316, 3320, 3318, 3319) in **Rodrade**.
- ALIA (De 3355–3358). As in **Mainz, Rodrade** and Dusseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS. D 1.
- ALIA (De 3393–3394, 3396), with preface De 1691. This mass is found in **Mainz, Saint-Vaast** and Dusseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. D 1.

⁵¹⁶ The mass here LV (IN NATALIS UNIUS APOSTOLI) is XLVIII in the Supplement, LVI is XLVIII, LVII is L etc; the difference in numbering is caused by the insertion of the Alcuin masses.

⁵¹⁷ On **Mainz**, see Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 2, p. 38, vol. 3, pp. 25–26: “F”; see also Robert Amiet, “Trois manuscrits carolingiens de Saint-Alban de Mayence. Témoins inédits du Grégorien préhadrianique,” *EphLit* 71 (1957), pp. 91–112 (mistakenly identified it as a pre-Hadrianic book), in which he is corrected by Antoine Chavasse, “Les formulaires dominicaux des Sacramentaires Mayençais,” *EphLit* 71, (1957), pp. 308–12; online description at: <https://www.hss-census-rlp.uni-mainz.de/mz-mb-hs-1/>; also pp. 357–358.

- IN NATALE UIRGINIS NON MARTYRIS (De 3417–3419). Shared with **Mainz**, but also inserted into the *Hucusque* Supplement elsewhere in **Tournai**.

These masses may represent a distinct collection of Common masses attached to a source manuscript, in addition to the collection from *Hucusque*. In later Saint-Amand books, the two Commons were merged and duplications eliminated (for example, Paris, BnF, Latin 2291, fol. 101r–106v). Two distinct sources each with distinct Common sections would explain what happened at **Tournai**, with *Hucusque* being not definitive for the monks of Saint-Amand. Many of the prayers in this extra Common recover material from the Gelasians of the Eighth Century.⁵¹⁸ Three of these (De 3303–3308, De 3321–3326, De 3327–3335) concern a confessor who was also a bishop (“confessore tui atque pontifice”), and one a virgin martyr (De 3393: “uirginis martyrisque”), extending and making more specific the kinds of saints for whom the Common could supply prayers. Thus, the preservation of prayers from the Gelasian Common of Saints, as well as the idea to have more material accessible and more variety in the Common, probably occurred between the two monasteries of Corbie and Saint-Amand, to a certain degree in collaboration, probably as a precursor to the work on our sacramentaries of Saint-Amand.

Additions to the masses which we saw in **Chelles** are generally replicated in **Tournai**. As one example, the Saint Benedict mass in **Tournai** (Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 89r–v) is the same form as we saw in **Chelles** (that is, the Gelasian mass of the sacramentary of Gellone), with the same preface of Gellone. The adjustments made to the Gregorian structure, such as the removal of the Roman stations, are also alike, and even taken further, so that here no station notices remain in the Ember Days, Easter, or Pentecost weeks either. The mass for the feast of the dedication of the Pantheon (13th May), *Maria ad Martyres* (De 494–496) is also removed in **Tournai**, which seems to be a part of the same programme for reducing content that was specific to Rome. Unlike other copyists, who assiduously sought to preserve the Roman Gregorian as a station book, as the Popes had used it, the copyists of Saint-Amand seems strikingly uninterested in Roman details, and determined to turn the Gregorian into something relevant to Frankish worship, like the Gelasian of the Eighth Century, rather than a “relic” of Rome. A similar diversity of responses to specific Roman details and their “usefulness” and validity to Frankish interest is visible in, for example, the Carolingian manuscripts of the *ordines romani*.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁸ De 3262=Sg 1502; De 3264=Sg 3364; De 3265=Sg 1506; De 3304=Sg 1331; De 3306=Sg 739; De 3363=Sg 1496; De 3364=Sg 1497; De 3365=Sg 1498 etc., De 3326 is Sg 1423, and only our book adds this one.

⁵¹⁹ Westwell, *Roman Liturgy and Frankish Creativity*.

Some differences in the material also divide the **Tournai** from **Chelles**; for example, the mass of the third Thursday in Lent which had the original station at Santi Cosma e Damiano. In **Tournai** (fol. 40v–41r), the Gelasian mass on this day is simply copied (Sg 376–380), rather than the variant form which we see in **Chelles**. **Tournai** thus shares this mass in common with, for example, **Saint-Vaast**. It also uses, however, a Gelasian Collect **Saint-Vaast** does not (Sg 377). This use of this mass probably indicates that **Chelles** was not available in Saint-Amand anymore as an exemplar, when **Tournai** was written.

In addition, **Tournai** borrows even more from the Gelasians than **Chelles** did. The following masses were added to the main body of the sacramentary and appear there entirely undifferentiated from the Gregorian texts.⁵²⁰

– 25r–26r Octave of Christmas. This Gelasian mass (Sg 76–80 with the Supplement’s “orphaned” preface De 1522) actively replaces the mass from the Gregorian (De 82–84) for the same occasion, which was strongly Marian in focus (“Deus qui salutis aeternae beatae mariae uirginitate . . .”). This may be the consequence of a change in emphasis for the Octave outside Rome, there a Marian feast at the Pantheon, but from which that character receded in Francia, in favour of a mass more focused on Jesus (In the Gelasian preface, Sg 79, used in the Supplement De 1522: “circumcisionis diem et natiuitatis octauum celebrantes”).⁵²¹ The same mass was used in the same way in the Sacramentary of **Saint-Vaast** (Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 162, fol. 14v–15r).

– 70v–71r MISSA IN PASCHA ANNOTINA. This probably represents the celebration of a paschal anniversary, perhaps for those who had been baptised the preceding Easter.⁵²² The Gelasian mass Sg 665–670, including the Supplement’s “orphaned” preface 1597 is found in **Saint-Vaast** (Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 162, fol. 82r–v). Our mass is slightly different, however. It has a Collect “Deus qui renatis . . .” (Sg 666) not Sg 665, and adds the *Hanc Igitur* from the Gelasian (Sg 669), absent in the **Saint-Vaast** Sacramentary. The Super Populum “Populus tuus quaesumus Domine renouato . . .” (Sg 676) is borrowed from the following ORATIONES IN PARROECHIIS of the Gelasian. Two additional texts under the heading ALIAE ORATIONES are also quite singular choices: “Praesta quaesumus domine deus noster ut quae solemn

⁵²⁰ On fol. 25v–26r the Gregorian’s ALIA (De 92–98) prayers for Epiphany were also overwritten by a later hand active elsewhere in the manuscript (s.X), in order to add a Gelasian mass for the Octave of Epiphany not previously present (Sg 112–114).

⁵²¹ Jacques-Marie Guilmard, “Une antique fête mariale au 1e janvier dans la ville de Roma?” *Ecclesia Orans* 11 (1994), pp. 25–67.

⁵²² Samuel Cheetham, “Annotinum Paschae” in William Smith and Samuel Cheetham, *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. 1 (London: Murray 1876), p. 91.

. . .” and ALIA “Caelesti lumine quaesumus domine semper . . .” Both are actually from Epiphany, the first as a Gelasian post communionem for the octave of Epiphany (Sg 114), and the former for Epiphany itself (Sg 100).

– 71v–72r Mark the Evangelist (25th April). Although not found in Gregorian or Gelasian originally, likely because he was overshadowed by the Great Litany on the same day, the celebration of St. Mark found wide purchase in many Gregorians contemporary to our manuscripts. This was part of the increased importance attached to the liturgical celebration of all of the individual apostles by the Franks.⁵²³ The form here is the one edited by Deshusses (De 126*–128*), recurring in manuscripts like **Saint-Vaast** (Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 162, fol. 129r–v), also the Corbie Sacramentary, **Saint Eloi**.⁵²⁴ The preface points to that used for Saturninus (“require in natalis sancti saturnini”), from the Supplement (De 1696).

– 73v–74r The Gelasian mass of Nereus, Achilleus, and Pancratius (12th May) (Sg 759–762) entirely replaces the Gregorian one dedicated to Pancratius alone (De 491–493).

– 74v–76r: The Rogations. In **Tournai**, the mass for the Roman Great Litany (De 466–469) which was fixed on the 25th April (and, in the Gregorian, between St. George and St. Vitale) was moved to before the Vigil of Ascension and Ascension Day (on fol. 74r–v), as was also done in **Saint-Vaast** (Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 162, fol. 90r–v). This shows the complete replacement of the Roman Great Litany, whose date has disappeared in the title, with the Rogations of Frankish practice, three days of litanies running up to Ascension on Thursday.⁵²⁵ Presumably the Great Litany mass was now celebrated on the Monday before Ascension, with two masses afterwards filling in for the Tuesday and Wednesday, as their titles indicate.

– 74v–75v Feria III in laetania maiore (Rogation Tuesday). This and the following masses employed the “orphaned” prefaces from the *Hucusque* Supplement, already put with the mass of the Great Litany in **Chelles** manuscript. These masses are immediately more complex than other additions, being made up partly of Gregorian prayers from the collection PRO PECCATIS (De

⁵²³ Els Rose, *Ritual Memory: The Apocryphal Acts and Liturgical Commemoration in the Early Medieval West (c. 500–1215)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

⁵²⁴ Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 2, p. 665, also gives the sigil “R” which refers to **Saint-Denis**, which does not have this mass at all. See Paris, BnF, lat. 2290, fol. 61v.

⁵²⁵ On the history of the Rogations or minor litanies, see Nathan J. Ristuccia, *Christianization and Commonwealth in Early Medieval Europe: A Ritual Interpretation* (Oxford: University Press, 2018).

841–875), for which I refer to the edition, but partly from Gelasian or unknown prayers that I give in full.

- a. Collect: De 850.
 - b. Secret: “SUPER OBLATA. Offerentium quaesumus domine uota multiplica et omnes uerae credulitatis instrumentis perlustra sicque nobis per hoc sacrificium adesto placatus . ut nos et a peccatis et a periculis omnibus miseratus absoluas. . . .” This is not in extant Gregorian or Gelasians, but can be found in **Saint Eloi**.⁵²⁶
 - c. Post communion: “AD COMPLETA. Purifica quaesumus domine per haec sancta quae sumpsimus tuorum corda fidelium . . .” (Eng 969, among Common masses). Not in CO.
 - d. SUPER POPULUM: De 848
- Feria IIII in laetania maiore (Rogations Wednesday)
- a. Collect: De 863.
 - b. Secret: “SUPER OBLATA Ieiunantium domine quaesumus supplicum . . .” A Gelasian prayer for the Rogations in Angoulême (Eng 986), also in the Verona Gregorian (De 2467).⁵²⁷
 - c. Post communion: “AD COMPLETA. Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut diuino munere satiati et sacris mysteriis innouemur et moribus . . .” (A Gelasian prayer used in various situations: GeV 1229, Sg 562, Gel 724).⁵²⁸
 - d. “AD POPULUM” (sic.): De 892.

For both these added masses, all the texts are found in the related **Saint Eloi**, except the SUPER POPULUM of the first mass, which this manuscript used elsewhere, and the post communion of the second mass.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁶ CO 3671a, informs us of parallels in a book today in Trent, the “Ottonianum” (*Sacramentarium Gregorianum Ottonianum*, ed. Ferdinando Dell’Oro in *Monumenta Liturgica Ecclesiae Tridentinae saeculo XIII antiquiora. Fontes liturgica. vol. 2/A and appendix I of Vol. 2/B* (Trent.: Societá Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche, 1983–1987), 118*) and in the Regensburg Wolfgang Sacramentary (Wolf 757); the explanation for this convergence probably lies in that the former is also a Bavarian Sacramentary, perhaps written in Freising or Augsburg, see CLLA Supplementum 921*. It may have influenced further books written in Trent like the later *Sacramentarium Adalprethianum*, copied under Bishop Adalbert II (1156–1177), Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. Ser.N. 206.

⁵²⁷ CO 3031; used in minor litanies in many MSS, particularly Italian, including Milanese.

⁵²⁸ CO 4487 indicates that Ful 923 uses it for the minor litany.

⁵²⁹ Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 111v–112r, **Saint Eloi** was edited early and under false pretences as the Roman Gregorian in *Divi Gregorii papae huius nomine primi, cognomento magni liber sacramentorum nunc demum corrector et locupletior editus ex missali Ms. Sancti Eligii*. ed. Nicolas-Hugues Ménard (Paris: Dionysius Moreau, 1642, repr., Farnborough: Gregg International, 1969), here at

- Feria IIII Vigilia ascensionis domini (Vigil of Ascension, also Wednesday). Uses the Gelasian texts Sg 766, 768, 769 (the supplement's De 1612) and 770. We might note that our manuscript has now two, distinct masses for the Wednesday before Ascension, probably indicating the consultation of two sources, one with just a mass with the Vigil of Ascension, like the *Remedius* Sacramentary in Sankt Gallen, and one with a mass for two Rogation Days, including the same Wednesday, like the Sacramentary of Angoulême. Although an equivalent Gelasian mass for this vigil is found in **Saint-Vaast** (it uses Sg 767 and a preface De 499), the choice of prayers in our Sacramentary differs.

- 80v A new mass added for the Thursday of Pentecost Week, which had no mass in the Gregorian or in Gelasian sacramentaries. The **Tournai** manuscript employs the “orphaned” preface provided for this day from the Supplement (De 1618). This mass is also a hybrid of traditions. The Collect is De 546, from the Gregorian's Ember Saturday of Pentecost, also used in the Gelasian (Sg 837). But the secret is a Gelasian secret for the Vigil of Pentecost (Sg 802) and the post communion (“Sacris caelestibus Domine operante sancto spiritu uitia nostra purgentur ut muneribus tuis possimus semper aptari . . .”) is also found in the Gelasian for the Vigil of Pentecost (Sg 809).⁵³⁰ The prayer AD UESPERAS is also Gelasian (Sg 817) and is employed by the Sacramentary of **Saint-Denis** (Latin 2290) for the same mass. The same mass, formed in the same way as ours, appears in **Saint Eloi**.⁵³¹

- 83v Primus and Felicianus (9th June). Gelasian mass Sg 864–866. Found in manuscript **Cambrai** 162–163, as in the Modena Sacramentary (Modena, Biblioteca Capitolare O II 7).

- 83v–84r Basilidis Cirinus Naboris and Nazarius (12th June). Gelasian mass Sg 867–869. Found in the Sacramentary of **St. Vaast, Modena, and Cologne**.

- 89v James the Apostle (25th June). Gelasian Mass Sg 1009–1012. Found in **Saint-Vaast**, exactly as here.

pp. 92–93, 94; in addition to the masses found mostly in our sacramentary, **Saint Eloi** supplies extra prayers prior to the mass for each Rogation Day presumably to be said at each stage of the processions themselves, the mass coming at the end (this being on the model of the Gregorian's Great Litany).

530 CO 5242B tells us that certain codices have the same reading as our own and **Saint Eloi** adding “operante sancto spiritu,” to the original Gelasian prayer, including one in Trent (*Sacramentarium Adalprethianum*, ed. Fernando Dell'Oro in *Monumenta Liturgica Ecclesiae Tridentinae saeculo XIII antiquiora*, vol. 2/B, (Trent: Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche, 1987), 781*) and Regensburg (Wolf 824). A transfer from Bavaria to Trent is likely. Some English ones are found too (Leaf 1051).

531 *Divi Gregorii*, ed. Ménard, pp. 101–2.

- 90r A separate mass for Simplicius, Faustinus, and Beatrice (29th June) who were mentioned in the title of the Gregorian mass for Saint Felix (De 616–618), but remained unmentioned in the Gregorian mass itself. The Gelasian mass Sg 1014–1016, is also found in **Cologne** and **Tours**, (Tours, BM, MS 184 fol. 83r–v).
- 91r Machabees (1st August). Sg 1028, 1030, 1032. Found in **Saint-Vaast**, but our mass has an additional AD COMPLETA (Sg 1029), also associated with the same mass in another manuscript, **Cologne**.
- 92r–v Donatus of Arezzo (7th August). This is a Gelasian mass with the prayer after communion that is found in the Sacramentary of Angoulême (Eng 1176–1178): *Votiuu domine dona quae pro beati confessori . . .*), and the same mass appears in **Tours** (Tours, BM, MS 184, fol. 86v–87r). It is not used in **Saint-Vaast**.
- 96v–97r Bartholomew (24th August). This is the Gelasian mass (Sg 1119–1122, the preface also in *Hucusque* as De 1656), as found in **Saint-Vaast**, **Modena**, **Stavelot**, **Cologne**, and **Senlis**.
- 97r Rufus of Capua (27th August). The Gelasian mass is found in Angoulême, from the Old Gelasian (Eng 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, with the preface also in *Hucusque* De 1657). Like Donatus, of the same source, it was used by **Tours** (Tours, BM, MS 184, fol. 94r–v), but not generally other manuscripts mentioned here. However, it can be found in **Fulda** (Ful 1249–1252).
- 97r–v Augustine (28th August). A Gelasian Mass (Eng 1263–1266, Sg 1330–1333, the preface also in *Hucusque* as De 1659). The Gelasian mass for Augustine is found in **Saint-Vaast**, **Modena**, **Senlis**, as well as in **Tours**. Our manuscript employs the same form of the Collect Sg 1330, as the last three do, but also used a prayer found here in **Saint-Vaast**, which is not part of the extant Gelasian tradition, as an ALIA ORATIO at the end (De 206*), and which focused specifically on Augustine’s writings “in exponendis scripturae sanctae mysteriis doctorem optimum et electum antistitem prouidisti” [trans. You (God) have provided a most excellent doctor in the expounding of the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures and an elected bishop], in a way the rest of the Gelasian mass does not.
- 99r Priscus of Capua (1st September). A Gelasian mass (Sg 1148–1151, preface used in *Hucusque* as De 1662). This is also found in **Tours** (Paris, BnF, Latin 9430, fol. 195v–196r) and **Fulda** (Ful 1275–1278).
- 99v–100r Gorgonius of Rome (9th September). A Gelasian mass (Sg 1166–1169) with the preface found also in *Hucusque* (De 1665). This mass appears in **Nonantola** and **Cologne**, but not in **Saint-Vaast**.

– 102r–103r Vigil and Feast of Matthew the Evangelist (20th–21st September). Both Vigil (Sg 1205–1207) and feast (Sg 1208–1213) are taken from the Gelasian. They are found in **Saint-Vaast** as well as **Stavelot**, **Senlis**, and **Tours**. Our manuscript follows these closely related books.

– 104r–v Maurice and his companions (22nd September) (De 3597–3600). Appears in the Sacramentary of Angoulême (Eng 1355–1358), and then is taken up by the two sacramentaries of Tours (Tours, BM, MS 184 and Paris, BnF, NAL 1589), where the Cathedral was dedicated to Maurice, and also appearing in **Mainz**, Mainz, Martinus-Bibliothek, Hs. 1, fol. 165r–v.⁵³² However, the Collect is shared in our manuscript and **Mainz**, but not in **Tours**. It also appears in Ful 1334–1338, with the same Collect as our manuscript.

– 105v–106r Jerome (30th September) (De 3606–3609). This mass is not the mass for Jerome employed in **Tours** (De 3603–3605), which is essentially taken from the Gelasian (Sg 723, 724, 725), but is, instead, a more comprehensive version which has no Gelasian analogue. Unlike the rather generic Gelasian one, it focuses specifically on Jerome’s translation of the Scriptures in the particularly singular Collect and post communion prayers, in the latter: “deus qui ecclesiae tuae beatum hieronimum confessorum scripturae sanctae et uerum interpretatem et tractatorem catholicum tribuisti” [trans. God who provided to Your church the blessed Jerome the Confessor, both true interpreter of the Holy Scriptures and catholic homilist].⁵³³ Because this uncommon focus and some vocabulary for example, the form “tractatorem,” meaning homilist, appears in no other text edited by Deshusses, this suggests a new composition impelled by the inadequacy of the Gelasian one, and is similar in this way to the added prayer for Augustine’s mass noted above.⁵³⁴ The Deshusses edition omits the preface, which he supplied only as part of the second Jerome mass in **Saint-Germain** (see below), but which was actually part of the Saint-Amand mass already in **Tournai** and clearly belongs with this mass. This preface (De 3614) is likewise significantly more eloquent than Gelasian equivalents: “Quem ita uoluisti fluentis satiare totius scientiae ut suorum splendore dictorum, multarum suscitator fieret animarum” [trans. Whom You wished to draw deep from the streams of all knowledge that by the splendour of his utterances, he should become the encourager of many souls]. Particular reverence for Jerome and his translation efforts would be appropriate in Saint-Amand, given their production of Gospel Books and

⁵³² See below, p. 357–358.

⁵³³ The secret is simply based on Gregorian prayer used for a number of saints (De 100); nb. for the Collect, Deshusses printed “tractorem” which is not in any manuscripts.

⁵³⁴ According to Brepols Library of Latin Texts the word “tractatorem” is used by, for example, Augustine and Ambrosius Autbertus, but never with “catholicum.”

the Second Bible, and the depiction of the saint in one Gospel Book, Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, cod. 14, as well their interest in language otherwise. The rarity of the complete mass, in contrast to the Tours version, would also imply it should be considered a local production.⁵³⁵

– 106r–v Germanus, Remigius, and Vedastus (1st October) (De 3617–3621). Common with **Tours**, though missing one ALIA that appears there (De 3618). It appears earlier in the Gelasian Philipps Sacramentary (Aug 923–927) and later in Ful 1363–1366.

– 106v Marcellus and Apuleius (7th October). This is the Gelasian mass (Sg 1285–1260), found in **Tours** (Paris 9430, fol. 203r) and in Ful 1360–1362.

– 107v–108r Luke the Evangelist (18th October). A Gelasian mass (Sg 1274–1277, uses the same preface as *Hucusque* De 1681) in common with the **Saint-Vaast**, **Stavelot**, and **Senlis**, as well as **Nonantola** and **Modena**.

– 108r–109r Vigil and Feast of Apostles Simon and Jude (27th–28th October). The Gelasian feasts (Sg 1283–1286 and 1287–1291, using the prefaces De 1683 and 1684), These feasts are found in the **Saint-Vaast**, **Stavelot**, and **Nonantola**. The day mass is found alone in **Modena**. Like **Saint-Vaast**, our sacramentary only employs three prayers and also does not use the ALIA prayer Sg 1288 as a second secret (**Nonantola**).

– 111v Vigil of Cecilia (21st November). One prayer AD UESPERAS was added here before the day mass of Cecilia. This is taken from the Collect (Sg 1339) for a full mass for this Vigil in the Gelasian.

– 114v–115r Thomas the Apostle (21st December), This uses the Gelasian mass (Sg 1456–1459, using the same preface De 1709). Also found in the sacramentaries of **Saint-Vaast**, **Stavelot**, and **Senlis**.

535 Collect in CO 1821, post communion CO 3925. The Collect, in particular, can be found in a number of modern missals (1519 Missal of Aquileia, 1502 Herford, 1554 Sarum, 1543 Paris, see Westminster, vol. 3, 1596), also the thirteenth-century *Missale de Lesnes*, ed. Philip Jebb, HBS 95 (Worcester, 1964) and, earlier, in **Winchester** (NewMin, p. 169). The complete mass can be found in one eleventh-century manuscript in Trent, likely written in Bavaria (see footnote n. 526) (Trent, Museo Diocesano, Cod.43, fol. 117v–118r) and the twelfth-century sacramentary copied in Trent (*Adalpretianum*, ed. Dell’Oro, 1060); for the preface, CP 277 signals Pamelius, 914, 4 (the preface collection in *Liturgica Latinorum*, vol. 2, 594), but also the Sacramentary of Ripoll, *Sacramentarium Rhipullense*, ed. A. Olivar (Madrid-Barcelona, 1954), 1265; Réginald Grégoire, “Repertorium Liturgicum Italianum,” *Studi Medievali* 9 (1968), pp. 465–592 at pp. 580–581 points us, among others, to the additional use of the full mass in Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, 1907, fol. 251r (a missal of San Salvatore al Monte Amiata) and in Paris, BnF, lat. 15614, fol. 241r–242v (a missal of Saint-Medard of Soissons).

– At the very end of the manuscript (fol. 203r) we find a BENEDICTIO PALMARUM ET FLORUM “Deus qui dispersas congregas . . .” (De 4334). The same text is also found at the end of **Saint-Vaast** (fol. 131r), added later (Deshusses: “Xe s.”).

The sources seem to imply, therefore, the use of at least two sources to enhance the Gregorian’s calendar of masses with additions of complete mass sets, one more standard Gelasian Sacramentary like that of Remedius, and one form which had some cross over with the Sacramentary of Angoulême (visible, for example, in the Donatus mass), and which also notably influenced the sacramentaries of Tours. These two sources are particularly visible in the texts around the Rogations, where one source offered one mass for the Vigil of Ascension on Wednesday, while the other had two distinct masses for the two days of Rogations prior to Ascension, Tuesday and Wednesday. The deployment of additional sources is also implied by the double Common in the manuscript, noted above. Crossovers with **Tours**, **Cambrai**, and **Modena** imply that a source could well have been closely related to the lost “missal of Alcuin,” here acting to enhance and alter the Supplement *Hucusque*, two attempts to adapt the Gregorian of previous generations united in one manuscript.⁵³⁶

However, the employment of the Gelasian as a source went significantly deeper than simply taking masses that were not in the Gregorian and adding them, which could be seen in many other manuscripts of this period. In many cases, Gelasian prayers were also used to replace Gregorian individual prayers within the Gregorian mass sets themselves, something that is quite singular to Saint-Amand. This process has never been noted and discussed, and no acknowledgement of it appears in Deshusses’s examination of the texts, nor could it be visible in his edition. Nevertheless, it contributed significantly to transforming the appearance of the Gregorian mass sets and moving even further away from the “pure” Gregorian. In **Tournai**, it had already happened to a remarkable extent. However, the alterations only really begin in the manuscript after the feast of Ascension. Feasts for earlier in the year were generally copied as in **Chelles**, with prefaces, but still largely as in the Gregorian. It is possible that the ideas and methods of the compilers changed partway through the writing of the Sacramentary, or that the repetitions of the Gregorian became more apparent and less easy to ignore after this point. The varied forms of the alterations can be seen in Table 3.1. Either a Gelasian prayer is added as an ALIA or other closing form at the end of the Gregorian mass (for example, Ascension, Clement etc.), or one or more individual prayers within the Gregorian mass are replaced by their Gelasian alternative (for example, Urban, Mennas etc.).

536 Westwell, “The Lost Missal of Alcuin.”

Table 3.1: Substitutions and Additions to Mass Sets in Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41.

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
76v	Ascension	ALIA added (Sg 773).
76v–77r	Urban (25 th May)	Secret and post communion replaced with Gelasian (Sg 788–789).
77r–79r	Pentecost Vigil	Additional ALIA after the readings (Sg 798), also ALIA added to mass after going up to fonts (Sg 800). 76r–v Several ALIAE ORATIONES added to the Pentecost vigil mass, which come from the Gelasian Pentecost masses (Sg 811, 818, 806, 790).
81v	Dominica Octauas Pentecosten	Replaced the Gregorian Dominica uacat (De 553–555) with the Gelasian mass for Octave of Pentecost (Sg 815–817, 818), points to preface of Trinity Mass “require in missa de sancta trinitate,” also used in the Supplement for this Octave (De 1621).
84r	Marcus and Marcellinus (18 th June)	Replaced with Gelasian mass (Sg 904–905), while post communion not from the same mass. In Angoulême for the same mass (Eng 1010), as also in Ful 1059.
84r–v	Gervasius and Protasius (19 th June)	Replaced with Gelasian mass (Sg 910–913). ALIA found in Angoulême (Eng 1011).
84v–85r	Vigil of John the Baptist (23 rd June)	Addition of Gelasian AD UESPERAS (Sg 920).
85r	John the Baptist (24 th June) First mass	Replaced Gregorian secret with Gelasian (Sg 926).
86r–v	John and Paul (26 th June)	Replaced Gregorian secret with Gelasian (Sg 944).
86v–87r	Vigil of Peter and Paul (28 th June)	Adds Gelasian Collect (Sg 952), Gregorian one is now an ALIA (De 589), Post communion is Gelasian from the day (Sg 964). Two Gelasian prayers AD UESPERAS (Sg 959 and 957).
87v	Peter and Paul (29 th June)	Adds SUPER POPULUM from Gelasian octave (Sg 984).
92v	Sixtus (7 th August)	Secret is Gelasian (Sg 1038). Also in Saint-Vaast (De 188*) and Saint Eloi.
93v	Cyriacus (8 th August)	Secret and post communion replaced with Gelasian (Sg 1053–1054).
93v–94r	Vigil of Lawrence (9 th August)	AD UESPERAS added (Sg 1060).

Table 3.1 (continued)

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
93r–94r	Lawrence (10 th August)	Three ALIA prayers (Sg 1065, 1070, 1071) added.
94v	Eusebius (14 th August)	Post communion replaced with Gelasian (Sg 1088).
95r	Vigil of Assumption (14 th August)	Gelasian secret (Sg 1094) instead of Gregorian and AD UESPERAS prayer added from Gelasian Collect for the Day (Sg 1094).
95r–96r	Assumption (15 th August)	Four ALIA ORATIONES (De 663, De 1208, Sg 683, Sg 686).
96v	Timothy (22 nd August)	Gelasian secret (Sg 1129) replaces Gregorian.
97v–98r	Hermas (28 th August)	Gelasian post communion (Sg 1129) replaces Gregorian.
98r	Sabina (29 th August)	Gelasian post communion (Sg 1139) replaces Gregorian.
99r–v	Nativity of Mary (8 th September)	Two Gelasian Collects (Sg 1157–1158) added as ALIAE ORATIONES.
100r	Protus and Iacinctus (11 th September)	Gelasian post communion (Sg 1172) replaces Gregorian.
100r–v	Exaltation of the Cross (14 th September)	Second Gelasian Collect as ALIA (Sg 1178). Five ALIA prayers (also found in Ful 1301–1305).
101r–v	Cornelius and Cyprian (14 th September)	Extra ALIA prayer from Gelasian Collect (Sg 1182).
102r	Lucy and Geminian (16 th September)	Replaces Gregorian secret with Gelasian (Sg 1198).
103r	Ember Wednesday of September	Secret replaced with Gelasian (Sg 1216).
104v–105r	Cosmas and Damian (25 th September)	All three Gregorian prayers are replaced with Gelasian (Sg 1238–1241), Gregorian post communion remains as ALIA (De 725).
105r	Dedication of Saint Michael (29 th September)	Three additional prayers. ALIA SUPER OBLATA is Gelasian secret, two ALIAE ORATIONES the Gelasian Collect (Sg 1243) and SUPER POPULUM (Sg 1248).
110v–111r	Mennas (3 rd October)	Replaces both secret and post communion with Gelasian (Sg 1316–1317).
111r–v	Martin (11 th November)	ALIA prayer from Gelasian added at end (Sg 1324).
111v–112r	Cecilia (22 nd November)	Gelasian post communion (Sg 1346) instead of Gregorian

Table 3.1 (continued)

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
112r–v	Clement (23 rd November)	An ALIA prayer added, the Gelasian Collect (Sg 1347).
112v	Felicitas (23 rd November)	Gelasian secret instead of Gregorian (Sg 1352).
112v–113r	Chrysogonus (24 th November)	Replaces Gregorian post communion with Gelasian (Sg 1357).
113v–114r	Andrew (30 th November)	Addition of extra ALIA Gelasian (Sg 1372).
114v	Lucy (13 th December)	Replaces Gregorian secret with Gelasian (Sg 1422).

In order to begin establishing the unique traits of our sacramentaries, some additions are helpful in establishing a general profile of Saint-Amand books. In particular, the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (fol. 100r–v) has five ALIA prayers at the end, which are not from the surviving Gelasian or Gregorian tradition, and are not edited by Deshusses.

Quaesumus domine deus noster ut per uexillum sanctae crucis filii tui ad conterendas aduersariorum nostrorum insidias . nos in tuae protectionis securitate constituas. Per eundem.⁵³⁷

[trans. We ask, o Lord, our God, that by the banner of the Holy Cross of your Son you might place us in the security of your protection, for the crushing of the plots of our enemies. By the same].

Supplices clementiam tuam quaesumus omnipotens Deus ut ab hoste maligno defendas . quos per lignum sanctae crucis Filii tui arma iustitiae pro salute mundi triumphare iusisti. Per eundem dominum nostrum.⁵³⁸

[trans. We beseech Your mercy, almighty God, that you might defend us, whom You have ordained to triumph through the wood of the Holy Cross of Your Son, the weapon of justice for the salvation of the world, from the malignant enemy. By the same our Lord].

Deus qui pro nobis filium tuum crucis patibulum subire uoluisisti ut inimici a nobis expelleres potestatem . concede nobis famulis tuis ut antiqui hostis insidias tanti uirtute mysterii superantes, sincerissima tibi perpetuo mente famulemur.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁷ CO 4824; also in NewMin, p. 161.

⁵³⁸ CO 5681.

⁵³⁹ CO 2031a.

[trans. God who for our sake was willing to put your on Son on the gibbet of the Cross in order to expel from us the power of the enemy, grant us, Your servants, to overcome the traps of the ancient enemy by the virtue of such a great mystery, that we may serve You with most honest mind forever].

Deus cuius Filius per tropheum crucis mundum redimere dignatus est . concede propitius ut qui de redemptione laetamur . aeternis gaudiis perfrui mereamur. Per eundem.⁵⁴⁰

[trans. God whose Son condescended to redeem the world by the trophy of the Cross, grant that we who rejoice in redemption may merit to enjoy eternal happiness. By the same].

Deus qui per sanguinem crucis domini nostri iesu christi filii tui dedidisti pacem hominibus . et caelestium collegium angelorum . da nobis et tuae pacis ubertate repleri . et angelicae societatis unitate laetari. Per eundem.⁵⁴¹

[trans. God, who by the blood of the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, Your Son, gave peace to men and the company of the celestial angels, grant us to be filled by the abundance of Your peace, and to rejoice in the unity of the angelic community. By the same].

Though scarce, and seemingly not appearing in the other sacramentaries treated here (not even the “superabundant” sacramentary, **Tours**), the same list of additional prayers at this feast can be found in the tenth-century **Fulda** (Ful 1301–1305), indicating, once again, a fruitful path of influence from Saint-Amand.⁵⁴² They can be found in the same order in **Saint Eloi** (Paris, BnF Latin 12051, fol. 224v) but among general devotional and office prayers as a number of ORATIONES AD CRUCEM.⁵⁴³ This may have been their original setting, which would imply a transfer from Corbie to Saint-Amand in this case.

540 CO 1166; the same prayer with a slightly different opening is De 4426, found in **Mainz** and **Cologne**.

541 CO 1987.

542 In the same manuscripts two were re-used for penitential litanies. The first is used for the minor litany (Ful 918) and the fourth is also used for the great litany with the placement AD CRUCEM (Ful 930); along with Fulda, *Corpus Orationum* points to the edition of Pamelius, *Liturgica Latinorum*, vol. 2, 339–40, where the same prayers follow the feast of the Exaltation as they do in our books. As we will see, Pamelius certainly had a sacramentary of Saint-Amand before him.

543 Two of them are taken up in the same way in Regensburg (Wolf 2587 and 2588) and even more of them in an eleventh-century fragment of a collectar in Munich BSB Clm 29317 (2, formerly 29164/2a, 29, in Klaus Gamber, “Fragmenta Liturgica IV,” *Sacris Erudiri* 19 (1969/70), p. 222; Gamber suggests it was from Scheyern because of the focus on the Cross, but Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1986), p. 199 identifies it palaeographically, rather, with Hersfeld in Hessen. The latter was, at exactly this time, strongly influenced by Tegernsee, where the “mixed” sacramentaries of this type had already been noted by Gamber (see p. 364).

One more consequential reorganisation concerns the Ember Days of Pentecost, which are here separated out from Pentecost Week, in which they, in the Gregorian, represented the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday.⁵⁴⁴ This means the prayers for the Ember Wednesday (De 538–541) and Friday (De 542–544) from the Gregorian are, in their entirety, simply used in **Tournai** for the usual masses on Wednesday and Friday of the Pentecost week, and the Ember Saturday Collect (De 545) and post communion (De 552) are used for the Saturday after Pentecost (no longer an Ember day “in xii lectiones,” but simply a normal SABBATO). For the same day, the secret (“Haec oblatio Domine quaesumus cordis nostri maculas emundet . . .”) is taken from Alcuin’s Votive mass for the Holy Spirit (De 2326), a more unusual choice.⁵⁴⁵ These efforts represents a significant adjustment of the Roman Gregorian to non-Roman usage. In Rome, the Ember Day always fell in Pentecost Week; that is, between Pentecost and the Pentecost octave (what is now Trinity Sunday), hence the original incorporation of the Ember Days into Pentecost Week in the Gregorian Sacramentary.⁵⁴⁶ This was not true in Francia, where the Ember Days were set to the second week of June (though always after Pentecost), and could thus fall in Pentecost week if the year happened to align that way, but, in most cases, would not fall in that week. Thus, if one should wish a Sacramentary to be entirely complete, with masses for every possibility, separate masses were needed both for Pentecost Week, and the Ember Days, in case the latter fell outside of Pentecost Week. This is what **Tournai** has here accomplished.

This meant that new masses still needed to be found for the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday of the Ember Week of June, which here thus follow after Pentecost week (Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 81v–83r). For the Ember Wednesday, the Gelasian mass was mostly used, Sg 877–878, with the preface, but the post communion “Concede quaesumus domine populo tuo ueniam peccatorum . . .” was supplied from quotidian prayers of the Gregorian (De 933). This was given a preface adapted from one in the Supplement (De 3786). The same is true of the Friday, Gelasian prayers Sg 881 and 884 were used for Collect and post communion, with the secret “Ut accepta tibi sint Domine nostra ieiunia . . .” (Sg 842) from the Gelasian prayer for the Ember Saturday.⁵⁴⁷ This has no preface.

544 Willis, *Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy*, pp. 51–97.

545 CO 2858 reports this is true otherwise only of Pamelius and two late English sources: the Missal of Herford in *Missale ad usum percelebris Ecclesiae Herfordensis*, ed. Williamson, p. 174 and the Missal of Whitby in Westminster, vol. 3, 1484.

546 Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani*, vol. 4, pp. 213–31.

547 The prayer shows up in the September Ember Day in the Gregorian, but with a different reading (De 710) “Accepta tibi sint . . .” that makes it clear our source was a Gelasian.

As regards the Ember Saturday, there were extra prayers in the Gregorian that could still be used. Each Ember Saturday has a series of extra ALIA prayers said prior to the mass itself (during the celebration of the “twelve readings”), and these were removed from Pentecost Saturday mass to make it a usual mass, so were still available to the compilers: “Deus qui nos ad animarum . . .” (De 547) and “Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut salutaribus . . .” (De 548). But in general, Gelasian prayers were preferred, presumably because these were not used elsewhere for other Ember Days, like the Gregorian ones were. Used are: “Praesta domine quaesumus tales nostras . . .” (Sg 886), “Deus qui misericordia . . .” (Sg 889), “Deus qui non despicias cordae . . .” (Sg 890). For the mass itself, which follows this series of prayers, the prayers had to be taken from varied sources:

The Mass for the June Ember Saturday in **Tournai** (Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 82v–83r).

- a. The Collect is: “Deus qui tres pueros de camino ignis non solum illesos, set etiam tuis laudibus conclamentes liberasti . . . incendia superantes hymnum tibi debitum iure meritis reddamus per.” From the Gelasian mass for the March Ember Saturday: Sg 314, somewhat adapted.
- b. SUPER OBLATA. “Domine deus noster qui in his potius creaturis quas ad fragilitatis . . .” From the Gelasian mass of Palm Sunday (Sg 388).
- c. AD COMPLENDUM. “Sumptum quaesumus domine uenerabile sacramentum et praesentis uitae subsidiis . . .” From the Gelasian mass of the June Ember Saturday (Sg 893).
- d. SUPER POPULUM “Fideli populo tuo Domine misericordiam tuam placatus impende . . .” From the Gelasian mass of the June Ember Friday (Sg 885).

Since these choices are not all obvious, it is extremely significant that the exact same prayer texts are positioned in the same way in **Fulda** for the Ember Wednesday (Ful 1522, 1524–1526) Friday (Ful 1527–1529) and Saturday (Ful 1531–1539).⁵⁴⁸

Thus, in the first place, **Tournai** continues the work of **Chelles**, in uniting “orphaned” prefaces from the Supplement *Hucusque* (those which had no equivalent mass in the Gregorian) with full, Gelasian masses. But it also goes significantly further, and adds a number of new Gelasian masses to the roster. In many of these cases, **Tournai** aligns specifically with **Saint-Vaast** in the choice of Gelasian additions of full masses. Given that **Saint-Vaast** imitates the artistic style of the Saint-Amand *Hauptgruppe* so closely (the V initial has the exact same shape

⁵⁴⁸ In *Corpus Orationum* at, for example, CO 2682, we see this is a unique feature that **Fulda** and Saint-Amand shared among books surveyed here.

as **Tournai**), one might assume that some material was in common here, perhaps a common source. Of the masses that had been already incorporated in **Chelles**, and are also in **Tournai**, **Saint-Vaast** also has the Vigil of Epiphany, the Invention of the Cross, Octave of Laurence, Passion of John the Baptist and Vigil and feast of All Saints. **Saint-Vaast** has, in addition, the *Cathedra* of Peter, only added later to our manuscript of **Tournai** (Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 12r), the vigil and feast day of the patron, St. Vedastus (Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 162, fol. 23v–24r) and the conversion of Paul. For St. Benedict in July alone it differs, using the more usual Gelasian form (Sg 995, 996, 998), rather than the special form which we see in Saint-Amand manuscripts, the one that was also in the Sacramentary of Gellone. Beyond what is added to **Saint-Vaast**, the Jerome mass of our book remains specific and special.

Compared to other books directly used by Dehusses, **Tournai** is already significantly more daring in its incorporation of Gelasian masses, but also in the extent to which it intervenes in the Gregorian itself, something **Saint-Vaast** does not show. The replacement of individual prayers in Gregorian masses with Gelasian texts is not something we find so comprehensively in other sacramentaries. This painstaking work of replacement was something Saint-Amand did, far in excess of other monasteries producing sacramentaries at the same time, and is a hallmark of Saint-Amand books. For example, even in **Tours**, which excels the Saint-Amand books in the incorporation of complete Gelasian masses, as well as Carolingian compositions, such substitutions are not made within individual Gregorian masses, but the Gregorian mass sets simply copied. Many of these are both generic and repeated several times. The determination to make the Gregorian suitable for Frankish use already occasioned some consequential changes in **Tournai**, including the insertion of masses for the Rogations and separating the June Ember Days from Pentecost Week. In the same way, we can see the Gregorian being adapted to a Frankish taste for more variety in mass sets, or perhaps also the preservation of sources, including a Gelasian manuscript and a copy of an altered Gregorian associated with Tours and Alcuin. However, the impulse to replace individual Gregorian prayers with Gelasian ones seems to have occurred to the compilers only part way through the manuscript. In this respect, and in the laboured construction of the Supplement (with for example, the two Commons that repeat several prayers), **Tournai** seems to still have the quality of a work in progress.

Continuing Integration and Surprising Sources in Saint-Germain

Saint-Germain is a much more finished product, though one with still some kinks to be ironed out. Here, all the episcopal blessings and prefaces found in the Supplement are now present in the main body of the Sacramentary, united with their corresponding masses. As noted, the manuscript opens with a complete Gradual (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 9r–15r), and also incorporates a brief lectionary for certain votive masses towards the end (177v–188v).⁵⁴⁹ The distinction between Supplement and Sacramentary is no longer maintained here in any way. Rather than a clearly distinguished structure of original Gregorian and additional Supplement still found in **Tournai**, **Saint-Germain** has sections with diverse origins that are united by the nature and purpose of the liturgical material, rather than their origin as truly Gregorian or not. The masses of the year are given first after the Canon. The episcopal rite of the Chrism Mass (De 333–337) was removed from Maundy Thursday. The two distinct sections of the Common in **Tournai** now are united in one section (fol. 101r–106v). A page was left almost blank where the Gregorian Sacramentary could be said to have ended, at the end of the vespers and matins prayers which were provided by the Gregorian (fol. 113v), but there is no *capitula* list at all and the following masses are not numbered correspondingly. Thus, the collection of Sunday masses begins immediately afterwards (fol. 114r–132r), without the *Hucusque* preface or *capitula* to mark their distinction from the “true” Gregorian. Indeed, the Sundays in Advent which belonged to the original Gregorian (De 778–783, 787–789, 805–807) are added at the end of the Supplement’s Sundays after Pentecost, creating a section we might call a “Dominicale,” where all Sundays outside of Lent are gathered, regardless of their origin, including the Ember Days of December (De 790–804), and ending with the Gregorian’s ALIAE ORATIONES DE ADUENTU (De 808–813). The votive masses follow these Sundays (133v–162r), including masses and prayers for the blessing of people and objects from both *Hucusque* and the Gregorian, with many other additions. Broadly speaking the next section concerns the rites, then masses, for the sick and dead (fol. 163v–171v), while another section which follows unites blessings and prayers for places and food (fol. 172v–175r), and the miscellaneous material ends with the *Hucusque*’s prayers for exorcisms (fol. 175r–177r), as the **Tournai** did.

After the brief lectionary (fol. 177v–188v), there then comes a curious section in which masses and prayers not found in the main body of **Saint-Germain** were now written out (fol. 189r–195). This begins with four prefaces on fol. 189r. They include three extra Gelasian prefaces: for Silvester (De 3689), for the Thursday infra Quin-

⁵⁴⁹ The Gradual is edited by Netzer, *L’introduction de la messe romaine*, pp. 283–355.

quagesima (used in Sg 831 and in the Supplement De 1626 for the third Sunday after Pentecost), and for the Ember Friday of Pentecost (De 3787) (used in the Gelasian and **Trent** for Passion Sunday, Sg 430 and **Trent** at De 3766).⁵⁵⁰ **Saint Eloi** uses only the second of these for the same mass set (Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 44r).

More singular is that a preface found in the ancient “pre-sacramentary” *Veronense* (Ve 476) is employed here for the Ember Saturday in June: “UD aeterne deus. Pietatem tuam uotis omnibus experentes . . .” (CP 721).⁵⁵¹ This text may have been composed by Pope Vigilius (Pope 537–555) in the mid-sixth century, according to Chavassee, but vanished subsequently from extant Gregorian and Gelasian traditions.⁵⁵² Ancient Roman material was therefore available to some degree to the compilers, which had not previously been used in **Tournai** or **Chelles**. It was perhaps preserved in some archive in Paris which our compilers now accessed.

None of these masses has prefaces in the main text, and all were additions to the original Gregorian made during the compilation of the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand. Marginal notes or, in the case of the Thursday of Quinquagesima, notes in the main text, refer the reader “in finem huius libri.”⁵⁵³ These prefaces are incorporated into the masses directly in **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 41v, 83r–v, 111r). The compiler of **Saint-Germain** was likely seeking out prefaces to add from perhaps varied books or collections, but missed these particular examples until the book was finished, or it was too late to add them in their proper place. A post communion for the Gelasian mass of Donatus (Sg 1046) is also added on Paris, BnF, Latin 2291, fol. 191r. However, the mass on fol. 85r already has a post communion prayer, the one accompanying that mass in the Sacramentary of Angoulême, and this one is found, for example, in the Remedius Sacramentary in Sankt Gallen. Here the two Gelasian traditions were clearly compared, and the additional text added to the end, if it should be needed. This indicates that the compilation of **Saint-Germain** involved preserving several books at once. Again, **Sens** incorporates this text to the mass in the main text, as an ALIA alternative to the original one.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵⁰ CP 543, 1373 informs us that these are in the preface collection of Pamelius (*Liturgica Latinorum*, vol. 2, pp. 555, 572–73) for the same days.

⁵⁵¹ Here otherwise noted in the preface collection of Pamelius, 900, 5 (*Liturgica Latinorum*, vol. 2, p. 575) for the same Ember Saturday. It appears in **Trent** (*Tridentinum* 1494) for the feast of Michael (29th September), but this is likely not significant for our sacramentary.

⁵⁵² Antoine Chavassee, “Les messes du Pape Vigile dans le sacramentaire Lenoien,” *EphLit* 64 (1950), at pp. 187–192.

⁵⁵³ Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 37r; Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 77r “Praefatio require in finem libri.”

⁵⁵⁴ Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 135r.

The section continues with a series of complete mass sets that were missed out in the main body of the manuscript, eleven masses for saints' feasts (fol. 189v–192v), nine votive masses (193r–195r), two masses for the Rogations (fol. 195v), and a final long, votive mass GENERALIS UEL OMNIMODA (fol. 196r–v), also at the end of **Tournai**. In the other cases, the scribes seem to have come across certain new masses, or these were only written during the process of compilation, and so they had to be added in a final section, removed from the original plan. They make it plain that the compilers of **Saint-Germain** sought to make available the content of several books to the reader, probably not merely those of Saint-Amand, but also taking advantage of the stay at Saint-Germain to add a few masses and mass prayers found there. The structure is not as user-friendly as it could have been, and the impression remains of a very competently realised compilation, but one that was done under certain pressure, in less-than-ideal circumstances.

This book aligns with **Tournai** in all of the additions and substitutions that were made above, including special traits; for example, the mass of St. Benedict in July (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 82v) is the same, going back to **Chelles**, the ALIA prayers in the Exaltation of the Cross (fol. 91r–v) and so on. But additional full masses were added from the Gelasian tradition, and most Gregorian masses in the Sacramentary now have extra prayers, either ALIA or as SUPER POPULUM or AD UESPERAS, usually also from the alternative material provided in the Gelasian. A thorough and insightful investigation of this manuscript was undertaken by the Abbé Henri Netzer and published in 1910, in which he compared the manuscript with several others, and thus revealed a key relationship in the choice of individual mass texts.⁵⁵⁵ Like many other previous liturgical scholars, Netzer used the text of the edition by Nicolas-Hugues Ménard (1585–1644) which Ménard presented as the Gregorian Sacramentary, but which was actually copied from the decidedly altered and adulterated text of **Saint Eloi** (Paris, BnF, lat. 12051), the Corbie Sacramentary that Ménard found at Saint-Germain.⁵⁵⁶ The edition was taken into the widely available collection of the *Patrologia Latina* with the result “of involving the whole subject of the early Roman liturgy in confusion and darkness and making it for subsequent enquirers a region *ubi sempiternus horror inhabitat*,” as Bishop memorably put it.⁵⁵⁷ Netzer’s indications that a mass or part of a mass is a “Roman” or “Gregorian text” actually tells us that the element can be found in common with **Saint Eloi**, and is quite likely *not* to be Roman or Gregorian. Often, in Netzer’s text, we find only texts from what he calls the Sacramentary of Saint-Amand (our **Saint-Germain**) indicated as the only

555 Netzer, *L'introduction de la messe romaine*, pp. 131–205.

556 Ménard, *Divi Gregorii*.

557 PL 78, col. 1540–1604; Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, p. 73.

“roman” text in common with the “Gregorian”; that is, with **Saint Eloi**.⁵⁵⁸ Ironically, Netzer’s study gives the impression that **Saint-Germain** was especially close to the Gregorian, when in fact this suite of distinctive texts reveal how far Saint-Amand had moved away from the Roman sacramentary, and how composite the book was. Netzer’s analysis also immediately highlights the commonalities of **Saint-Germain** with Corbie’s Sacramentary, **Saint Eloi**, which he understood to be *the* Gregorian.

The following new non-Gregorian masses were added to those already given in **Tournai**:

- 31r–v The Conversion of Paul (25th January) a Gelasian mass (Sg 169–172), using the same “orphaned” preface from the Supplement (De 1535). This mass was left out of **Tournai**, though it appears in **Saint-Vaast** (De 40*–42*), and, as here, in **Saint Eloi** (Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 31v–32r). Beyond the known, Gelasian mass, it has an extra SUPER POPULUM “Praesta quaesumus domine populo tuo consolationibus . . . ,” which it also has in Ful 184.
- 31v Praeictus (25th January) (Sg 165–168, with an orphaned preface) An important mass for the history of the Gelasian of the Eighth Century, but only taken up slowly in the mixed Gregorians. It is, however, also in **Saint Eloi** (Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 32r–33v).
- 33r–v Cathedra of Peter (22nd February). A Frankish feast and Gelasian texts (Sg 217–220), using the same “orphaned” preface of the Supplement, this too appeared in **Saint-Vaast**, but was absent from **Tournai**, until it was added later (Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 12r). It appears in **Saint Eloi** (Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 38r–v). In all three texts, **Saint-Vaast**, our manuscript and in **Saint Eloi**, the mass has an additional prayer, a SUPER POPULUM in **Saint Eloi** and **Saint-Germain**, an ALIA in **Saint-Vaast**, but with the same text: “Benedic quaesumus domine plebem tuam et beati petri apostoli tui”⁵⁵⁹

558 For example, Netzer, *L’introduction de la messe romaine*, p. 158: “Dans les seuls sacramentaires de Saint-Amand et de Saint-Remi, cette messe est celle du missel grégorien” [trans. Only in the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand and Saint-Remi, this mass is that of the Gregorian missal]; *Ibid*, p. 163: “A l’exception de Saint-Amand et de Saint-Remi, qui ont la messe romaine entière, tous les autres . . . ne lui on emprunté la collecte.” [trans. With the exception of Saint-Amand and Saint-Remi, which have the entire Roman mass, all the others borrow only the collect]. By Saint-Remi, Netzer means Paris, BnF, lat. 1238, even more closely related to **Saint Eloi**, for which see pp. 338–339.

559 CO 389; a very similar prayer applied to John the Baptist in **Modena**, and to Silvester in Eng 81, 242. Only Pamelius, *Liturgica Latinorum*, vol. 2, p. 208 records it likewise for Cathedra of Peter.

– 33v–34r Feast of Matthias the Apostle (24th February) (De 3449–3454). This is not found in the Gelasian, but seems to be a Carolingian composition, and it is present in **Saint-Vaast** (De 68*–70). Our manuscript adds to the mass which is found in **Saint-Vaast** a preface (De 3451) (a new preface using the opening of De 1541) and SUPER POPULUM (De 3454), and employed *Hucusque*'s episcopal blessing from the common feast of an apostle (De 1770).⁵⁶⁰ **Saint Eloi** has the exact same mass, with these texts (Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 38v–39v). Matthias' addition completed Frankish efforts, already undertaken for most of the original Twelve in the Gelasian, to furnish every apostle with a distinct mass.

– 34r–v The March feast of Benedict (21st March). This mass is largely made up from the feasts of the Vigil and day for Benedict's Translation in March, as these are given in **Tours** (Tours, BM, MS 184, fol. 33v–34r) and in the supplementary portion of the Corbie Sacramentary, **Rodrade** (Paris, BnF, lat. 12050, fol. 233r–v). Deshusses identified these as masses of Alcuin, though they appear earliest in these manuscripts which were written decades after his death.⁵⁶¹ In Saint-Amand, the mass overlaps in some texts with the mass for Benedict's July feast in our books, since, in **Chelles**, that mass was constructed on the basis of Gellone, which **Tours** also used. Our mass (De 3470–3477, given according to our manuscript), uses the Collect from the day mass of **Tours** (De 3463), the secret from the Vigil (De 3456) and the preface found with the feast in Rotradus (De 3467), ultimately from Gel 1239: "UD Honorandi patris benedicti gloriosam celebrantes . . ." **Saint-Germain** also has four additional ALIA ORATIONES:

Omnipotens et misericors deus qui beatum benedictum ad caelorum gloriam discipulis uidentibus migrare fecisti . da nobis ut sicut ille egregius pastor exstitit monachorum . nos quoque intercessionibus eius adiuto illius exempla sequentes . te auxiliante ad uitam peruenire mereamur. per dominum.

[trans. Almighty and merciful God, who made the blessed Benedict, in the sight of his disciples, to come to the glory of heaven, give to us that, as was manifest for that most excellent shepherd of monks, we also, with the help of his intercessions and following his example, might merit, with Your aid, to attain life eternal. Through the Lord]. This is the Super Populum of **Tours** (De 3462).⁵⁶² Also as in Ful 256.

Concede nobis domine alacribus animis beati confessoris tui benedicti sollemnia celebrare . cuius diuersis decorata uirtutibus tibi uita complacuit. per dominum.

⁵⁶⁰ The SUPER POPULUM (CO 4206) notes only the use for St. Quintinus in several English missals; for the preface CP 370 notes use for Matthias in Jumieges, 165, also Pamelius 907, 3; it is used as a common preface for a single apostle in other English books and in Vic 766.

⁵⁶¹ Deshusses, "Le sacramentaire de Tours."

⁵⁶² CO 3750a.

[trans. Grant us, o Lord, to celebrate with zealous souls the solemnity of your blessed confessor, whose life, adorned with diverse virtues, has pleased You. Through the Lord]. This is a Collect from the Vigil of the feast in **Rodrade** and **Tours** (De 3455), and in Ful 243.⁵⁶³

Fidelium tuorum quaesumus domine uota serenus intende . et interuentu beati benedicti cuius depositionis celebramus diem . a cunctis nos reatibus absolutos . festis concede interesse perpetuis. per.

[trans. We beseech You, o Lord, to attend serenely to the prayers of Your faithful, and, with the intervention of the blessed Benedict, the day of whose deposition we celebrate, that, being absolved from all their guilt, You might allow them to attend the perpetual celebrations. per]. This is *Super Populum* (De 3469) in **Rodrade**, also Ful 257.⁵⁶⁴

Quos pii confessoris tui benedicti uoluisti domine magisteriis erudiri . eius nos meritis dignare ab omni insidiatoris fraude defendere.

[trans. Deign to defend, all those whom You wished, o Lord, to be trained in the precepts of Your pious confessor Benedict, and by his merits, from all the fraud of the enemy]. The wording is singular to the Saint-Amand manuscripts (De 3477), but similar to Ful 262.⁵⁶⁵

Although found in the other manuscript of Corbie (**Rodrade**), this March feast of Benedict is entirely absent from **Saint Eloi**. That may be among the signs that this important manuscript was written for a bishop, not a monastic community.⁵⁶⁶

– 37v–38r SABBATO INFRA QUINQUAGESIMA. There was no mass for the Saturday before Quadragesima in the Gregorian tradition (though one existed in the Gelasian), and no mass was provided in **Le Mans**, **Chelles**, or **Tournai**. The mass that appears in this place in **Saint-Germain** is principally made up of Gelasian prayers, but with some differences from the mass of the day in the Gelasians themselves:

Collect: “Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris et concede ut hoc sollemne ieiunum quod animis corporibusque . . .” (Sg 267).

Secret: “Praepara nos quaesumus domine huius abstinentiae festiuis officiis . . .” From the Gelasian celebration of the previous day (Sg 263). Also used in **Saint Eloi**.

A preface is provided, but not from the Gregorian/Gelasian tradition:

⁵⁶³ CO 702; also Jum 167 (used for the Vigil), and Vic 429.

⁵⁶⁴ CO 2687; Ful 257, also Jum 168, but for Ambrose in a Sacramentary from Wells (London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius A XVIII (s.XI)), see Westminster vol. 3, 1543 (also Abingdon (s.XV)).

⁵⁶⁵ CO 4947; here otherwise only located in a Westminster book, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Liturg. g. 10. (s.XV), edited in Westminster, vol. 3, 1361.

⁵⁶⁶ *The Leofric Missal*. Edited by Nicholas Orchard, HBS 113 (London, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 24–26.

UD aeternae deus. Et maiestatem tuam suppliciter deprecari ut mentem nostram tibi placitam benignus efficias . Quae non tantum speciem bonitatis ostendat . sed iustitiae fructibus illuminata clarescat . Tuaeque semper dedita maiestati . beneficia desiderata percipiat . Qui necessariis prosequi muneribus non omittis . quos tuo cultui praestiteris conuenianter intentos. Per x.

[trans. It is worthy and right eternal God etc. and to implore Your majesty to make our minds agreeable to You, that they do not show only the appearance of goodness, but are illuminated by the light of the fruits of justice. And may what is given to Your majesty reap the desired benefits. You, who does not neglect to attend upon the necessary sacrifices, have fittingly provided for Your worship. Through Christ]. Also used in **Saint Eloi** and edited De 3697 (but written with “deditam” instead of the “dedita” in all manuscripts) from **Reims**.⁵⁶⁷

Post communion: (also in Tours) “Caelestis uitae munere uegetati quaesumus domine . . .” (Sg 269)

SUPER POPULUM. “Da populo tuo quaesumus omnipotens deus et aeternae promissionis . . .” (adapted from a Gelasian prayer used later in Lent Sg 277)

AD UESPERAS from the Gelasian Collect “Obseruationis huius annua celebritate laetantes . . .” (Sg 266).

Our manuscript shares half of this material with **Tours** (Tous, BM, Ms., 184, fol. 39v–40r), while **Saint Eloi** created a mostly different mass for this occasion, though the preface and secret are identical in both. **Fulda** used the same, new preface (Ful 392), but otherwise straightforwardly preferred the Gelasian mass.

– Fol. 34r: For the feast of St. Gregory (12th March), the Gregorian mass (De 137–139) was entirely removed, and the Gelasian mass inserted (Sg 224–227). The Gregorian mass is basically identical to that for Leo (De 586–588), so the desire to avoid repetition might explain this substitution. Another convincing explanation is that the exemplar had an obelus next to this mass, which led the compilers to see it as questionable, though originally that obelus had only meant the mass could not be of Gregory’s own authorship. The *Hucusque* preface already indicated that its compiler had marked Gregory’s mass with an obelus. These signs were not usually copied in the varied descendants of the Supplement, but the Gregory mass was marked with an obelus in **Le Mans** (Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77, fol. 28r partly damaged but visible next to the post communion.) Again, it is the same Gelasian mass that appears as the only option for Gregory in **Saint Eloi** (Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 39v–40r). In **Fulda**, the Gelasian mass was used as a Vigil, the Gregorian for the day (Ful 235–242). This solution

⁵⁶⁷ CP 307 points otherwise only to Pamelius’s preface collection, *Liturgica Latinorum*, vol. 2, 556.

could have been adopted from sources taken from Paris, since **Laon**, of Saint-Denis, does the same.⁵⁶⁸

– 76v–77r Instead of the Gelasian mass for the Octave of Pentecost, replicated in **Tournai**, our manuscript inserted the entirety of the text of Alcuin’s votive mass for the Trinity (De 1806–1810), including the preface and blessing for it. This confirms the establishment of the Pentecost Octave as Trinity Sunday and probably codifies a longer tradition of using Alcuin’s mass on this day, but it is one of the first manuscripts to explicitly put the votive mass in this place. **Saint Eloi** joins it in this respect (Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 123r–124r).

In addition to this insertion of select, full masses, the process that was begun in **Tournai** is continued, in that additional prayers taken from the Gelasian were added to individual Gregorian masses, some even replacing Gregorian prayers. In this instance, this applied throughout the Sacramentary, from the beginning, as can be seen in Table 3.2. While in **Tournai**, nearly all the added prayers could be identified in the basic Gelasian tradition represented by the Remedius Sacramentary of Sankt Gallen, in **Saint-Germain** we find a number of instances where prayers that first appear in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary are used for substitutions, and which are often also found in the one particularly comprehensive Gelasian of the Eighth Century manuscript which specialised in recovering old non-Roman material also used in the Old Gelasian, the Sacramentary of Angoulême (Paris, BnF, Latin 316). This suggests the consultation of a wide base of sources, perhaps new texts that had become available to the monks, likely at Saint-Germain.

Of comparable sacramentaries, broad-ranging and significant agreements can be found with **Saint Eloi**, written in Corbie, such as the mass for Annunciation being identical in both texts. This is significant because of the extremely unusual movement of the Gregorian secret (“In mentibus nostris . . .”) to become the post communion, with a Gelasian secret (“Altaribus tuis . . .”) appearing in its place. This may have been occasioned by accident due to the structure of the mass in the original Gregorian. In the Gregorian, the mass of the Annunciation had a Roman *collecta* before the mass (De 140), indicating a previous gathering at Sant’Adriano al Foro before a procession to Santa Maria Maggiore for celebration

⁵⁶⁸ *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus* [Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12052], ed. Nicholas Orchard, HBS 116 (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2005) vol. 2, p. lxxvii connects the presence of such a vigil feast with Saint-Denis, since their Abbot Hilduin acquired relics of St. Gregory in 826 and gave them to Saint-Medard of Soissons. That is a rather vague association and using the Gelasian mass and Gregorian mass as Vigil and feast day was also an obvious way to keep both masses available, which does not require any special, local explanation.

of the mass itself. Once the stational indications were removed, as they are in **Saint-Germain**, this *collecta* prayer had no clear role, so this perhaps misled the compiler to turn the secret into a post communion. Changing the role of prayers in the mass is otherwise something compilers of the sacramentaries were reluctant to do. The agreement of **Saint Eloi** and Saint-Amand manuscripts on such points reveal that both go back to a manuscript in which this choice was made. Some other distinctive choices also unite **Saint Eloi** to **Saint-Germain**; for example, Vincent (22nd January) where a Gelasian prayer originally from the mass for Agnes is used. However, the replacement of Gregorian formulae was not quite so wide-ranging in **Saint Eloi**, as we find it here. In the case of, for example, Silvester (31st December) in Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 27r–v, we can see the process of replacement was ongoing during the creation of the Sacramentary (see Figure 3.1), since the Gregorian mass was originally written out, then the two prayers erased and replaced with the alternatives, both also in the Sacramentary of Angoulême.

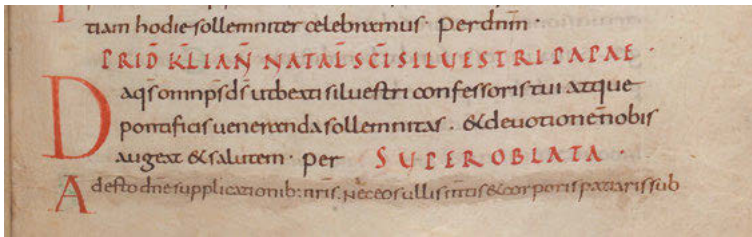


Figure 3.1: Erasure and replacement of a prayer in the Mass for St. Silvester in a sacramentary written by Saint-Amand scribes, 880s. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2291, fol. 27r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Table 3.2: Substitutions and Additions to Mass Sets in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2291.

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
22v–23r	Vigil of Christmas (24 th December)	ALIA SUPER OBLATA (Sg 4), AD UESPERAS (Sg 3). New SUPER POPULUM from Christmas Day's AD POPULUM in Angoulême (Eng 28).
24r–v	Christmas (25 th December)	Adds SUPER POPULUM (Sg 31).

Table 3.2 (continued)

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
24v–25r	ALIAE ORATIONES DE NATALE DOMINI	<p>Addition of two prayers, one Gelasian (Sg 35), other neither in Gregorian nor Gelasian and with quite lovely imagery: “Fundamentum fidei nostrae deus qui in mentibus sanctis tamquam in excelsis montibus aeternitatis portas iustitia muniente componis . concede nobis in te gloriose credere . tuumque filium dominum nostrum, ad redemptionem animarum hominem factum praedicabiliter confiteri . qui tecum.”</p> <p>[trans. O God who establishes the foundations of our faith in the minds of the saints, as in the high mountains of eternity, guarding the gates with justice, grant us to believe gloriously in You, and to confess in public Your Son, our Lord, who was made man for the redemption of souls. Who with You].</p> <p>CO 2700, who add punctuation I feel is less accurate to the sense. As there, not in surviving Gregorians/Gelasians, but also found in Saint Eloi and Ful 70.</p>
25r–v	Stephen (26 th December)	Third ALIA from the Gelasian (Sg 47).
25v–26v	John the Evangelist (27 th December)	Two ALIA prayers (Sg 55 and 57).
26v–27r	Innocents (28 th December)	Two additions (Sg 66 and 65). Secret replaced with Gelasian (Sg 60).
27r–v	Silvester (31 st December)	Original scribe wrote out Gregorian mass (De 79–81), SUPER OBLATA and AD COMPLENDUM erased and replaced by a corrector, with two prayers from the mass in Angoulême (Eng 76 and 80). Both appear in Saint Eloi .
27v	Octave of Christmas (1 st January)	Addition of SUPER POPULUM (Sg 81), old Gregorian Collect (De 82) returned to opening.
30v–31r	Vincent (22 nd January)	Replacement of Gregorian SUPER OBLATA (De 118) with a prayer used in the mass of Agnes in Angoulême (Eng 164) also used in Saint Eloi .
31v–32r	Agnes (21 st January)	Addition of SUPER POPULUM (Sg 174).
32r–v	Candlemas (2 nd February)	Two ALIA prayers, both from Gelasian mass for the Assumption, adaption of POST COMMUNIONEM (Rh 792/Sg 1096), and secret (Sg 1094). Both marked with obelus.

Table 3.2 (continued)

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
32v–33r	Agatha (5 th February)	“Beatae Agathae . . .” (De 133) now an ALIA COMPLETA. As in Cologne and Saint Eloi (Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 34v).
34r	Gregory (12 th March)	Replaced with Gelasian Mass (Sg 224–227).
34v–35r	Annunciation (25 th March)	SUPER OBLATA replaced with Gelasian (Sg 679), Gregorian SUPER OBLATA becomes the post communion prayer, SUPER POPULUM added from Gelasian (sg 638), then Gregorian AD COMPLENDUM as ALIA (De 143), finally two Gelasian Collects as ALIA (Sg 677–678). Exactly the same disposition in Saint Eloi (Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 41r), which adds two additional ALIA prayers.
35v–36r	Septuagesima	Addition of Gelasian SUPER POPULUM (Sg 233), Gelasian Collect as AD UESPERAS (Sg 228).
36r–v	Sexagesima	Addition of Gelasian SUPER POPULUM (Sg 235), Gelasian Collect as AD UESPERAS (Sg 239), the Gregorian AD COMPLENDUM also subsequently erased and replaced by corrector with Gelasian (Sg 238).
36v–37r	Quinquagesima	Addition of Gelasian SUPER POPULUM (Sg 245) and Collect as AD UESPERAS (Sg 241). ALIA prayer used in the Gelasian for Sexagesima (GeV 74, Eng 258, Gel 254) CO 188a. Also in <i>Hadrianum</i> for Monday (De 318.) Not used in Fulda or Saint Eloi .
37r	Ash Wednesday	Addition of AD UESPERAS CO 5102 (GeV 93 or Gel 284), in Fulda (Ful 372), also Pamelius, <i>Liturgica Latinorum</i> , vol. 2, 215.
37r–v	Thursday in quinquagesima	Addition of Sg 258 as AD UESPERAS.
37v	Friday in quinquagesima	Addition of Sg 265 as AD UESPERAS.
38r–v	Quadragesima	Gregorian AD UESPERAS (De 169) removed, Gelasian SUPER POPULUM and AD UESPERAS prayers supplied (Sg 276, 272), with additional AD UESPERAS preceding it which is a Collect in Angoulême (Eng 299) otherwise found in Ful 402.
38v–39r	Week 1, Monday	AD UESPERAS from Gregorian quotidian prayers (De 923).
39r–v	Tuesday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 286).
39v	Wednesday	AD UESPERAS from Gregorian quotidian prayers (De 897).

Table 3.2 (continued)

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
39v–40r	Thursday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 298). Collect also replaced with a prayer from Gelasian quotidian masses (Sg 1527).
40r–v	Friday	AD UESPERAS (Eng 338). SUPER POPULUM also replaced with a Gelasian (Sg 462) from Saturday before Palm Sunday.
40v–41r	Saturday in XII LECTIONIBUS (Ember Saturday)	Gelasian prayer Sg 313 replacing De 193, omitting De 196 and 197, SUPER POPULUM from Gregorian ORATIONES PRO PECCATIS (De 846), and, as AD UESPERAS, a Collect for the Saturday in Angoulême (Eng 343). As in Saint Eloi all these traits, except the final AD UESPERAS.
41r–v	2 nd Sunday in Lent	Addition of SUPER POPULUM (Sg 324) and AD UESPERAS from preceding Friday in Angoulême (Eng 344), former also in Saint Eloi . Latter marked with obelus.
41v	Week 2, Monday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 326).
41v–42r	Tuesday	Addition AD UESPERAS from Angoulême (Eng 379), used in Advent in Gregorian (De 789).
42r	Wednesday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 335).
42r–v	Thursday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 340).
42v–43r	Friday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 346).
43r	Saturday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 351).
43r–v	3 rd Sunday in Lent	Replacement of Gregorian secret (De 231) with Gelasian Sg 257, plus addition of Sg 360 and prayer AD UESPERAS from previous Friday's SUPER POPULUM (Eng 410).
43v–44r	Week 3, Monday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 362).
44r–v	Tuesday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 370).
44v	Wednesday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 372).
44v–45r	Thursday	Replication of Gelasian mass added in Tournai .
45r–v	Friday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 382).
45v	Saturday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 387).
45v–46r	4 th Sunday in Lent	Replacement of SUPER OBLATA with Gelasian (Sg 268), as in Saint-Vaast (De 90*). Addition of Gelasian Sg 392 and 396.

Table 3.2 (continued)

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
46r–v	Week 4, Monday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 401).
46v	Tuesday	AD UESPERAS from Collect of Angoulême (Eng 474).
46v–47r	Wednesday	AD UESPERAS from AD POPULUM in Angoulême (Eng 485).
47r–v	Thursday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian next Saturday (Sg 426).
47v–48r	Friday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 421).
48r–v	Saturday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian post communion (Sg 425).
48v	5 th Sunday in Lent	Addition of Sg 437 from mass for next Tuesday (also in Dusseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS. D 1) and Sg 442 from coming Wednesday.
48v–49r	Monday	AD UESPERAS from Old Gelasian (GeV 258, Eng 516) In Ful 589. CO 1687.
49r–v	Tuesday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 439).
49v	Wednesday	Replacement of SUPER POPULUM with Gelasian (Sg 447) and Gelasian prayer from coming Saturday (Sg 460). Former also done in Saint Eloi.
49v–50r	Thursday	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 452).
50r–v	Friday	Replacement of Gregorian SUPER POPULUM with adapted form of Sg 448, and addition of AD UESPERAS Sg 454.
50v	Saturday	Replacement of secret with Gelasian (Sg 460), addition of SUPER POPULUM in CO 6086b. (GeV 282, Eng 552), Ful 619, Pamelius, <i>Liturgica Latinorum</i> vol. 2, p. 245, and AD UESPERAS from Gelasian Sg 458, at Fulda (Ful 620).
50v–51r	Palm Sunday	Addition of Gelasian SUPER POPULUM (Sg 468) and Collect as AD UESPERAS (Sg 464). Former also in Saint Eloi .
51r–v	Monday of Holy Week	Addition of SUPER POPULUM from Angoulême (Eng 571), and AD UESPERAS (Sg 470).
51v–52r	Tuesday of Holy Week	Secret and post communion are replaced with Gelasian Sg 476 and 477, and Sg 478 is Super populum, Gregorian SUPER POPULUM (De 322) used as AD UESPERAS.

Table 3.2 (continued)

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
52r–v	Wednesday of Holy Week	Secret replaced with Gelasian (Sg 483). Addition of two AD UESPERAS: Sg 481 and another prayer used for Maundy Thursday in Angoulême (Eng 601).
53v	Good Friday	Rubric about Adoration of the Cross from Gelasian (De 118*) added, with a prayer from Old Gelasian (GeV, 398).
62v–63r	Holy Saturday MISSA AD NOCTE	Uses Gelasian post communion (Sg 562).
63r–v	Easter Sunday	Two ALIA prayers: (Sg 567 and 577). The first appears also in Saint Eloi (Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 94v).
64r	Easter Monday	The Secret is Gelasian (Sg 580) as is the AD COMPLENDUM (Sg 583). Also in Saint Eloi . In the <i>Alia orationes</i> , the Gregorian vesper prayers are kept (De 398–400).
66v–67r	Easter Octave	Several ALIAE ORATIONES. Gelasian (Sg 631), two others used in Gregorian Epiphany (De 91) and Gelasian Epiphany Octave (Sg 114).
68v	ALIAE ORATIONES PASCHALES	Continued with Gelasian prayers (Sg 651, 652, 653, 654, 659, 660, 662, 661 and Sg 635).
69r	George (23 rd April)	Gelasian Super Oblata (Sg 711), and uses the Gelasian Collect (Sg 710) as a Super populum.
69v	Vitale (28 th April)	Addition of Gelasian SUPER POPULUM (Sg 725).
69v	Phillip and James (1 st May)	Addition of Gelasian SUPER POPULUM (Sg 735).
70r–v	Invention of the Cross (3 rd May)	Gelasian mass added in Tournai has additional ALIA secret (Sg 744).
70v	Alexander, Eventulus, and Theodolus (3 rd May)	Replacement of Gregorian post communion with Gelasian (Sg 742).
70v	Gordian and Epimachus (10 th May)	Replacement of Gregorian secret with Gelasian (Sg 757).

Table 3.2 (continued)

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
71r–v	Great Litany	Gregorian secret (De 473) was visibly erased, and the corrector wrote a new text on top, with unusual Latin in the image of the heavenly banquet, as the classical term “convivium” is rarely used elsewhere in the liturgy, but e.g. by Theodulf in a preface, De 1585. Here: “Sacrificium nostrae penitudinis ieiunantes domine tibi persoluimus . obsecrantes ut eius uirtute muniti semper ad caeleste conuiuium festinemus.” [trans. Fasting, we offer the sacrifice of our penitence to you, o Lord, beseeching you that, armed by this virtue, we might always hasten to the heavenly banquet]. This is present in the same place in Sens (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 75r), and appears in Saint Eloi too (Paris BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 109v). Yet not in Fulda nor Pamelius, and no Gregorian/Gelasian counterpart. Small presence only in England (NewMin, p. 7). See CO 5221.
72r	Vigil of Ascension	Gelasian mass added in Tournai, with addition of SUPER POPULUM (Sg 771).
72r–v	Ascension	Addition of Gelasian ALIA (Sg 773).
74r–v	Saturday before Pentecost	Gelasian secret (Sg 807) and post communion (Sg 805), plus an AD UESPERAS (Sg 800).
74v–75r	Pentecost	Three ALIAE ORATIONES (Sg 811, 818, 821). Two of three appear in Saint Eloi .
76v–77r	Octave of Pentecost	Replacement of Gelasian mass with Alcuin’s mass for the Trinity (De 1806–1810). As in Saint Eloi (fol. 123r–124r).
78r	Marcellinus and Petrus (2 nd June)	Gelasian secret (Sg 854) and post communion (Sg 857).
80v	John and Paul (26 th June)	Replaces the Gregorian post communion with one from Angoulême (Eng 1053) and adds an ALIA from the Collect (Eng 1047), also Ful 1096. Pamelius, <i>Liturgica Latinorum</i> , vol. 2, p. 313) See CO 414C.
82r–v	Octave of Apostles (6 th July)	Uses Gelasian post communion (Sg 983).
91v	Cornelius and Cyprian (14 th September)	Secret replaced with Gelasian equivalent (Sg 1184), also in Saint Eloi and Saint-Vaast .

Table 3.2 (continued)

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
95r	Vigil of Denis (8 th October)	Addition of SUPER POPULUM “Benedictionis tuae domine gratiam intercedentibus sanctis martyribus tuis . . .” from the Common of a confessor’s vigil in our manuscripts (De 3308). CO 506a.
99v–100r	Vigil of Andrew (29 th November)	AD UESPERAS from Gelasian (Sg 1367)

Through Lent, we see the methodical work of the compiler of **Saint-Germain** particularly clearly. The same method was always followed, with the Gregorian mass being replicated, and its preface from the Supplement, and then a new, sixth mass prayer AD UESPERAS added at the end of the Gregorian mass. The AD UESPERAS were usually taken from the equivalent Gelasian mass, either the second Collect of those masses, in which case it would simply be slotted in at the end, or sometimes the SUPER POPULUM, in which case the Gregorian SUPER POPULUM would be pushed to become the AD UESPERAS. For the Sundays, which lacked a SUPER POPULUM in the Gregorian, both this and the AD UESPERAS were usually added from the Gelasian. Sometimes, the Gregorian quotidian prayers were used for the new prayer instead. This development of Lent was not undertaken in **Saint Eloi**, an important distinction between our manuscript and that book. However, these additions to Lent appear in **Fulda**.⁵⁶⁹ A lost manuscript used by Pamelius in the sixteenth century had them too.⁵⁷⁰

The Rogations were the occasion for some new reworkings, that clearly stemmed from the setup given to this period by **Tournai**. As there, we find Gelasian masses for Rogations directly after the Roman Great Litany mass, leading up to Ascension. But the two Rogations masses copied in Tournai were discarded from the main text, the first one for the Tuesday here replaced with a new mass, which had prayers taken from Saint-Germain’s new source, a Gelasian Sacramentary very like that of Angoulême:

Fol. 71v Feria III. Collect, secret and SUPER POPULUM as in the Sacramentary of Angoulême (Eng 975, 976, 979). The prayer after communion is the same as that used for Tournai’s mass of the Wednesday: “Praesta quaesumus omnipotens Deus ut diuino munere satiati . . .”

⁵⁶⁹ *Sacramentarium Fuldense*, Richter and Schönfelder, pp. 46–76, at pp. 51–52, the Göttingen manuscript is missing a folio, which the editors reconstructed from a later Fulda book, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 1, which does not have the AD UESPERAS prayers.

⁵⁷⁰ Pamelius, *Liturgica Latinorum*, vol. 2, pp. 214–49.

Fol. 72r FERIA III VIGILIA ASCENSIONIS DOMINI. Broadly the same as the mass of the vigil of Ascension in **Tournai**, using nothing from the Wednesday mass. But a crucial difference in the last prayer. “Da quaesumus omnipotens deus illuc subsequi tuorum membra fidelium . . .,” which is found in the Old Gelasian (GeV 585), but is not even in Angoulême. See CO 1008.

Found next to both masses are notes, respectively on fol. 71v “Require totam missam in finem huius librum. *Deus qui nos conspicis*” and on fol. 72r “Require totam missam de ieiunium in finem huius librum. *Intende quaesumus domine preces.*” As these notes indicate, on the second to last folio of the manuscript fol. 195v, we find **Tournai’s** two distinct masses for the Tuesday and Wednesday of the Rogations. **Saint-Germain** thus had a source identical to **Tournai**, and chose to preserve all the material, but did not wish to replicate the confusion of **Tournai’s** two distinct masses, from two distinct sources, for one day of the Vigil of Ascension. It thus moved these masses to the end, so they were still available if need be, but set out less confusingly than in **Tournai**. Other insights into the ongoing excitement and working processes in which **Saint-Germain** was composed include the fact that a festal mass is found marooned in a spare lower portion of a page on fol. 113v, just before the Sunday masses begin. This is untitled but is, in fact, the old mass for the Octave of Christmas from the Gregorian, principally concerning Mary (De 82–84, with preface De 1521). The mass had already been removed in **Tournai** in favour of the alternative mass from the Gelasian. **Saint-Germain’s** instinct to preserve all available texts is demonstrated again, something observable in the contemporary **Tours** too, which quite often has two alternative masses from two different traditions for the same day.⁵⁷¹

At the end, beginning on fol. 189v, there begins a series of masses for saints which are not in the calendar as it was originally conceived, but presumably were encountered by the scribes only after the Sacramentary was finished, or missed out by accident. Notes in the margin in the main body of the book indicate where the feast would fall in the year.

- Genevieve of Paris (3rd January) (De 3437–3440). This is also found in **Tours**. In Ful 111–114. On fol. 28r, the feast of the Epiphany vigil, a note “sanctae genuefae.”
- Hilary of Poitiers (13th January) (De 3441–3444). The preface and *Super Populum* are found in **Tours** for Hilary’s feast, which is, however, celebrated there on 1st November (De 3644–3668), presumably the local feast day in Poitiers. **Tours** simply takes the Gelasian mass of Angoulême given there on the same day (Eng 1454–1457). Our manuscript has a unique Collect and unique

571 Westwell, “The Lost Missal of Alcuin,” pp. 360–62.

secret. The first, in particular, is adorned with poetic language (“inclytum, tripudiat,” the latter having an original meaning of dancing) and some biographical detail, running:

“qui infusus corde beati hilarii antistitis quasi de tuo templo fidei responsa dedisti . concede propitius, ut qui tunc inclytum confessorem fecisti caesarem non timere, eius intercessione ab spiritali hoste plebem protegas obsecrantem, ut cuius sollemnitate tripudiat”

[trans. which infused the heart of the blessed bishop Hilarius, as if You gave the answer of faith from Your temple, grant, that as You made your famous confessor not to fear Caesar . . . by his intercession protect the people from the spiritual enemy, so that they may rejoice at his solemnity].

There is also a post communion, which is an adaptation of a Gelasian prayer (Gel 144). **Fulda** uses the same mass as Saint-Amand, combined with that for the Octave of Epiphany (Ful 132, 134, 135, 138).⁵⁷² A note on fol. 29r next to the octave of Epiphany (“eodem die sancti hilarii”). Some of Hilary’s relics were at Saint-Denis, making it likely this was also a Parisian mass set.⁵⁷³

- Scholastica (10th February). Found in **Tours** and in **Fulda** (Ful 208–211), also in **Laon** (Laon, Bibliothèque Suzanne Martinet MS 118, fol. 215r–v).
- (Gelasian) Eufemia feast on April (13th April) (Sg 696, 697–700). Note on 68v “sanctae eufemiae.”
- Mark the Evangelist (25th April). This mass (De 3489–3492) is an alternative to the mass found in the main body of our manuscript, already found in **Tournai**, which was shared with **Tours**. This second mass can only be found in Saint-Amand manuscripts (among Deshusses’s Gregorian manuscripts), but it had more presence elsewhere (for example, in Nevers).⁵⁷⁴ It has a new preface.⁵⁷⁵ However, it is this mass which **Fulda** replicates (Ful 872–875) for Mark’s feast. Note fol. 69r “Alia Missa require in finem.”
- Symphorian of Autun (22nd August) (De 3566–3569), using the Supplement’s preface for the Common mass of a martyr (De 1712), in which in which Sym-

572 CO 1171, 1213a, 6023, and CP 842 note that this same mass is also present in England, particularly Jum 150, 151, and NewMin, pp. 57–58.

573 Walters-Robertson, *Service Books of the Royal Abbey*, pp. 222–25.

574 CO 1823, 2891, 4143. Nevers is the “Pontifical-Sacramentary of Hugh the Great” Paris, BnF, lat. 17333, *Sacramentarium ad usum Ecclesiae Nivernensis* ed. Augustin-Joseph Crosnier (Nevers: Fay, 1873), p. 226; Pamelius also has it, *Liturgica Latinorum*, vol. 2, p. 287: some curious Italian and English instances once again, including Trent manuscript (*Adalpretianum*), also Jum 171, Winch 974–979 and York, indicated in Westminster, vol. 3, 1544–45, the secret and post communion also in early modern missals from both Aquileia and Canterbury.

575 CP 318, points to NewMin, pp. 88–89 (which also has the secret and post communion of our masses, but the other Collect found in **Tournai** already, De 3493) and Jum 171.

phorian's name is simply inserted (De 1712). It is unique to the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand among texts edited by Deshusses, but it may also be a Parisian mass. Symphorian's relics could be found in the city, and, in fact, the church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés has a very ancient oratory dedicated to the same saint, which was the original resting place of St. Germanus in 576, so it could be the mass came directly from that monastery.⁵⁷⁶ It is combined with the mass for Timothy in **Fulda** (Ful 1237, 1239, 1241, 1243). Note on 88r: "Eodem die sancti simphoriani."

- Maurice and his companions (22nd September) (De 3597–3600). The same mass is found in the main part of the Gregorian in **Tournai**. Note on 93v: "Sancti maurici et sociorum eius."
- Jerome. A second mass of Jerome (30th September) (De 3610–3615) is simply an adaptation of the mass in the Philipps Gelasian Sacramentary (Aug 918–922), where it lacks the special focus on Jerome's work of translation in Saint-Amand's own alternative composition. **Saint-Germain** has the special Saint-Amand preface here (De 3614) and not with the previous mass (fol. 94v), where it was originally in Tournai. **Fulda** (Ful 1351–1355) combines this mass with the unique Collect and prayer after communion from the Saint-Amand Jerome mass found in **Tournai** and in the main body of our manuscript. Note on fol. 94v "Alia missa require in finem."
- Germanus, Remigius, and Vedastus (1st October). The mass found in the main part of the Gregorian in **Tournai**. Note 94v "Sanctorum remigii uedasti germiani."
- Octave of Andrew (7th December). Gelasian (Sg 1410–1412).
- Damasus (11th December). Gelasian (Sg 1413–1416).

Two masses which already had a feast in the main festal cycle of **Tournai** (those of Mark and Jerome), and previously appeared in the main portion of **Saint-Germain**, have a second, alternative mass given at the end of **Saint-Germain**. These might have been alternatives the monks of Saint-Amand later came across.

576 CO 437, 5763c, 5250; earlier Italian (lost MS of Fonte Avellana, prior to 1323) and some later English presence (Collect and secret in the Sarum Missal: *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. Francis Henry Dickinson (Burntisland: Pitsligo Press, 1861–1883; repr. Farnborough: Gregg International, 1969), 716* and 880, the full mass in Westminster, vol. 2, pp. 924–25, adapted to St. Genesius of Arles), probably explained by the fact it appears in an earlier English book (Winch 1197–1200). Orchard, *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, p. lxiv, lxxxix, presumes this mass issued "from Notre-Dame" of Paris; it may be significant that Hucbald of Saint-Amand quoted an office chant for the same Symphorian, see Rembert Weakland, "Hucbald as Musician and Theorist," *The Musical Quarterly* 42 (1956), 66–84 at 72–73.

However, the masses for Maurice and the feast of Germanus, Remigius and Vedastus, also found here, were already present in the main body of **Tournai**. These masses must have been accidentally missed out in **Saint-Germain** and needed to be added later. The Parisian orientation of some of these additions, in the masses of Genevieve, Hilary, and Symphorian, implies that these masses might have been found in sources that became available to the monks of Saint-Amand at Saint-Germain itself, where I suggest they compiled this book. There is no surviving Carolingian sacramentary written at Saint-Germain, and nothing for several centuries afterwards (except the fragmentary pieces in Paris, BnF, lat. 2294), so we cannot easily verify which of the added masses could have been found there. Alternative masses of Mark and Jerome might represent alternative compositions known in Paris, distinct from Saint-Amand's own, which Saint-Amand then took up to preserve, in addition to its own. The inclusions of some Old Gelasian formulae, of which many, but not all, are also in the Sacramentary of Angoulême, might also have been part of a lastingly distinctive Parisian tradition, given that the Old Gelasian was itself copied by a nunnery in the Paris region, at either Chelles or Jouarre.⁵⁷⁷ Finally, relations to **Fulda** are even deeper in this case than in **Tournai**. Because **Fulda** so often aligns with **Saint-Germain**, even in some of the latter's most distinctive features, we can be sure a sacramentary of Saint-Amand at least as advanced as this one underlay **Fulda**.

A note added on fol. 97r to the margin of the mass for Quattuor Coronati (8th November) quotes Ado of Vienne's martyrology (completed between 850 and 860) to try to explain a curious fact of the Roman liturgy, that five saints, who were not the original "crowned ones" (Claudius, Nicostatus, Simphorianus, Castorius, and Simplicius – sculptors from Sirmium martyred in Pannonia), were celebrated and mentioned expressly in a mass set which had a title referring to only the original four and the church in which they were buried (Severus, Severianus, Carporphorus and Victorinus – soldiers killed by Diocletian).⁵⁷⁸

IIIor coronatorum nomina haec sunt seuerus seuerianus uictorinus et carphorus (sic) . quorum dies natalis incuriam neglectus minime reperiri poterat . Ideo statutum est ut in eorum ecclesia horum quinque sanctorum quam missa recitantur natalis celebretur . ut cum istis eorum quoque memoria pariter fiat.

⁵⁷⁷ McKitterick, "Nuns' scriptoria."

⁵⁷⁸ Edited as De 295* from **Reims**; In Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, vol. 1, p. 49; it is also in the main text in Leofric A (Leaf 1795).

[trans. The four crowned ones are called Severus, Severianus, Victorinus and Carphorus (properly Carpophorus) whose feast day, which had been neglected, could not be found at all. Therefore, it was established that, in their church (Santi Quattro Coronati in Rome) the feast day of those five saints whose names are recited in the mass itself should be celebrated, so that, with these latter, the commemoration of the former could be done at the same time].

This enters the main text as part of the title of the mass in in **Sens**, Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 147r, and is also in the main text in **Reims**, again implying this manuscript was later than **Saint-Germain**, not earlier, as Deshusses suggested. It is also found written in uncial, alternating red and green, as part of the main text of **Saint Eloi** (Paris, BnF, Lat.12051, fol. 156r).

Despite the fact that the manuscript had a *memento* for an emperor among the opening material, and Deshusses used that to date it, **Saint-Germain** is actually the only Saint-Amand manuscript which has the wording (Paris, BnF, Latin 2291, fol. 54r) “christianissimo rege nostro” [trans. our most Christian king] in the *orationes solemnes* of Good Friday, that interceded successively for all levels of society, as well as for the conversion of pagans and Jews, rather than the original, and commonly preserved text of “christianissimo imperatore nostro” [trans. our most Christian emperor], where the Byzantine sovereign had once been in Rome.⁵⁷⁹ Unlike the *memento*, which was copied thoughtlessly, this does represent an intervention in the Gregorian’s text, one also made, for example, in **Saint-Vaast** (see apparatus of De 344) and in later French sacramentaries. Because this required the scribe to actually alter the Gregorian text, it more obviously does suggest a king reigned at the time of the production of the manuscript, so a date after Charles the Bald’s death as Emperor in 877 is strongly supported, but before the Emperor Charles the Fat also became King of West Francia in 884. This fits with the timing I have already suggested. Notably, however, this was reversed to an Emperor again in **Sens**, and we can likely assume Charles the Fat was reigning in West Franca as Emperor by then.

Comprehensive Reorganisation in Sens

Incorporating all this material, and reorganising it, **Sens** sees an even more radical dismantling of the original structure of the Sacramentary. It no longer has the attached Gradual or lectionary. After the introductory material and the Canon of the

⁵⁷⁹ De 344; on these texts see R. H. Connolly “Liturgical Prayers of Intercession,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 21 (1920), pp. 219–32; Geoffrey Grimshaw Willis, *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (London: SPCK, 1964) pp. 39–48.

Mass itself, **Sens** opens with the Christmas feasts (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 32r), but here with only the Temporal, including all the Sunday masses, which goes up to Advent (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 99v). The masses for ordinary time, for matins and vespers are then given (99r–108v). All the saints' feasts are then presented, in an entirely different section (109r–152v), before the Common of Saints (152v–158v). In this version of the Sanctorale, the saints' masses which were added only at the end of **Saint-Germain** appear in their proper place in the year.⁵⁸⁰ Masses in both sections all have their accompanying prefaces and also the episcopal blessings, whenever these were available. Unlike the **Saint-Germain** manuscript, however, **Sens** contains a chapter list in the middle (fol. 159r–161v), and thus maintains, and even strengthens, the distinction between Sacramentary (containing here only the feasts for the year, Sanctorale and Temporale, and the common masses), and a Supplement after the *capitula* which contains all the material for votive masses and special occasions, each one numbered within the *capitula*, to be located easily. The distinction between Sacramentary and Supplement is here no longer about the origin of the texts at all, as in the original plan of the *Hucusque* Supplement, which was intended to keep texts of supposed Gregorian origin entirely separate from later additions. Instead, the distinction is now between the masses which would be used annually every year, further subdivided between the moveable feasts of the Temporal and the fixed feasts of the Sanctoral, and, then in a separate Supplement with *capitula*, all those which would be used only on particular occasions (votive and occasional masses). This returns notably to a form of organisation of the mass book into three books, as was found in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary (Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 316). Some have presented this “three-book” format with separate Sanctoral as a peculiarly English organisation of the mass book.⁵⁸¹ However, in this case, it clearly follows the logic of the divisions of texts by type rather than origin, and no extraordinary foreign influence or direct influence of the Old Gelasian is required to explain it at Saint-Amand, as has been hypothesised in other cases, like the Sacramentary of Echternach. Orchard sug-

580 Fol. 111r Genevieve; fol. 111v–112r Hilary; fol. 119v–120r Eufemia; fol. 120v–121r Mark the Evangelist; fol. 136v–137r Symophorian; fol. 143r–v Jerome; fol. 144r Germanus, Remigius and Vedastus; fol. 151v–152r Octave of Andrew; fol. 152r Damasus. Maurice was missing in the first place, but was added in a spare place on fol. 158v after the Common of Saints, in a quite different hand. The mistaken, initial loss of Maurice implies a layout like **Saint-Germain** of the source, where Maurice was found at the end.

581 Hohler, “Some Service Books,” p. 62; Yitzhak Hen, *The Sacramentary of Echternach* [Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat.9433*], HBS 110 (London: Boydell & Brewer, 1997) pp. 33–34.

gested it has some connection with the episcopal character of a book, which would actually suit what I reconstruct of **Sens**'s potential history, as we will see.⁵⁸²

In the majority of cases, the additions noted above are entirely replicated in **Sens**. For example, Lent is given as it was in **Saint-Germain**, with the AD UESPERAS prayers from the Gelasian added to each day. In some cases, these additional AD UESPERAS were marked with an obelus (for example, fol. 44v, 45r, 45v), probably by later readers. The Octave of Pentecost uses the Trinity mass and the mass of Gregory is the same as in **Saint-Germain**, although it is probable a now-lost folio was later inserted with the more common Gregorian mass, possibly as a Vigil, since a sign is added in the margin next to the Gregory mass which points to nothing now. In the case of Mark (120v–121r), the new mass combines both of the masses available in **Saint-Germain** (one found there in the main text, one in the appendix), with each prayer having two alternatives, and the same is true of Jerome (143r–v), where each prayer has several ALIA, and includes additional texts from the **Tours** mass.⁵⁸³

It is also clear that certain, new substitutions of Gelasian prayers in **Sens** were suggested by marginal notes found in **Saint-Germain**. In that book, by the mass for the Second Sunday of Lent on Paris, BnF, Latin 2291, fol. 41r, we find the notes “require ecclesiae,” next to the secret and “require Refecti,” next to the post communion. These refer to the Gelasian equivalent prayer for the same mass “Ecclesiae tuae domine munera placatus assume . . .” (Sg 321) and “Refecti domine pane caelesti . . .” (Sg 323). In **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 45v–46r), both Gelasian prayers have now been written into the mass, replacing the Gregorian ones. Likewise, on Paris, BnF, lat. 2290 fol. 50r, the added note with the word “Uegetet” refers to the Gelasian post communion prayer for the Thursday of Lent's fifth week, “Uegitet nos domine . . .” (Sg 451). In **Sens**, that prayer replaces the Gregorian one and the same text is used in Ful 605. Likewise, on Paris BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 156r, the note adds a prayer De 2744, an alternative form for the post communion of the Supplement's MISSA PRO ITER AGENTIBUS (De 1317–1319), and **Sens** has this as the first post communion (Stockholm, Kungliga

⁵⁸² Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, vol. 1, pp. 46–47.

⁵⁸³ For Jerome, the Collect: De 3606 (Saint-Amand mass 1), 3610 (Saint-Amand mass 2), 3603 (**Tours**). Secret: 3607 (Saint-Amand mass 1), 3611 (Saint-Amand mass 2), 3604 (**Tours**). Post communion: 3608 (Amand mass 1), 3615 (Saint-Amand mass 2). SUPER POPULUM: 3605 (used as SUPER POPULUM in both Saint-Amand masses, and prayer after communion in Tours mass); Pamelius's Sacramentary, *Liturgica Latinorum*, vol. 2, pp. 286–87, likewise combined both forms of Mark, the secret, and ALIA are a different way around as in **Sens** however, and the preface is not present, though it is possible Pamelius had removed it in order to try to reconstruct a Gregorian original, as he had done elsewhere.

biblioteket, A 136, fol. 190r), with the normal one following as an ALIA. The alternative post communion “Sumpta domine caelestis sacramenti . . .” belongs to another form of the mass for those going on a journey only transmitted in very particular books: **Trent**, **Mainz**, and in two of the Reichenau sacramentaries. One rewording suggested by a marginal note in **Saint-Germain** is also incorporated in **Sens**. On Paris, BnF, Latin 2291, fol. 43v, the words “gratiam tuam” are noted in the margin written in Greek capitals (“ΓΡΑΤΙΑΜ ΤΥΑΜ”) next to the Collect for the Monday of Lent’s third week (De 323). These words are then incorporated into the Collect in **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 41v). The new reading, with “gratiam tuam” is one common to **Saint-Vaast** and the pre-Hadrianic Sacramentary **Trent**, but which has not been seen in other manuscripts of the Gregorian (“Cordibus nostris quaesumus domine gratiam tuam . . .”).⁵⁸⁴ These last two imply that the compilers of **Sens** were comparing **Saint-Germain** directly with some kind of pre-Hadrianic Gregorian they had before them to make the new book.

Likewise, a marginal note for an alternative preface for the Annunciation in **Saint-Germain** for the Annunciation (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 35r) finds its way into the main text in **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 119v): “ALIA PREFATIO. Require in antea in aduentu domini feria IIII. Quem pro salute hominum.” The reference is to one of *Hucusque*’s prefaces De 1705 (used in *Hucusque* for the Ember Day of December), which explicitly describes the Annunciation, and here was thought to be a potential alternative for the feast.⁵⁸⁵ Also the note from Ado’s martyrology about the Quattuor Coronati is directly incorporated into the title of their mass (fol. 147r) in **Sens**. These notes are in the same palaeographical layer as the notes directing the reader to feasts at the end of the manuscript. I discuss this layer below on pp. 323–325, where I identify the hand of at least some of these notes with Hucbald. It is clear that this hand was very familiar with diverse sacramentary traditions, comparing them at a granular level, and was interested in the very forms of “varietas” we have identified as key to the compilation of our books.

⁵⁸⁴ These were part of the earliest layer of marginal notes in **Saint-Germain**. Later ones, for example, Paris, BnF, lat. 2291 fol. 63r and Easter Monday fol. 64r were not taken up, and probably post-date the creation of the **Sens**. These point back to the Gregorian. Fol. 39v, for example, the later corrector (writing in much fainter ink) noted that the prayers for the first Thursday in Lent diverged from the Gregorian, and adds the incipit of the Gregorian Collect “Deuotionem populi tui quaesumus domine . . .” De 184.

⁵⁸⁵ De 1705: “Quem pro salute hominum nasciturum gabrihel archangelus nuntiauit, uirgo maria spiritus sancti cooperatione concepit . . .” [trans. Whose birth for the salvation of men the archangel Gabriel announced, conceived by the Holy Spirit with the assent of the Virgin Mary . . .].

With these indications, it is quite likely that **Sens** was completed with **Saint-Germain** as the direct model, and not a shared text, as in Deshusses's reconstruction, where the completed books from Saint-Amand were apparently sent out before the next was begun. We can also tell that **Sens** knew all the forms of the Rogation masses constructed and transmitted through Saint-Amand's previous manuscripts, and used both.⁵⁸⁶

Several new complete Gelasian masses were also added to **Sens**. Some further Tours influence may also be adduced in some cases.

- Fol. 114r Emmerentiana and Macharius (23rd January) (Sg 161, 163–164).
- Fol. 117r Juliana of Nicomedia, from Naples (16th February) (Sg 214–216).
- Fol. 124r–v Vitus of Sicily (15th June) (Sg 900–903) plus two prayers taken from the Common mass for a martyr elsewhere in our manuscript, with Vitus's name inserted: a SUPER POPULUM “Sancti uiti martyris tui domine nos oratio sancta conciliet . . .” and an ALIA “Beati martyris tui uiti nos quaesumus domine precibus adiuuemur . . .” (De 3230, 3231). Neither are in **Fulda's** Vitus mass.
- 131r–v Germanus of Auxerre (31st July). A mass shared with **Tours** (De 3548–3541), with shortened individual prayer texts. These are new forms of the texts for the mass in the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (Vatican City, BAV, Pal. Lat. 493), a Merovingian manuscript written in the first half of the eighth century, thus of significantly older origin, and probably patronal.⁵⁸⁷ In **Sens**, the mass is supplied with a preface (De 3553), taken from the Gelasian mass for Augustine (Sg 1332).
- Fol. 136r–v Magnus of Trani (19th August) (Sg 1106–1109). This mass is also found in **Tours**.
- Fol. 139v Adrian of Nicomedia (8th September). The mass of Adrian (De 218*–220*) is an interesting case. It is purely and straightforwardly identical, except the saint's name, to the Gregorian mass of Pancratius (De 491–493). However, the mass did not appear in the *Hadrianum*, as preserved in **Cambrai**, or in most copies of the Supplemented *Hadrianum* with *Hucusque*. His church Sant'Adriano al Foro was the location for the “collecta” gathering of the people and clergy before the stational processions to Santa Maria Maggiore on all four Marian feasts, and thus appears in the Gregorian. Even in the Gelasian, Adrian was not provided with his own mass prayers, but was overshadowed by the Nativity of Mary on the same day.⁵⁸⁸ However, the Adrian mass

⁵⁸⁶ Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A 136, fol. 76v–77r.

⁵⁸⁷ Mohlberg, ed., *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, pp. 3–5.

⁵⁸⁸ For example, see Mohlberg, *Das sacramentarium Gelasianum*, pp. 178–79; also in *Liber sacramentorum paduensis* eds Catello, dell'Oro and Martini, p. 325.

appears in a distinct selection of Gregorian manuscript: **Tours, Modena**, the Sacramentary of Kroměříž, the Sacramentaries of Reichenau in Vienna, ÖNB, cod. lat. 1815, and Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Donaueschingen 191, in the fragments of a Sacramentary from Lorsch (Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S 716) and also our book of **Saint Eloi** (Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 145v–146r).⁵⁸⁹ Since a number of these Carolingian manuscripts also have some contact with the pre-Hadrianic Gregorian, it may be that the celebration of Adrian was present in Gregorians prior to *Hadrianum*, before it fell out of use with the increasing prominence of the Nativity of Mary, possibly after Sergius's innovations made this feast much more prominent. The particular group of Gregorians which include this mass suggests even more transmission of the pre-Hadrianic to these various centres, probably from out of Tours, where it also appears.⁵⁹⁰ Our Saint-Amand manuscripts did not have contact with these particular pre-Hadrianic books prior to this point, but the combing of all available masses here must have picked up Adrian's mass from an exemplar that became available to them at this point.

In a number of cases, new prayers were still being added to the Gregorian mass sets, including both additions and replacements from the Gelasian, including Old Gelasian texts, and some as yet unedited, (see Table 3.3), with a similar methodology. Thus, the process of incorporation of Gelasian texts that begun in the **Tournai** continued into each manuscript that came after.

Table 3.3: Substitutions and Additions to Mass Sets in Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136.

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
32r–v	Christmas Vigil (24 th December)	A new prayer AD MATUTINOS “Praesta misericors deus ut ad suscipendum filii tui singular natiuitatis mysterium . . .” which is GeV 2, also Gel 3. See CO 4364. Also in Ful 37 where it is “AD VESPERAS,” as in Saint Eloi (Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 12v).
36r–v	Epiphany (6 th January)	ALIA from Gelasian (Sg 96).

⁵⁸⁹ Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, S 176 digitised at: https://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/view/zbso_s716 (with updated catalogue information by Michael Kautz); Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 350n6003: “Lorsch, IX. Jh., 1. Hälfte”; CLLA 775. Apart from Adrian's feast, this is generally a good copy of the *Hadrianum* from August to November.

⁵⁹⁰ **Trent** lacks Adrian, however it also has the Agnus Dei and thus post-dates Sergius, and has been variously updated.

Table 3.3 (continued)

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
37r	Octave of Epiphany (13 th January)	ALIA Collect “Deus qui unigeniti filii tui baptisma fluenta sanctificare uoluisiti aquarum . da ut renati aqua et spiritu peruenire ad gaudia aeterna mereamur” [trans. God, who willed to sanctify the baptism of Your Son in the flowing of waters, grant that we, reborn in water and in Spirit, might merit to eternal joy]. See CO 2147. Found otherwise in Pamelius, <i>Liturgica Latinorum</i> , vol. 2, p. 197, but was noted in Westminster, vol. 3, 1455, who found it in Missals of Abingdon (s.XV) and Tewkesbury (s.XIII).
39r	6th Sunday after Epiphany	Addition of a SUPER POPULUM Sg 206.
43v	1 st Monday in Lent	Secret replaced with the Gelasian one (Sg 281)
45v–46r	2 nd Sunday in Lent	New replacement of SUPER OBLATA and AD COMPLENDUM with Gelasian (Sg 321 and 323).
51v	Wednesday of 4 th week	Replacement of Collect with Gelasian Collect (Sg 407).
53r	Saturday of 4 th week of Lent.	ITEM AD UESPERAS added from Gelasian Collect (Sg 422).
54v	Wednesday of 5 th week	The Gregorian SUPER POPULUM (De 299) for this day is returned, instead of the Gelasian one “Adesto supplicationibus nostris omnipotens deus et quibus fiduciam sperendae . . .” CO 182. In the Gregorian, this also belonged to the Monday of the 2 nd week (De 208), and is, in fact, also there in Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 46r.
55r	Thursday of 5 th week	Replacement of post communion with Gelasian (Sg 451). Also used in Ful 605.
55v	Friday of 5 th week	New SUPER POPULUM (Sg 447), the prayer replaced in the preceding Wednesday.
55v	Saturday of 5 th week	Returns to Gregorian SUPER OBLATA (De 309).
55v–56r	Palm Sunday	Three blessings of Palms.

Table 3.3 (continued)

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
112r–v	Saint Felix in pincis (14 th January)	New ALIA Collect (Sg 117), a new AD COMPLENDUM (Sg 119) and ALIA “Beneficia domine plebs tua reportet sancti felicitis precatione conlata . ut cuius officis deuota non deest . sumptis gaudeat adiumentis.” [trans. Lord bring back the gathered blessings to your people by the prayer of Saint Felix, so that what is promised at his offices may not be lacking, but rejoice in the giving out of aid]. See CO 510. Only in Pamelius, <i>Liturgica Latinorum</i> , vol. 2, p. 199, and in the Colbertine Fragments formula 25 for the same feast (Paris, BnF, lat. 2296, fol. 7r). <i>Das sacramentarium Gelasianum</i> , ed. Gamber and Rehle, p. 28 or 109, likewise found no other attestations.
113r–v	Agnes (21 st January)	Replacement of post communion with Gelasian (Sg 151).
115r	Second Agnes Mass (28 th January)	Replacement of secret with Gelasian (Sg 175) and ALIA AD COMPLETA (Sg 117).
116r–v	Agatha (5 th February)	Replacement of secret with Gelasian (Sg 190).
120r–v	George (23 rd April)	Replacement of post communion with Gelasian (Sg 713).
121r	Vitale (28 th April)	Gelasian Collect as ALIA SUPER OBLATA (Sg 723).
121r–v	Philipp and James (3 rd May)	Gelasian Collect added (Sg 732), Gregorian as ALIA.
121v–122r	Invention of the Cross (7 th May)	Additional ALIA at end “Deus qui omnia uerba tuo fecisti supplices quaesumus ineffabilem et clementiam tuam ut quos per lignum sanctae crucis . . .” (De 3500). This is found in the Sacramentary of Marmoutier and in Saint Eloi . Also in Pamelius, <i>Liturgica Latinorum</i> , vol. 2, pp. 289–90, it seems edited from two MSS with two different recensions, ours being the main text.
122r	Gordian and Epimachus (10 th May)	Addition of a SUPER POPULUM. The Collect of Gordian in the Gelasian (Sg 756).
125v–126v.	John the Baptist (24 th June)	New ALIA prayer, in Eng 1038, Sg 933.
126v–127r	John and Paul (26 th June)	Two new ALIA prayers from Gelasian vigil (Sg 940 and 942).

Table 3.3 (continued)

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
127r–v	Leo (28 th June)	Several ALIA prayers, which add individual forms from the Gelasian April mass to the Gregorian June one (Sg 692, 694, 695, and 693).
129r–130r	Benedict (11 th July)	Addition of six ALIA prayers. As in Fulda's mass for Benedict in March.
130r	James (25 th July)	Addition of ALIA from Gelasian (Sg 1013).
130r–v	Felix (29 th July)	New ALIA prayer from the Gelasian (Eng 125, Gell 126, Sg 117).
130v–131r	Abdon and Sennon (30 th July)	Two ALIA prayers, both Gelasian (Sg 1022), the other Old Gelasian (GVa 953, also in Eng 1147, Gel 1265, Phill 1187) (CO 5355).
132r–v	Sixtus (7 th August)	Gelasian post communion (Sg 1040), and a second ALIA (Sg 1037).
132v–133r	Donatus (7 th August)	ALIA prayer (Sg 1046), the alternative post communion found at the end of Saint-Germain .
134r–v	Hyppolitus (13 th August)	SUPER POPULUM added from Gelasian Collect (Sg 1077).
136r	Agapetus (18 th August)	ALIA added from Gelasian Collect (Sg 1103).
137v–138r	Hermen (28 th August)	SUPER POPULUM added from Gelasian Collect (Sg 1128).
140v–141r	Euphemia (16 th September)	Gelasian prayers added to September feast.
143r–v	Jerome (30 th September)	Combines both masses found in Saint-Germain , and the third, generic mass found in Tours (De 3603–3605), thus each prayer having several ALIA.
144r	Mark the Pope (7 th October)	Secret from Gelasian (Sg 1236), but post communion is from another mass “Omnipotens et misericors deus qui nos sacramentorum tuorum et participes efficit . . .”, see CO 3759. Variety of uses, used in the Gelasian Sacramentary of Remedius (Sankt Gallen) for Donatus (Sg 1046, also Ful 1175). Thus, it already appeared in our books. Only for the same feast, Mark, however, in the Hereford Missal of 1502, <i>Missale ad usum percelebris Ecclesiae Herfordensis</i> , ed. William George Henderson (Leeds: McCorquodale, 1874; repr. Farnborough: Gregg International, 1969) p. 339. The SUPER OBLATA likewise replaced in Saint Eloi .

Table 3.3 (continued)

Foliation	Gregorian Mass	Addition or Replacement
145v–146r	Vigil of Simon and Jude (27 th October)	Addition of new SUPER POPULUM from Gelasian ALIA Collect (Sg 1288).
147r	Quattuor Coronati (8 th November)	Replacement of secret with Gelasian (Sg 1309), note added to margin in Saint-Germain finds its way into title.
148r–v	Martin (11 th November)	Gelasian replacement with post communion (Sg 1322).
148v–149r	Cecilia (22 nd November)	A new prayer AD UESPERAS, which is Gelasian Collect (Sg 1343).
149v	Chrysogonus (24 th November)	Addition of ALIA prayer, the Gelasian Collect (Sg 1351).

Of the more interesting additions, the July feast of Benedict (fol. 129r–130r) has additional prayers, which mostly can be found in the later **Fulda** for the March mass. Quite unusually, the three of these prayers which our special to our tradition, as well as **Fulda**, adapt Benedict’s miracle stories, as recounted by Gregory the Great, into prayer texts. Respectively, these include a miraculous fount of water, the re-discovery of the blade of a sickle lost by a monk in the depths of a lake, and the healing of a child.⁵⁹¹ Direct reference to the hagiography of a saint in a mass text was characteristic of the “Gallican” liturgy, but foreign to the Roman.⁵⁹² Yet here this tendency was rediscovered in what are likely to be Carolingian compositions.

Omnipotens aeternae deus qui radiantibus beati benedicti confessoris tui exemplis arduum tuis imitabile famulis iter fecisti . da nobis inoffensis per eius instituta gressibus pergere . ut eiusdem in regione uiuentium mereamur gaudiis admisceri. per. (De 3464, also Ful 263).⁵⁹³

[trans. Almighty everlasting God who has made a challenging path to be imitated by Your servants, in the radiant examples of Your confessor, Benedict, grant that we might follow without stumbling in the steps left by him . that we may merit to be brought into the joys of the same in the country of the ever-living].

⁵⁹¹ Gregory the Great, *Dialogorum libri IV*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, 3 vols. (Paris: Cerf, 1978–1980).

⁵⁹² Rose, “Liturgical commemoration,” especially pp. 90–96.

⁵⁹³ CO 3704; in a Montecassino Manuale in the Vatican, Klaus Gamber and Sieghild Rehle, eds., *Manuale Casinense* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1977) 1, 266 and in Bavaria/Trent (*Ottomanum*, ed. Del- l’Oro, 10*), also England (Jum 168 and Winch 944).

Annue tuis famulis quaesumus omnipotens deus. ut sicut beato benedicto confessore tuo aquam de rupis largitus es uertice . ita nobis eius suffragantibus meritis . superae largiaris misericordiae fontem (Ful 258).⁵⁹⁴

[trans. We beseech You, almighty God, grant, as Your blessed confessor Benedict lavished water from the heights of the rocks, that You might lavish upon us, who seek his merits, the font of Your most high compassion].

Deus cuius uirtute beatus benedictus ex cuncta fecit pueri membra uiuiscere . praesta quaesumus eius nos meritis per afflatum tuis spiritus uiuificari . per eum qui tecum et cum eodem spiritu uiuit et regnat in unitate deus per omnia saecula saeculorum (Ful 260).⁵⁹⁵

[trans. God, by whose virtue the blessed Benedict healed the child's limbs . grant that we may be quickened by his merits through the inspiration of Your Spirit . who lives and reigns with You and with the same spirit in the unity of God . for ever, world without end].

Deus qui beati confessoris tui benedicti meritis prolapsum ab imo lacu gurgite ferrum remerare fecisti . praesta quaesumus ipsius nos interuentu de lacu miserie eripi . et ad supernae hereditatis gaudia reformari. (Ful 261).⁵⁹⁶

[trans. God, who made to return, by the merits of the blessed Benedict, the fallen iron from the gurgling depths of the lake . we beseech that, by his intervention, You might rescue us from the lake of misery . and we might be reformed for the joys of the heavenly inheritance].

Deus qui ad beati confessoris tui benedicti magisterium diuresis tuos famulus mundi partibus aggregasti, concede nobis ita in eius exemplorum numero alacras incedere . ut meritum quoque . ipsius mereamur perfrui claritate. (Not in **Fulda**).⁵⁹⁷

[trans. O God, who has gathered they servants from all diverse parts of the world by the teaching of your confessor Benedict, grant that we may advance zealously in step to his example . that we also might deserve to enjoy the glory of his merits].

Apart from the first prayer, found in **Tours**, these mass prayers are also found attached to the March mass for Benedict in **Laon**, Laon, Bibliothèque Suzanne Martinet MS 118, fol. 215r–v (including the rarer final one, which is not in **Fulda**),

⁵⁹⁴ CO 295; also in the Montecassino Manuale, Gamber and Rehle, *Manuale Casinense*, 1, 267; also Spain (Olivar, ed., *Sacramentarium Rivipullense*, 923 and Vic 291) and England (Winch 948); compare Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, lib.2, c.5, ed. de Vogüé, vol. 2: *Livres I-III* (Paris, 1979), pp. 152–54.

⁵⁹⁵ CO 1200. Otherwise in Vic 292, again for March, but likewise in Winch 954; Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, lib.2, c.11, ed. de Vogüé, vol. 2: pp. 172–75.

⁵⁹⁶ CO 1391. Refers otherwise to NewMin, p. 107 (curiously used for St. Leufredus of Evreux, despite the details of Benedict's miracle with the sickle), but it is actually also found in Winch 950; compare Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, lib.2, c.6, ed. de Vogüé, vol. 2: pp. 155–57.

⁵⁹⁷ CO 6750, refers only to Winch 953.

as well as in the **Winchcombe** Sacramentary, today in Orleans, which displays them all, though in a varied configuration, and including the one not in **Fulda**.⁵⁹⁸ As we will see more completely in the votive masses, selections of prayers from Saint-Denis itself were integrated into **Sens**, possibly under Gauzlin's direction, and a further Saint-Amand source, perhaps of Paris, also underlines **Winchcombe**. Therefore the prayer texts were possibly Saint-Denis products, if the exchange was not from Saint-Amand into Paris. The noteworthy adornment of all Benedict masses in the Saint-Amand tradition with many additional ALIA prayers means that these masses are among the longest in the manuscripts, and display complex vocabulary, as well as innovative, or renovative of an older tradition, recourse to hagiography. These masses attest to Benedict's high renown in the Carolingian era.

Thus, **Sens** continues the integration of what were likely distinct traditions that became successively available to the monks of Saint-Amand, while also continuing work done in integrating the Gelasian prayers which **Saint-Germain** had not already used. The manuscript represents the surviving culmination of the compiling efforts which began more diffidently in **Chelles**, with the addition of a handful of Gelasian masses, then beginning to seriously alter the Gregorian with the help of several Gelasian sources in **Tournai**, and competently realised in **Saint-Germain**. There are also further commonalities here with **Fulda**. In a single case (Felix in Pincis), a prayer that could only be found in Saint-Amand's own copy of the Gelasian, the Colbertine Fragments, re-entered the tradition only in this final, surviving manuscript. This really suggests that the compilers were combing the archives for all possible material.

Supplementing the Supplement I: Sunday Masses in the Sacramentaries of Saint-Amand

It was not only the Gregorian itself in which the compilers of Saint-Amand intervened. Netzer already noted some divergences in the Sunday masses of *Hucusque*.⁵⁹⁹ We can see that **Saint-Germain** proceeds in the same systematic way as it did in Lent by adding a SUPER POPULUM prayer to the Sundays of *Hucusque*, taken from the available Gelasian mass or from other prayers in the Gelasian which were not otherwise used (See Table 3.4).

⁵⁹⁸ See Réginald Grégoire, "Prières liturgiques médiévales en l'honneur de saint Benoit, sainte Scholastique et de Saint Maur," *Analecta Monastica* 7 (1965), pp. 1–85, at p. 2, 5–7 and 19.

⁵⁹⁹ Netzer, *L'introduction de la messe romaine*, pp. 181–82.

Table 3.4: Additions and Changes to the Sunday Masses in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2291.

Sunday in the Hucusque	Change	Foliation (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291)
Dominica I Post Natale domini (De 1092–1095).	Uses the Gregorian mass for the Dominica II post natale domini), plus a SUPER POPULUM “Propitiare misericors deus supplicationibus . . .” (Sg 86).	114r
Dominica I Post Theophania (De 1096–1098)	SUPER POPULUM. “Conserua quaesumus domine familiam tuam et benedictionum tuarum . . .” (Sg 111).	114r–v
Dominica II Post Theophania (De 1099–1101)	Instead of the secret used by <i>Hucusque</i> (De 1100) “Oblata domine munera sanctifica . . .,” it uses another secret “Ut tibi grata sint domine munera populi supplicantis ab omnisque eum contagione peruersitatis emunda.” [trans. May the offerings of the supplicant people be pleasing to You, Lord, and You might cleanse them from every contagion of perversity]. This is taken from the curious Gelasian mass DE PROHIBENDO AB IDOLIS, that follows Christmas (Sg 83). SUPER POPULUM added from Sg 126.	114v–115r
Dominica III post theophania (De 1102–1104)	SUPER POPULUM added (Sg 160).	115r–v
Dominica IIII post theophania (De 1105–1107)	SUPER POPULUM from (Sg 156) second Collect of third Sunday.	115v–116r
Dominica V post theophania (De 1108–1110)	SUPER POPULUM from a Collect for a MISSA COTIDIANA in the Gelasian (Sg 1545, Eng 1746).	116r
Dominica I post octauas paschae (De 1114–1116)	SUPER POPULUM “Familiam tuam quaesumus domine dextera tua . . .” used among the ORATIONES PASCHALES in Eng 851 (page missing in Sg).	116v–117r
Dominica II post octauas paschae (De 1117–1119)	SUPER POPULUM “Gaudeat domine plebs fidelis” from ORATIONES PASCHALES in Eng 848 (Page missing in Sg).	117r–v

Table 3.4 (continued)

Sunday in the Hucusque	Change	Foliation (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291)
Dominica III post octauas paschae (De 1120–1122)	SUPER POPULUM added, from second Collect (Sg 727) “Exaudi domine preces nostras . . .” Original form rubbed out and corrected.	117v
Dominica IIII (1123–1125)	Addition in margin of Gelasian second Collect (Sg 749) “Deus qui misericordiae ianuam fidelibus,” presumably as SUPER POPULUM.	117v–118r
Dominica post ascensionem domini (1126–1128)	SUPER POPULUM “Deus uita fidelium . . .” from second Collect (Sg 782). Another prayer in margin with title ALIA “Deus qui nos resurrectionis dominicae et ascensionis . . .” (Sg 778).	118r
Dominica I post pentecosten (De 1129–1131)	SUPER POPULUM (Sg 863).	118r–v
Dominica II post pentecosten (De 1132–1134)	SUPER POPULUM from second Collect (Sg 871).	118v–119r
Dominica III post pentecosten (De 1135–1137)	Instead of the post communion of <i>Hucusque</i> (De 1137) “Haec nos communitio domine purget a crimine . . .”, Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 119r uses another post communion not known in Gregorian or Gelasian tradition: “Sacris muneribus domine perceptis quaesumus ut nos eorum uirtute et a uitiiis omnibus expies et donis tuae gratiae iugiter repleas.” [trans. Receiving these sacred gifts, we beseech You, o Lord, grant that by their virtue we might be cleansed from all vices, and continually filled with the gifts of Your grace] (CO 5246). Also added a SUPER POPULUM from the Gelasian’s miscellaneous SUPER POPULUM texts (Sg 1573, Eng 1789).	119r

Table 3.4 (continued)

Sunday in the Hucusque	Change	Foliation (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291)
Dominica IIII (De 1138–1140)	Preface from the Supplement clearly erased (De 1626) and replaced (at the same time as the other erasures, thus contemporary to production of the manuscript) with “UD per christum dominum nostrum. Per quem maiestatem tuam suppliciter exoramus ut ab ecclesia tua quicquid de noxiis tu repellas . . .”, which is also used in Saint Eloi , Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 193r. CP 689. Addition of SUPER POPULUM also from miscellaneous texts (Sg 1578).	119r–v
Dominica V (De 1141–1143)	Clear erasure of secret and replacement (as above) with “Ascendant quaesumus domine preces humilitatis nostrae in conspectu clementiae tuae . . .” CO 318. Plus SUPER POPULUM from miscellaneous prayer texts of the end of the Gelasian (Sg 1579).	119v–120r
Dominica VI (De 1144–1146)	SUPER POPULUM from miscellaneous prayer texts (Sg 1580).	120r–v
Dominica VII (De 1147–1149)	SUPER POPULUM from an Ember Day Mass (Sg 1200).	120v–121r
Dominica VIII (De 1150–1152)	SUPER POPULUM from fifth Sunday after Epiphany (Sg 198).	121r–v
Dominica VIII (De 1153–1155)	SUPER POPULUM from first Sunday after Christmas (Sg 72).	121v
Dominica X (De 1156–1158)	SUPER POPULUM from a quotidian mass (Sg 1544).	121v–122r
Dominica XI (De 1159–1161)	SUPER POPULUM from miscellaneous SUPER POPULUM (Sg 1577).	122r–v
Dominica XII (De 1162–1164)	SUPER POPULUM from miscellaneous SUPER POPULUM (Sg 1575).	122v–123r
Dominica XIII (De 1165–1167)	SUPER POPULUM (Sg 90) from second Sunday after Christmas.	123r
Dominica XIII (De 1168–1170)	SUPER POPULUM “Protegat domine quaesumus tua dextera populum supplicantem . . .” among quotidian prayers in Eng 1957.	123r–v

Table 3.4 (continued)

Sunday in the Hucusque	Change	Foliation (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291)
Dominica XV (De 1171–1173)	SUPER POPULUM “Conserua quaesumus domine tuorum corda fidelium . . .” from quotidian prayers in Eng 1969.	124r
Dominica XVI (De 1174–1176)	SUPER POPULUM from quotidian prayers in Eng 1966.	124r–v
Dominica XVII (De 1177–1179)	SUPER POPULUM from quotidian prayers in Eng 1956.	124v
Dominica XVIII (De 1180–1183)	SUPER POPULUM from second Collect of sixth Sunday after Pentecost (Sg 948).	124v–125r
Dominica XVIII (De 1184–1186)	SUPER POPULUM from second Collect of fourth Sunday after Pentecost (Sg 896).	125r–v
Dominica XX (De 1187–1189)	SUPER POPULUM from fourth Sunday after Epiphany’s second Collect (Sg 179).	125v
Dominica XXI (De 1190–1192)	SUPER POPULUM from quotidian prayers of Eng 1965.	125v–126r
Dominica XXII (De 1193–1195)	SUPER POPULUM from quotidian prayers in Eng 1970.	126r–v
Dominica XXIII (De 1196–1198)	SUPER POPULUM from quotidian prayers (Eng 1939).	126v–127r
Dominica XXV	Constructed from Sunday after the Ember Day in July in Gelasian (Sg 1200, 1202, 1204), plus preface from Supplement (De 1685). The last two show signs of being erased and rewritten.	127v
Dominica XXVI	Constructed from Sg 1233, 293, 197, plus preface from Supplement (De 1689).	127v

The last Sunday after Epiphany and the last three Sundays after Pentecost (fol. 127r–v) do not have a SUPER POPULUM added. However, *Hucusque* only had twenty-four Sundays after Pentecost, so the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth are reconstructed from available Gelasian masses, also using up the two “orphaned” prefaces from the Supplement for these two days. The same substitutions appear in **Sens**, whose Sundays have been reorganised into blocks in the Temporale (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 35v–36r, 37r–40r, 74r–75v, 78r–v, 84r–94r), including all the material on top of erasures in **Saint-Germain**, and the marginal

addition to the third Sunday after the Easter Octave is now part of the mass itself (fol. 75v), again showing direct use of the manuscript of **Saint-Germain** for **Sens**.

SUPER POPULUM texts are also added to four of the Gregorian Sundays of Advent, with similar methods: the second Sunday has Eng 1970, the third Eng 1548, the fourth has Sg 1232 and the fifth Sg 1452. In the Sundays after Pentecost we can see the compiler's determination to use all the Gelasian material he had. Since the Gelasians did not offer SUPER POPULUM prayers for the Sundays after Pentecost, he used miscellaneous texts from the common material at the end, but also went back to masses of other Sundays and used the SUPER POPULUM prayers from there which he had not yet used. Given the reversion to the collection of quotidian prayers found in Angoulême (and also in Gellone and Phillipps) at one point clearly, however, it is also quite probable that he availed himself of two distinct complete Gelasians, as we have seen elsewhere. Most important are the two replacements of texts to which Hohler directly drew attention, because they allowed him to chart what he termed a "St. Amand family" in a number of other manuscripts (which I discuss in chapter 6).⁶⁰⁰ These are the secret of the second Sunday after Epiphany (from the Gelasian mass DE PROHIBENDO AB IDOLIS), and the post communion of the third Sunday after Pentecost, of unknown origin. To the manuscripts listed by Hohler which have one or both, we can certainly add **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 37v, 85r). As he noted, both substitutions are used in **Fulda** (Ful 297, 1555) and **Saint Eloi** (Paris, BnF, Latin 12051, fol. 28r, 194r).

Fulda also, for example, used the same two masses for the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth Sunday of Pentecost (Ful 1700–1707 – the latter assigned instead to a sixth Sunday before Christmas), which, as we have seen, reflected judicious selection from the remaining Gelasian prayers that could not be coincidental parallels to Saint-Amand, but must come from a Saint-Amand model. In most other cases, **Fulda** aligns in the choice of SUPER POPULUM (for example, Ful 1556, 1562, 1620, 1626, 1671), but not in the cases where **Saint-Germain** showed something which was erased previously and rewritten, while **Fulda** also adds Gelasian ALIA Collects to the Sunday masses, thus considerably repeating texts in a way Saint-Amand avoided. **Fulda** represents a further accommodation of the Gelasian tradition to an already "Gelasianised" Gregorian of Saint-Amand. **Saint Eloi** agrees often but sometimes diverges in the choices of SUPER POPULUM (the first and second Sunday after Pentecost are still the same), using the same prayers but shuffling them around (Sg 1544 is supplied to the fourth Sunday after Pentecost, numbered as the fifth, instead of for the tenth).

⁶⁰⁰ Christopher Hohler, "The Type of Sacramentary used by St. Boniface," in *Sankt Bonifatius: Gedenkgabe zum zwölftendsten Todestag*, ed. Cuno Raabe (Fulda: Parzeller, 1954), p. 91n8.

Saint Eloi reorganised the Sundays after Pentecost in their numbering, and perhaps shuffled a Saint-Amand model around a bit too.

Supplementing the Supplement II: The Saint-Amand Prefaces and Episcopal Blessings

The incorporation of proper prefaces to the individual masses (already undertaken in **Chelles**), and then episcopal blessings as well (**Saint-Germain** and **Sens**) mark a crucial shift in how these sources were treated. Though many of these were non-Roman in origin, particularly the episcopal blessings, which arise in the non-Roman liturgies of Gaul and Spain, they were now assimilated to their Gregorian masses. Many were taken directly from *Hucusque*, out of collections now identified as the work of Theodulf of Orleans.⁶⁰¹ Select prefaces from the Supplement were also added by Saint Amand scribes to **Cambrai** (Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 164, fol. 206r–214r), and two blessings (214v–215v).⁶⁰² Yet in addition our sacramentaries show distinctive texts of both types that cannot be located in the Supplement.

The additional prefaces were listed out and edited by Deshusses from **Reims**, where they were distinct in their own section along with those of *Hucusque* (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 187r–231v).⁶⁰³ However, in the genuine Saint-Amand manuscripts, they appear with their masses themselves, and they are clearly not a unified set. Some of these represent borrowings from the Gelasians that had not already been made by the compiler of the *Hucusque*'s prefaces (for example, Magnus's mass has a preface (De 3700), that can be identified with the accompanying Gelasian mass Sg 1108). Many of the new prefaces belong explicitly to the new Carolingian masses; for example, Symphorian's preface De 3701 is from the Supplement's common mass for a single martyr De 3701 with his name supplied, while Matthias the Apostle in our books has a preface (De 3451) which is an adapted form for the feast of the *Cathedra Sancti Petri* in the Gelasians (Sg 218) or in *Hucusque* (De 1541). Others might have been written at the same time as the new, Carolingian mass, like the case of Mark the Evangelist (De 3491), which has no analogue and is part of a mass that appears, first, in our Saint-Amand books. Most intriguingly, a new preface for Saint Felix in Pincis (De 3692) appears in **Saint-Germain** (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 29v), to replace *Hucusque*'s preface for the same day (De 1527), which was still found in **Tournai** (Saint

⁶⁰¹ Ruffiot, *Theodulf d'Orleans, compilateur du Supplementum*.

⁶⁰² Orchard, "Ninth and Tenth-Century Additions."

⁶⁰³ Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 2, pp. 339–43.

Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 26r). A change in ink suggests the compiler may have paused to consult a new exemplar, and this preface can be traced back to the ancient collection *Veronense* (Ve 709), where it is used for St. Sixtus, indicating a range of rare sources coming to the attention of the Saint-Amand compilers during their work, and a possible preference for the more dramatic and vivid, or recognisably older, text of the *Veronense*, which includes: “persecutoris gladium intrepida ceruice susceperit, gaudens pro eo se capite truncari” [trans. He endured the sword of the persecutor with an undaunted neck, rejoicing that his head should be cut off for him].⁶⁰⁴ Felix’s original text was used for Silvester instead (De 3689), for whom *Hucusque* gave no preface. Again, here we see a determination to avoid repetition of prayer texts, while also recognising that the preface was more suited for a confessor like Silvester (“confessionem . . . memorabilem non tacere. Qui nec hereticis prauitatibus, nec seculi blandimentis a sui status rectitudine potuit immutari” [trans. He would not silence his memorable confession. He could not be changed from his state of righteousness, either by the pretensions of heretics or by the blandishments of the world]), rather than a martyr as Felix was understood to be.⁶⁰⁵ Other prefaces, like those supplied for the Friday and Saturday after Quinquagesima, both beginning with the same words “Et maiestatem tuam suppliciter deprecari . . .” (De 3696 and 3697), have no obvious sources and may also be new compositions. Both are relatively sophisticated in their Latin too and follow Theodulf by deploying rhyme, including the formulation: “Nec studia nostra sectemur, sed offerentibus meliora subdamur” [trans. Nor shall we pursue our own knowledge, but submit to those who offer better things]. These appeared in **Saint Eloi**, in the book known to Pamelius as well as in **Fulda** (Ful 386 and 392), and, in *Corpus Praefationum*, nowhere else.⁶⁰⁶ The determination to supply as many masses as possible with their own proper prefaces was also exercised upon certain votive masses.⁶⁰⁷

604 *Sacramentarium Veronense*, ed. Mohlberg, Eizenhöfer and Siffrin, p. 90.

605 Felix in Pincis, who was martyred by his students, was from early on assimilated with the confessor and homilist St. Felix of Nola, and they shared a feast day on 14th January. In the first recension of his martyrology, Usuard of Saint-Germain, *Le martyrologe d’Usuard*, ed. Jacques Dubois (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1965), p. 160 similarly assimilated these two saints. Our preface gives him the title originally applied to Sixtus “apostolici pontificatus dignus in sua aetate successor,” possibly further confusing him with a third martyred Felix, Pope Felix I (d. 269), who was properly venerated on 30th December. **Fulda**, which has no celebration for Felix in Pincis, does not use either preface. However, the Saint-Amand preface appears in England, in Jum 151 and in **Winchester**.

606 Pamelius, *Liturgica Latinorum*, vol. 2, p. 555; CP 306 and 307.

607 For example in the case of De 3133, a preface supplied to a *MISSA PRO UIUIS SIUE DEFUNCTIS*; the mass is shared with **Tours** and **Saint-Denis**, but only our books, from **Saint-Germain**

In addition to the episcopal blessings that were transmitted in the Supplement *Hucusque*, the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand show an additional collection of blessings, with an extra thirty-six blessings, adding up to eighty-four overall.⁶⁰⁸ Unlike the added prefaces, these represent a distinct and unified collection, seemingly with one compiler or author, and with a single methodology. Not only are these blessings characteristic of the Saint-Amand manuscripts, they are also among the additions made to **Cambrai** by Saint-Amand scribes (Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 164, fol. 2r–24r), into which they were written with several other blessings of the Supplement *Hucusque*. They supply episcopal blessings for those days which *Hucusque* had none the ordinary Sundays, after Christmas, after Epiphany, after Ascension, and for the twenty-three after Pentecost and Advent, however there is also a blessing for St Michael (De 3823), St Paul (De 3811), for the octave of Pentecost (De 3822), Ember Days (De 3821), and for occasions like Easter Week (De 3816–3818) and the Sundays Septuagesima to Quinquagesima (De 3813–3815).⁶⁰⁹ The fact that a blessing for Matthias the Apostle is added in **Cambrai**'s collection of blessings (De 3812), not using any new blessing but using simply the Supplement's common blessing for an apostle (De 1770), confirms the close relation of this collection to the process of compilation of our Saint-Amand sacramentaries, in which Matthias was also supplied, from **Saint-Germain** onwards, with a full mass, to which the same blessing was attached (De 3449–3454). A selection of these unique blessings for ordinary time appears also in the **Saint-Vaast** in Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 163, fol. 82v–88r (here De 3824–3827 for Sundays, 3813–3815 for Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima, 3879 for Easter Monday, which is not in **Cambrai**, but is found in **Saint-Germain**, at Paris, BnF, lat. 2290, fol. 64r with the mass, then Easter Week 3816–3822), but not the full set of them. This is clearly distinct from *Hucusque*'s preface collection that is found on 90r–112r. These texts thus represent one particular source available in Northern French manuscripts.⁶¹⁰ In one Parisian manuscript, for example, the Saint-Amand blessings for the days after Easter were added to an older, independent copy of the

onwards, and the Fulda portion of **Mainz** (Mainz, Martinus-Bibliothek, Hs. 1, fol. 202v) contains the preface: "UD Et tuam clementiam humiliter implorare . . .", also copied in Ful 2154.

608 Andrew Prescott, "The Text of The Benedictional of Aethelwold," in *Bishop Aethelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. Barbara York (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), p. 125; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 72–75, and vol. 2, p. 29, edited some of them, vol. 2, pp. 356–64 from **Cambrai**.

609 That for the Monday of Easter week (De 3879) is absent in the Saint-Amand additions to **Cambrai**, but found in **Saint-Vaast**, as well as our sacramentaries (e.g., Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 64r).

610 Laporte, "Les benedictions episcopales," p. 148 lists manuscripts which have them, including **Saint-Thierry**, **Saint Eloi**, the Sacramentary of Ratoldus (Paris, BnF. Latin 12052), and the pontifical sacramentary of Hugh of Nevers (Paris, BnF, lat. 17333).

collection of prefaces from *Hucusque* on several newly added folios (Paris, BnF, lat. 2294, fol. 68–70).⁶¹¹ Laporte hazarded they may be “of Saint-Amand,” as the earliest witness he could find was our **Saint-Germain**. The same added folios in Latin 2294 contain other material entirely distinctive of Saint-Amand (three votive masses for Peter, Stephen, and John the Baptist, for which see below). Further, Laporte offers some evidence that Latin 2294 may have been put together at Saint-Germain, where our Sacramentary would have been available as a direct source.⁶¹² Additionally, a book used by Pamelius in the Cathedral Library of Utrecht included most of these blessings too.⁶¹³

As noted by Laporte, these Saint-Amand blessings combine traits of the pre-Carolingian Gallican blessings, including the fact that one for Saturday of Easter week “Deus qui calcatis . . .” (De 3820) represents the direct reworking of a Gallican blessing found in the Gelasian sacramentaries (Angouleme, Gellone, Philipps), with traits of Carolingian Latin, such as assonance of the final syllables.⁶¹⁴ This same trait occurs also in Hucbald’s poetry.⁶¹⁵ Unlike the collection attached to *Hucusque*, these blessings make direct reference to the events and words of the Gospels for the days they belong to, something distinctive of Gallican blessings.⁶¹⁶ Thus, these new collections of episcopal blessings, redacted in the late ninth century in the same circles as our sacramentaries, borrow, like them, from a broad base of tradition. They also show the same determination to increase the variety and breadth of texts available for the celebration of masses beyond the offering

611 See above n. 69 for the manuscript.

612 Laporte, “Les benedictions episcopales,” p. 157n12b and 184.

613 Pamelius, *Liturgica Latinorum*, p. 478: “ex MS cod. Ultraiectino”; Fernand Combaluzier “Un bénédictionnaire épiscopal du X^e siècle,” *Sacris Erudiri* 14 (1963), pp. 286–343 also found a number of them in a deluxe benedictional in Paris, Bibliothèque Saint-Geneviève, Ms. 2657 (made in Lorsch in the eleventh century, according to Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, p. 205, 214, 221, 225), but Combaluzier could only point to Pamelius’ edition for them.

614 Laporte, “Les benedictions episcopales,” pp. 147–51.

615 Chartier, *L’oeuvre musicale*, p. 13.

616 For example De 3879 for the Monday in Easter week references that day’s reading of Luke 23:39, (“et qui pendentem in cruce latroni omisit delictum, vos salvet a cunctis nexibus peccatorum” [trans. and he who forgave the crime of the thief hanging with him on the cross, save you from all bonds of sin]) while the Wednesday (De 2817) mention of the “portae inferni” is a reference to the Gospel reading of Matthew 16:18. De 2826 for the second Sunday after Epiphany refers to the wedding at Cana (John 2:1–11) with lavish alliteration: “Deus qui sua mirabili potestate aquam uertit in uinum, uos a uetustate subtractos in beatae uitae transferat nouitatem” [trans. May God who by his wonderful power turns water into wine, bring those who have been carried away by old age into the newness of blessed life] and for the sixth Sunday De 3830 recalls Jesus walking on water (Matthew 8: 23–27 was read during Epiphany time) “Deus qui mare suis pedibus fecit esse calcabilem” [trans. God who made the sea to be trodden with his feet].

of the Gregorian and *Hucusque*. The notion arises therefore that the compiler and writer of these blessings was also involved in the production of the sacramentaries themselves. The whole collection was attached to the front of the prized manuscript of Hildoard, **Cambrai**, by a Saint-Amand scribe, while at the back of the same manuscript, other Saint-Amand scribes added the innovative *ordines* for visiting the sick and unction also developed within our sacramentaries.⁶¹⁷ Since the latter are more developed (as discussed below) than **Sens**, the last of our extant sacramentaries, the additions to the **Cambrai** perhaps should be placed after that manuscript, and it is possible that some scribes of Saint-Amand were in Cambrai to supply them in the 880s. Perhaps they also wrote the Gospel Book, Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 462, which diverges from the other gospel books in some features of the format, and lacks originally planned decoration (see above, p. 157–158).

It may even be that the blessings were composed originally at Saint Amand for the nearby bishoprics, and Saint-Amand scribes were sent to Cambrai to copy them into **Cambrai** or were asked to do so while they were there anyway. Therefore, not only was Saint-Amand compiling innovative sacramentary manuscripts, but new liturgical texts were being composed there too, perhaps by direct request from nearby ecclesiastical figures. Then, as part of the compiling of **Saint-Germain**, these blessings were put into their place with each individual mass to which they should belong, along with *Hucusque*'s as well. These are replicated in **Sens**. It is fair to also use these episcopal blessings as additional signs of influence from Saint-Amand sacramentaries, as they appear, for example, in **Saint Eloi**, made at Corbie.⁶¹⁸ **Fulda** has no episcopal blessings, so they do not appear there. But also independent of more major influence of the Saint-Amand sacramentaries, and transmitted likely in benedictionals and in pontificals, these blessings knew even wider success than other part of the books, particularly in France and England.⁶¹⁹ They appear to have circulated independently of Saint-Amand's complete books.

⁶¹⁷ See below, pp. 310–315.

⁶¹⁸ For example on Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 23v, for the Sunday after Christmas (De 3924), fol. 26v–27r for the first Sunday after Epiphany (De 3824), etc., or fol. 152r that for Michael the Archangel (De 3823).

⁶¹⁹ As a representative example, that for Septuagesima was recorded by Corpus Benedictionum Pontificum (CBP 1584) as appearing in England (the Pontifical of Egbert, Lanelet, Westminster, Sherborne, Winchester), see also *The Canterbury Benedictional* [British Museum Harl. MS 2892], ed. Reginald Maxwell Wooley, HBS 51 (London: Harrison & Sons, 1917, repr. London, Boydell & Brewer, 1995), 12; and Spain (Roda, Archivo de la Catedral de Lérida); as well as a number across France, in Nevers (Pontifical of Hugh the Great of Nevers, in Paris, BnF, lat. 17333), in Rouen, Mont Saint-Michel, Champagne (Paris, BnF, lat. 1238, copied from **Saint Eloi**, see pp. 338–339), and Reims (Paris, BnF, lat. 13315). A number also survived at Saint-Amand in at least one Pontifical made there in the twelfth century: Paris, BnF, lat. 953, fol. 1v–35v.

The presence of episcopal blessings in masses has often been used to indicate a sacramentary was made specifically for a bishop, and thus exclude the possibility that a sacramentary was intended for a monastery, even if it was written there.⁶²⁰ However, given the compiling methodology of the Saint-Amand books, and the specific character of **Saint-Germain**, which combines not only masses from several sacramentary sources, but also the lectionary and Gradual, a distinctive episcopal commission is not necessary to explain the presence of blessings in this case. Other indications, like the original lack of the Chrism Mass, which had to be added later, on Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 4r–5r, rather count against intended use by a bishop. **Saint-Germain** shows here a determination to preserve Saint-Amand's distinctive traditions and texts, in their entirety, and distil everything into a single volume. Massive compilations like this were certainly, in addition to any foreseen liturgical use, also storehouses of knowledge, or what I have called elsewhere “portable archives” or “liturgical encyclopaedias.”⁶²¹ Thus, monks might copy episcopal blessings without any expectation that these would actually be used, but merely to preserve them. Since these blessings seem to be distinctive Saint-Amand compositions of this time, the instinct to preserve them was particularly understandable.

Understanding Reims: A Twofold Compilation

The Canon quire designed for **Noyon** (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 8r–16v) made at Saint-Amand was attached to a somewhat later book written at Saint-Thierry, our **Reims**. Nevertheless, **Reims** was copied on the basis of at least one Saint-Amand sacramentary, and may thus still be counted as among the sequence of books, though the organizing principles of the book differ quite strikingly from those actually produced at Saint-Amand, in a way that shows us the diversity of expectations and ideas which entered into the confection of the “Gelasianised” Gregorians. The manuscript is of a clear tripartite structure, but, in this case, the organizing principles remain closer to those of the Supplement *Hucusque*. The texts we have already encountered in the Saint-Amand manuscripts were divided by origin within or outside of the original Gregorian, rather than by

⁶²⁰ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, vol. 1, pp. 24–28; Hohler, “Some Service Books,” p. 78; Steinová, “A fragment of a Ninth-Century liturgical book,” p. 4n41 assumes **Saint-Germain** and **Sens** are both “episcopal sacramentaries” because they contain blessings.

⁶²¹ Westwell, “The Lost Missal of Alcuin,” p. 380; Sarah Hamilton, “Liturgy and Episcopal Authority: The Evidence of the Noyon Sacramentary (London British Library Additional MS 92956),” in *Bishops in the Long Tenth Century: Episcopal Authorities in France and Lotharingia, c. 910–1050*, ed. Brigitte Meijns and Steven Vanderputten (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 139–58, at 141.

use or theme. After the Canon a first part of the manuscript (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 17r–80r) copies the Gregorian *Hadrianum* basically straightforwardly and unaltered. Only masses found in the Gregorian are present in this section, and, for example, all the Roman stations are given. This includes also the limited miscellaneous and votive material provided in the Gregorian itself (fol. 68r–80). Then, after a blank page, opening with an initial D that was never completed, there begins a second series of prayers and mass sets, beginning again with the Vigil of Christmas (81r–111v) to Thomas the Apostle, including only texts that were not found in the Gregorian itself. Those complete mass sets that were not present in the Gregorian, like the Octave of Christmas on fol. 82r–v, or Genevieve on fol. 82v, are here given complete, but those masses which already had a Gregorian mass in the preceding section here have only additional prayers written out: for example, for John (fol. 81v) has just two ALIA ORATIONES, both Gelasian prayers not found in the Gregorian (Sg 55 and 57). Stephen has an ALIA from the Gelasian (Sg 47) and a new version of the Gregorian secret (De 63) which mentions Stephen directly by having “pro commemoratione beati stephani martyris” instead of the Gregorian’s “commemoratione sanctorum,” the same adjustment made to that prayer in **Saint-Germain** (Paris, BnF, lat.2291, fol. 25r). For Silvester, we only a new secret and post communion from Angoulême, both seen in **Saint-Germain**. In fact, all of these same prayers which are painstakingly written out here were those which replaced the Gregorian prayers in **Saint-Germain**, and the complete mass texts found in this section are those which were added to the Gregorian in the same book; for example, Praiectus (fol. 83v), Matthias (fol. 84v), or the complete Gelasian mass for Gregory also used in **Saint-Germain** (fol. 84v–85r).

The best illustration of how this works is seen in Lent (fol. 85v–90v). For the days of Lent to which AD UESPERAS prayers were added in **Saint-Germain**, only these are found in **Reims’s** second section (Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday of the first week on fol. 87r). Those days where the Collect or SUPER POPULUM was replaced are also found in this section (Thursday or Friday on fol. 87r–v). The third Thursday in Lent (fol. 88v) has the whole Gelasian mass written out, because in this case the Gregorian mass, mentioning Cosmas and Damian, had been replaced in the Saint-Amand tradition, but the Gregorian mass is still found complete in **Reims’s** earlier, completely Gregorian section (Reims, BM, Ms. 213, fol. 29v–30r). However, the prayers and masses which were added in **Sens** (for example, the full masses for Magnus or Germanus of Auxerre) are not found in **Reims**. This makes it clear how this complex and somewhat unwieldy compilation came about. The compilers must have had two exemplars before them, a complete and unaltered copy of the Gregorian Sacramentary *Hadrianum*, and a Saint-Amand book that was, it seems, mostly identical to **Saint-Germain**, or working docu-

ments that had also served in the confection of that manuscript. They seem to have wanted the many alterations and adaptations made to the Gregorian in the latter source, but at the same time they also wanted to preserve the Gregorian itself. These two seemingly contradictory imperatives were acted out by copying the Gregorian, then carefully adding all the new material in the form of this appendix. Taste for the preservation of the Gregorian had, notably, changed by the time a second sacramentary of Saint-Thierry was made, “le deuxième sacramentaire de Saint-Thierry,” Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 214 (**Saint-Thierry**), for which see below.

In **Reims**, the common masses which immediately follow (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 111r–117r) are exactly as in the Gregorian, as do the series of Sunday masses (fol. 117r–125v), exactly as in *Hucusque*. This is even though, in **Saint-Germain**, the latter had the additions to the individual Sunday masses detailed above. This again suggests that the source for **Reims** was slightly earlier, or less fully realised than the actual manuscript **Saint-Germain**. Finally, the prefaces remained isolated from the masses themselves (fol. 187r–234v), these are incomplete at the end due to the loss of a quire, and include not only prefaces found in *Hucusque*, but also those which found their way into the Saint-Amand tradition in the previous books (as discussed above – for example, the preface for Felix in Pincis on fol. 189r, here with the preface for Hilary). In one sense, then, **Reims** does represent a “step-back” from the assimilation of the complete Carolingian mass tradition into a single volume (because the Gregorian was still copied intact in one section), but, on the other hand, it does not seem as if a compilation of this nature would have been possible without the work already done in the previous Saint-Amand books to identify masses and individual prayer texts for gaps and repetitions in the Gregorian. **Reims** proves the variety of co-existing impulses that were at play when Carolingian compilers set out to create a sacramentary, even when they worked from the same materials.

Some minor clues in the texts add to the palaeographical and artistic evidence that Deshusses was not correct to suggest that **Reims** formed the basis of **Saint-Germain** and **Sens**. For example, the mass of Remigius, Germanus, and Vedastus (01/10) in **Reims** now includes also St. Bavo of Ghent, who was celebrated on the same day, but not mentioned in the mass in any of the Saint-Amand books.⁶²² On fol. 183v–184r, at the end of the votive masses, and thus entirely out of place, we also find the mass for St. Martin’s July feast (De 3517–3521). This was never copied in our Saint-Amand manuscripts, except as a later addition, at the end of the ninth century, to the Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77, fol. 1r. In another tell-

⁶²² Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 108r: “germani remigii uedasti atque bauonis.”

ing detail, the King is named in the main text of the *Exultet* in **Reims** (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 92v), along with the bishop and the Pope (“cum beatissimo papa nostro ill. et gloriosissimo rege nostro ill. necnon et antestite nostro ill.”) [trans. with our most blessed Pope N. and our most glorious king N. and our bishop N]. This is not true in the *Exultet* text even of the sacramentaries that Deshusses suggested were produced after it at Saint-Amand (**Saint-Germain, Sens**), in which, as was traditional, only the Pope was named.⁶²³ The king was added to the *Exultet* in **Chelles** and **Saint-Germain** (“et gloriosissimo rege nostro ill. eiusque nobilissima prole” [trans. and our most glorious king N. and his most noble offspring]), but only in the margin in a second hand. A problem arises in Deshusses’s reconstruction; why would the king be removed from the *Exultet* at Saint-Amand once he had been added there?

The Saint-Denis Tradition

Deshusses stressed the singularity of the sacramentary made by Saint-Amand scribes for the monastery of Saint-Denis (Paris, BnF, lat. 2290).⁶²⁴ This manuscript was, it seems, not based on the material from Saint-Amand marshalled in the other cases, but rather on exemplars from Saint-Denis. Notably, **Saint-Denis** maintains the stations and the old titles of the masses from the Gregorian, which had already been jettisoned by **Chelles**, as it also still has the mass for the dedication of the Pantheon (Paris, BnF, lat. 2290, fol. 64v). This seems to suggest that, as at Reims, there was a different taste for the Gregorian’s specifically Roman details at Saint-Denis, which, at Saint-Amand, were not seen as valuable, and the Saint-Amand scribe responded to their tastes. The ordinations come first (fol. 9v–16v), before the Canon, with some new features that will be discussed in the next chapter. After the Canon, the masses of the year begin on fol. 23r. These are laid out as in the Gregorian Sacramentary, thus Temporal and Sanctoral intermixed, and the common of saints follows (fol. 90r–91v). The masses maintain the Gregorian’s three prayer format. Baptismal material from *Hucusque* is inserted, however (fol. 49r–54v), ending with the words FINIT MISTERIUM BAPTISTERII), but the *Exultet*

⁶²³ On this phenomenon, Paweł Figurski, “The *Exultet* of Bolesław II of Mazovia and the Sacralisation of Political Power in the High Middle Ages,” in *Premodern Kingship and Contemporary Political Power. The King’s Body Never Dies*, eds. Karolina Mroziewicz and Aleksander Sroczynski (Amsterdam: University Press, 2017), pp. 73–111.

⁶²⁴ Deshusses, “Chronologie des sacramentaires,” p. 232; See also Niels Krogh Rasmussen, “The Liturgy at Saint-Denis: A Preliminary Study,” in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, ed. Paula Lieber Gerson (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986) pp. 41–48.

is not. None of these masses have their proper prefaces, except in the cases where the Gregorian Sacramentary already provided them, and the extensive list of prefaces from the Supplement *Hucusque* is entirely absent. There are just nine prefaces listed fol. 92r–93r, which appear to also be of common usage. Seven come from the Supplement (for example, the one for Mary is the Supplement’s mass for the Assumption, De 1652; the one for the Archangel Michael is for the preface of his dedication, De 1677; the rest are prefaces for Common Masses in the Supplement, De 1711, 1713, 1714, 1716), one taken from Alcuin’s mass of the Cross and one from Alcuin’s mass for All Saints, the other a preface for the common mass of one apostle found in Tours manuscripts too, De 3153.⁶²⁵ These were perhaps intended to be used for the preceding masses at will. One other page added in the middle of the masses for the dead (fol. 167r–v) has a further four prefaces for masses of the dead, of which three are not known in the *Hucusque* at all (De 3685–3687). At Saint-Denis, therefore, the richness of the Carolingian preface tradition represented by *Hucusque* and the Saint-Amand collections was significantly subdued. A single votive mass IN UENERATIONE SANCTORUM MARTYRUM DYONISII RUSTICI ET ELEUTHERII came after the prefaces on fol. 93v.⁶²⁶ **Saint-Denis** lacks any trace of the structure of *Capitula* and the preface *Hucusque*, and supplementary material is not clearly distinguished from the Gregorian. The Sunday masses are gathered together in one section in this Supplement (fol. 94r–104r). This includes both the Sundays in the original Gregorian (those of Advent), and those from the *Hucusque* Supplement (after Epiphany, the octave of Easter and Pentecost). Thus, like the sacramentaries of **Saint-Germain** and **Sens**, **Saint-Denis** presents us with a *Dominicale*, a section containing all Sunday masses from outside Lent, regardless of their origin. Mass and prayers *cotidianis diebus* follow (104v–113r) and the miscellaneous material from the original Gregorian, excepting the prayer for the Pope’s ordination.

Then, a first series of votive masses begin on fol. 121r and end on fol. 139v. The first series of votive masses are given in a structure that remains foreign to the Saint-Amand books. They are under the title: INCIPIUNT MISSAE COLLECTAE PER SINGULAS FERIAS CANENDAE, thus the votive masses are divided up among days of the week. This structure and presentation of the votive masses is a peculiarity of the sacramentaries from Saint-Denis, and many of the masses that are present in our **Saint-Denis** recur in a similar configuration in other books from that same

⁶²⁵ Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 2, p. 338.

⁶²⁶ Not edited by Deshusses, the Collect is a version of De 379*, a common mass for many martyrs of **Trent**, the secret a version of a prayer used commonly in the Gregorian for martyrs (e.g., De 614), the preface used often in masses for local saints (CP 718), for example in Ful 1908, the post communion is a version of De 621.

monastery; the sacramentary of **Senlis** has fewer, while **Laon** has an expanded list in the same configuration.⁶²⁷ On fol. 140r of our manuscript is the *ORDO AD ECCLESIAM DEDICANDAM*, in which blessings of objects and clothing for the church are fitted.⁶²⁸ Rubrics, prayers, and antiphons are given in full during the *Ordo*. The votive masses and material from the *Hucusque* Supplement are given next, such as the masses for the king and for times of war and tribulation. **Saint-Denis** ends with material for penitence and the visitation of the dead. A final section (fol. 169r–182r) provides episcopal blessings, straightforwardly following here the collection of the Supplement *Hucusque* without the extra Saint-Amand additions.

In general, **Saint-Denis** reproduces the Gregorian Sacramentary *Hadrianum* more straightforwardly than the other sacramentaries produced at Saint-Amand, excepting that of **Le Mans**, for example, where the Great Litany remains in place. However, elements of the masses presented show the sources could have been diverse. Most striking is the complete absence of a mass for the feast day of St. Gregory in **Saint-Denis**, a parallel with pre-Hadrianic sacramentaries like **Trent**, and also the sacramentaries of Reichenau and, originally, those of Tours.⁶²⁹

For the third Thursday in Lent, **Saint-Denis** gives the original mass from the *Hadrianum*, which mentions the saints Cosmas and Damian (fol. 38r–v). However, immediately afterwards, the manuscript gives an alternative *ITEM ALIA MISSA* (fol. 38v), with four prayers including a *SUPER POPULUM*. This alternative mass is not the one given in the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand (either the one in **Chelles** or the Gelasian mass given in the Tournai manuscripts), but instead the very mass that we find for this Thursday in the pre-Hadrianic **Trent** (De 347*–350*), including the Collect and secret that are unique to that manuscript, and the same choice of Gelasian post communion prayer and the *SUPER POPULUM* from the *Hadrianum*. The presence of this mass from **Trent**, and the absence of Pope Gregory, strongly suggests the creators of the manuscript had access to the pre-Hadrianic tradition as it was represented by **Trent** (or also in Kroměříž, much closer).

Insertions into the Gregorian were sparser than **Chelles**, with some distinguishing features.

- Fol. 43r Addition of “oratio ad flores benedicendos uel palmas” (De 4331).⁶³⁰
- Fol. 63r–v Invention of the Cross. This is much the same as the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, except the *SUPER OBLATA* is the prayer “Deus cui cunc-

627 Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 118, fol. 192r–206v, 24r–47v; Decker-Hauer, *Memorialüberlieferung im frühmittelalterlichen Paris*, pp. 199–212, 230–70.

628 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, pp. 200–204.

629 See apparatus in Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 127; on Tours, see Westwell “The Lost Missal of Alcuin,” (**Modena** probably also lacked Gregory, but the relevant folio is lost).

630 This blessing can be found in **Cologne**.

- tae oboediunt . . .” (Sg 744) and not the alternative “Sacrificum domine quod immolamus . . .” (Sg 745). The same prayer was employed in **Rodrade**.
- Fol. 68v Thursday of Pentecost week (De 146*-148*), is here given a station AD APOSTOLOS, the same as the following day, Friday. This mass is not the same as the mass used for this day in the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand (**Tournai** and later). Two prayers from the *Hadrianum* were used (De 515 and 533), and the post communion is the prayer “Praesta quaesumus . . .”, which is Gelasian (Sg 817), and was used AD UESPERAS in the Tournai Sacramentary.
 - Fol. 80r Decollation of John the Baptist. As in **Chelles**.
 - Fol. 85r–v Vigil and feast of Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius. As in **Chelles**.
 - Fol. 86r–v Vigil and feast of All Saints. As in **Chelles**.

When it comes to the “Gelasianisation” of the Gregorian, **Saint-Denis** was therefore a little behind **Chelles**, and far from what Saint-Amand accomplished for itself. Another very fragmentary sacramentary/lectionary from Saint-Denis surviving in bindings of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Mazarine and Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal from the Parisian Abbey of Saint-Victor (from the third quarter of the ninth century), has Gregory’s mass, in the *Hadrianum* form, and otherwise copies the Gregorian straightforwardly, though likely, as hazarded by Albiero, was composed in an abbreviated form for only the highest feasts.⁶³¹

Judging by **Laon**, copied by the monks of Saint-Denis possibly a decade later, the initial preservation of the Gregorian at Saint-Denis did later break down, just as it did at Saint-Amand.⁶³² For my discussion of the structure of the manuscript, and arguments that it actually only included the feasts of Winter (from Christmas to Easter) in its original form, the entry in Appendix 1 (p. 414–418) gives the reasoning. The ninth-century portion of **Laon** certainly was based on an exemplar that was very close to **Saint-Denis**. For example, it includes the ITEM ALIA MISSA for the third Thursday in Lent (**Laon**, Bibliothèque Suzanne Martinet Ms. 118, fol. 161v), with the mass from **Trent**, otherwise a feature of **Saint-Denis**. **Laon** also includes the same additions to the Gregorian, including the blessing of palms (fol. 170v). The baptismal narrative is essentially identical in both manuscripts, including the note SECUNDUM GREGORIUM in the title for Holy Saturday (fol. 177r), the diagram for the blessing of the font (fol. 151r) is plainly copied from the lyre-shaped form in **Saint-**

⁶³¹ Laura Albiero, “Reconstructing a Ninth-Century Sacramentary-Lectioary from Saint-Victor,” *Fragmentology* 3 (2020), pp. 1–49, at 34 (Gregory’s mass was copied here in the purely Gregorian form); see Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 11 for dating.

⁶³² **Laon** is digitised: <https://bibliotheque-numerique.ville-laon.fr/viewer/1459>.

Denis and the ending note FINITUR MYSTERIUM BAPTISTERII (fol. 153r). **Laon** is slightly more “fused” with the Supplement, and includes the *Exultet* and penance material from it in the main body of the text.⁶³³ More distinct is the portion of the separate Sanctoral (Laon, Bibliothèque Suzanne Martinet Ms. 118, fol. 214r–219r) which, in its surviving form, covers saints’ feasts from Agnes (12th January) to Saint Mark (25th April). It includes the previously Gregorian feasts of this period, but also available Gelasian and Carolingian feasts of the same period: the Conversion of Paul, Praiectus, Scholastica, *Cathedra Sancti Petri*, Matthew, Benedict (in which it parallels our **Sens** closely), Eufemia in April, and Mark (for whom it uses the more common mass found in **Tournai**). Notably, Gregory has both a vigil (the Gelasian mass) and a feast day (the Gregorian one) (fol. 216v–217), as later at **Fulda**. The reinsertion of the Gregory mass proves that the monks had accepted that the theoretical “Sacramentary of Gregory” was no longer recoverable, even at Saint-Denis. Yet the monks of Saint-Denis did not go as far as attempting the “Gelasianisation” of individual mass sets as the monks of Saint-Amand did so comprehensively. In **Laon**, Saint-Denis kept the Gregorian mass sets as they were, for example the Annunciation mass, and only added the Gelasian saints’ masses alongside them, as a number of other sacramentaries (**Saint-Vaast**, **Tours**) of the same period do. Distinctive to Saint-Denis was a rigorous organisation of votive masses, less so the intricate work of the “Gelasianisation” of individual mass which was the speciality of Saint-Amand.⁶³⁴ We can likely assume that similarly developing exigencies and attitudes to memorialisation as gave rise to our sacramentaries at Saint-Amand led Saint-Denis to completely reorganise the sacramentary into distinctive sections, the combination of lectionary and antiphoner with it (as in our **Saint-Germain**), and the provision of a new format running through the whole manuscript, where each mass or ritual from the beginning has a numeral next to it.

Conclusion: An Encyclopaedia of Holiness

This examination has revealed a hitherto neglected complexity in the compilation of the Saint-Amand mass books, and the extent of the exceedingly careful work of

⁶³³ The *Exultet* was incorporated to Holy Saturday (fol. 174v–175v). This manuscript also incorporates material for penance on Ash Wednesday (fol. 190r) and Maundy Thursday (fol. 172r), which originally appeared in the Supplement *Hucusque* (De 1379–1382 and 1383–1385), into these days of the year.

⁶³⁴ The Saint-Victor fragments share votive masses with both **Saint-Denis** and **Laon**, see Albiero “A Fragmentary Sacramentary-Lectinary,” pp. 26–28.

compilation that has gone into creating these manuscripts. We see how the complete books within this sequence build upon the preceding ones (explicitly, in the case of the final two, in which **Sens** seems to have directly copied that of **Saint-Germain**, including the recommendation of the earliest layer of marginal notes, perhaps entered by the copyists of **Sens** as they worked out what prayers to add). The tendency towards synthesis was also clearly followed through during this process, incorporating more and more of the Gelasian Sacramentary, including some rarer masses found only in very distinct traditions of the Gelasian. But the previously unrevealed interventions within the mass sets themselves, entailing the replacement of individual prayers and additions of others, with alternatives taken from equally varied traditions (some for example, could only be located to the Old Gelasian or to *Veronense*), contributed even more to the transformation of individual mass sets, and is something much more distinctive of Saint-Amand. By the time we get to **Sens**, very few of the original Gregorian masses of the *Hadrianum* remained entirely untouched, and these are generally those at the beginning of the year.⁶³⁵

Some related impulses seem to have been at play here. A strong desire to preserve and copy all known liturgical texts, including distinct Saint-Amand compositions, and perhaps other traditions encountered at Saint-Germain, or shared through exchanges with Saint-Denis and Corbie, is undeniably at play. These books were storehouses for texts, whether or not every single one of the saints' masses were intended to be actually celebrated. Indeed, a prayer text used for an obscure saint in an unpromising mass might easily be reused, reframed for the composition of another mass for some other purpose. Thus, one preserved the texts of any mass prayers one found, in case of any need. This literature was recognised as valuable in itself, and so every potential mass prayer the Saint-Amand monks could get their hands on was to be copied. The origin in the Gregorian, or any "authentic" codex was seemingly not a concern at all. This is in stark contrast to what was carried out in the later **Reims**, or in **Saint-Denis**, both of which were much more careful to keep the Gregorian intact, or mostly intact.

One minor puzzle is the absence of any mass of St. Amandus, patron saint of the monastery, in any of our sacramentaries. As noted, four feasts for him are found in the calendars, but no corresponding mass appears for any of them in the sacramentaries. There was even a mass for Amandus available in the Gelasian Sacramentary of Angoulême, which provides it for the main feast day in October (Eng 1428–1434), which is replicated in one Carolingian Sacramentary, **Tours**, Paris, BnF, Latin 9430,

⁶³⁵ Marcellus still is Gregorian (De 102–104), except supplied with preface (De 1529), Fabian (De 108–110) and Sebastian (De 111–114), with preface supplied (De 1530).

fol. 146r–v (De 3640–3646). Later missals of Saint-Amand also contain masses for several of Amandus’s feasts.⁶³⁶ It is hard to say why his own monastery in the ninth century neglected to copy any mass for him at all.⁶³⁷ Hohler maintained, in speaking of other manuscripts, that the absence of a patronal mass was actually not unusual, and that the mass “for the saints whose relics are found in the church” (one of Alcuin’s compositions) would be celebrated on the day of the patron saint in his own monastery, instead.⁶³⁸ As that mass appears in all our books, and Amandus is named there, at least, in **Tournai**, perhaps he was right, though it still seems odd that Amandus himself not dignified with a more unique mass, given that many other saints are given them.

Apart from this curious lacuna, the monks of Saint-Amand copied masses for saints of all Christendom. Only **Tours** is more comprehensive in the number of saints than **Sens**; for example, it contains a unique mass for St. Radegunda of Poitiers (De 3554–3557) which compilers of our sacramentary presumably did not know. But, uniquely to our Saint-Amand tradition, each saint was dignified with a mass of his or her own, and distinct from others, and this is unlike **Tours**. It seems possible that this unification of all available mass traditions known to the monks expressed aspirations to liturgical universalism, in which sanctity from every corner was gathered into one volume.

Another possible, though more prosaic, spur to the compilation of the mixed books was that, after perhaps a century of use, Gelasian books were beginning to degrade. The Colbertine fragments, including Saint-Amand’s own copy, for example, had required a substantial repair in the period immediately preceding the production of the mixed Gregorians there. In a previous generation, Hilduin of Saint-Denis (ca. 785–ca. 855) had noted to Louis the Pious that the books containing old Gallican masses from Saint-Denis had decayed considerably by his time.⁶³⁹

636 For example Paris, BnF, lat. 856 (s.XII), see Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, 258–60, at 260 “in restitutione Amandi . . . ordinatio et translatio s.Amandi”; Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 108, fol. 67v has the deposition in February, restitution fol. 101v and ordination fol. 101v–102r.

637 A sacramentary of Noyon also lacks a mass for any patron saints of the diocese, see Derek H. Turner, “A 10th–11th Noyon Sacramentary,” *Studia Patristica* 5 (1962), pp. 143–51.

638 Christopher Hohler, “Le saints insulaires dans le missel d’archêveque Robert,” in *Jumièges. Congrès scientifique du XIIe centenaire. Rouen 10–12 Juin 1954* (Rouen: Lecerf, 1955), pp. 293–302 at pp. 294–295.

639 Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy*, pp. 50–51.

Cui adstipulari videntur antiquissimi et nimia pene vetustate consumpti, missales libri, continentes missae ordinem more Gallico, qui ab initio receptæ fidei, usu in hac occidentali plaga est habitus, usque quo tenorem, quo nunc utitur, Romanum susceperi.⁶⁴⁰

[trans. It (his narrative of the martyrdom of St. Dionysius) is supported by some very ancient and almost worn-out mass books, consumed by age, containing the order of the mass in the Gallican fashion, which, from the beginning of the reception of the faith had been the custom in the West, until the Roman version was adopted, which we now use].

Hilduin's comment suggests that an original and no longer extant mass of St. Dionysius, which, in the Gallican fashion, supplied biographical details of the saint's martyrdom, in the meantime had been replaced by one he understood to be "Roman," perhaps the very one found in our **Saint-Denis** itself (which is resolutely non-specific and non-biographical). What Hilduin understood as "tenorem romanum" did not mean literally coming from Rome itself, since a mass of St. Dionysius was not found in the Gregorian, but "looking" or "sounding" sufficiently like one that did. This allowed significant room for new compositions to negotiate, playing new rhapsodies on "Gregorian" themes, as we will see below. By a century later, in any case, the early Carolingian achievements in liturgical compilation in the Gelasians of the Eighth Century must have been suffering a similar fate to Hilduin's "missales libri," hence the need to find, incorporate, and re-copy their masses, and, at Saint-Amand, even the individual prayers, which the Gregorian did not offer. Given that the book lists like Saint-Riquier imply that there were actually more Gelasian books around than Gregorian ones prior to 850, it might be that the obviously more practical Gelasians were used more often, and more intensively. Indeed, there are relatively few Gelasian palimpsests, and Gelasians tended only to be fragmented in much later periods, which are clues that the tradition did not become "outdated" at one stroke or was suddenly replaced, but more likely examples simply continued to be used for a long period.⁶⁴¹ Much more likely to be palimpsested already in the ninth century were the Gallican or Anglo-Saxon mass books or even certain older forms of the Gregorian.⁶⁴²

⁶⁴⁰ Hilduin of Saint-Denis, *Epistulae Ludowico Pio imperatori*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH *Epistolae*, vol. 5: *Epistolae karolini aevi III* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), p. 330.

⁶⁴¹ CLLA 815, 833, 835.

⁶⁴² Yitzhak Hen, "Liturgical Palimpsests from the Early Middle Ages" in *Early Medieval Palimpsests*, ed. Georges Declercq (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 37–54, lists palimpsests made before 1000 of just one Gelasian of the Eighth Century, in comparison to 2 Celtic, 1 Anglo-Saxon and 7 Gallican, 2 Ambrosian, and 4 Gregorian (pre-Hadrianic) palimpsests; some older Gregorians that were palimpsested include CLLA 704, 706, 707, 708, 714, 722; see also Dold, *Palimpsest-Studien* for the most extensive examples.

The somewhat difficult and impractical, though often lavishly decorated, Gregorian *Hadriana* might have been particularly prized, and perhaps taken out only for the most solemn feasts. Thus, Gregorians are simply more likely to have survived the centuries intact, distorting our sense of the two traditions. This remains speculation, but the continued relevance and importance of Gelasian sacramentaries through to the end of the ninth century is likewise implied by the efforts to save their entire tradition at Saint-Amand.

There were strong cultural inclinations to this kind of collection, that were, it seems, sufficient to overcome any lingering reverence for the original book of Gregory. Indeed, Carolingian monastic scribes were quite adept and practiced at collating and combining copies of the same book, as has been noted with classical texts at Corbie.⁶⁴³ With the special case of the sacramentary, a more “living” literature than a classical text, such techniques were more sophisticated, incorporating ongoing composition as well as preservation of older forms.⁶⁴⁴ Likewise, the encyclopaedic interest of Carolingian manuscript compilation generally is not to be dismissed.⁶⁴⁵ Encyclopaedic liturgical compilation has been recognised in later “pontificals,” but certainly had long roots in the Carolingian period.⁶⁴⁶ There is no reason to suppose the compilers of large and extensive mass books were any less receptive than those comprising large and extensive “pontificals” to a broad based interest to collect and preserve liturgical traditions and to cover as many themes as possible, combining a theoretical appreciation of the Latin of the mass as literature, with the potential to excerpt it, adapt it, and re-use it for practical purposes.

The liturgical encyclopaedist par excellence, Amalarius of Metz (d. ca. 850), tells us that many priests in his day celebrated several masses for all the different saints who fell on the same day, as the sacramentary often recommended.⁶⁴⁷ I

643 Bart Huelsenbeck, “A Nexus of Manuscripts Copied at Corbie, ca. 850–880: A Typology of Script-Style and Copying Procedure,” *Segno e Testo* 11 (2013), pp. 287–309.

644 On “living literature,” see Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship* (Oxford: University Press, 1992), pp. 5–6.

645 Anna Dorofeeva, “Miscellanies, Christian reform and early medieval encyclopaedism: A reconsideration of the pre-bestial Latin Physiologus manuscripts,” *Historical Research* 90 (2017), pp. 665–82.

646 Exarchos, *Liturgy, Society and Politics*, pp. 151–53; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 231; Parkes, *Making of Liturgy*, pp. 160–64, 179–82, 190–201; Henry Parkes, “Towards a Definition of the “Romano-German Pontifical” and Back”, in *Typology of Liturgical Books*, ed. Irving and Buchinger, at pp. 298–300.

647 Amalarius of Metz, *Liber Officialis*, Praefatio, ed. Jean-Michel Hanssens, *Opera liturgica Omnia Amalarii episcopi*, vol. 2, Studi e Testi 139 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948), pp. 15–16: “simili modo in caeteris diebus, quando festiuitatis ad plurimorum sanctorum duas aut tres missae. Huic ordini congruit Sacramentarium, in quibus inueniuntur saepe duo of-

referred to the early medieval taste for *varietas* in the conclusion of chapter 2 concerning the decoration of the books, and the same principle seems to have been at play here, closely linking the decoration and the manuscripts' liturgical tendencies. *Varietas* was certainly applied to music, and I suggest here also to liturgical texts for the mass, such that a broader aesthetic preference for variety likely made it desirable that every saint had differing prayers for him or her.⁶⁴⁸ The emergence of what we might call "liturgical encyclopaedias" of this kind in Northern France nevertheless must also have had a certain local impetus, since it does not seem to occur in other parts of the Carolingian world to anything near the same degree. Specific to Saint-Amand may have been a heightened interest in the intercession of All Saints as a collective, evident in the votive masses that are among the most characteristic of our tradition, and to which we now turn.

ficia sanctorum in uno die . . ." [trans. In a similar manner on other days, when there are feasts for many saints, (they celebrate) two or three masses. To this order corresponds the sacramentary, in which are often found two offices of saints on a single day].

648 Carruthers, "Varietas," p. 28; Karl Morrison, "Know Thyself: Music in the Carolingian Renaissance," in *Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale*, Settimane 39 (Spoleto, 1992), pp. 369–481; on the broader taste for harmony out of differing forms, see Els Rose and Arthur Westwell "Correcting the liturgy and sacred language," in *Rethinking the Carolingian Reforms*, ed. Westwell, Rembold and van Rhijn, pp. 162–64. Hucbald in his *Vita sanctae Lebuini*, c.XIV, uses musical analogies to speak of God's creation of a harmonious man out of dissonant parts (PL 132, col. 891).

Chapter 4

Occasional and Supplementary Material in the Sacramentaries of Saint-Amand

Introduction

Masses for the liturgical feasts of the year are the core of the sacramentary, but such manuscripts very often contained significant additional material that blurs the strictest definitions of liturgical genre: prayers and masses for varied occasions and intercessions (votive masses), preparatory prayers for the celebration of mass (*apologiae*), the introductory calendars and computus, and detailed descriptions for other liturgical ceremonies (*ordines*), which included rubrics, chants, and readings. The Old Gelasian and Gelasians of the Eighth Century were significantly more advanced in this incorporation than the Gregorian originally was.⁶⁴⁹ In the late Carolingian manuscripts from Saint-Amand, the (re-)incorporation of these elements into the mass book clearly demonstrates similar tendencies towards the synthesis of varied traditions that we have established in the masses of the Temporal and Sanctoral.

The Votive Masses

Votive masses were masses for diverse occasions or intentions that did not have a fixed date or time of year, but could be performed as needed at any time of year. The votive masses of the Saint-Amand tradition have a variety of sources and clearly show the varied influences pouring into our manuscripts, and how the preservation of such diverse sources was among the driving forces behind the compilation of these texts, as well as the connection with and assimilation of material from Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain, and Tours. In these cases, the working methods are relatively similar to the techniques that we established in our in-depth study of the masses for the liturgical year, and display similar relations to other manuscripts, particularly to manuscripts of Corbie. In brief, the original Gregorian Sacramentary had only a few prayers for diverse exigencies of extreme weather, war, illness, and death, all placed at the end of the Sacramentary, in the

⁶⁴⁹ For example, Angoulême has an order of church dedication, ordinations of minor orders etc.

miscellaneous section.⁶⁵⁰ The *Hucusque* Supplement enhanced this material for some of the same situations, but also added material addressing additional needs, with a particular focus on monastic life, and also intercession for the monarch.⁶⁵¹

These masses thus make up the votive portion in **Le Mans**. **Le Mans** deviates significantly from the text of the *Hucusque* only in the case of two masses for kings (PRO REGE COTIDIANA and TEMPORE SYNODI PRO REGE DICENDAS), given the numbers sixty-four and sixty-five. The final prayers AD COMPLENDUM between the two were swapped, and significant new portions added to almost every individual prayer text.⁶⁵² For the first, some adjustments were made to the Collect.⁶⁵³ The following mass for a synod is altered more significantly throughout.⁶⁵⁴ In both cases more emphasis is placed on regal virtue (“ut in eo prudentia principaliter regnet, fortitudo quod prudentia inuenerit . . . temperantia iustitiam ne modum excedet temperet” [trans. so that, in him, prudence reigns regally, and the courage that prudence gives rise to . . . and that temperance restrains justice, so that it does not exceed its limit]), but also significantly more stress on the collective of the kingdom under the monarch, with the “populus” mentioned and a particular focus on the clergy (“et ita cleri religionem, praelatorum moderatorem, subditorum subleuationem” [trans. and so the religion of the clergy, the moderation of the aristocracy, the relief of his subjects]), whose provision of the eucharist was linked to royal virtue. In the earliest of our sacramentaries, in which no particular direct royal patronage can be deduced from available evidence, there was still therefore strong awareness of a relation between the mass liturgy, practiced in the monastery, and particular intercession for the royal person. One extraordinary intervention in the Collect of the second mass (De 1273) uses an unusual sense of the verb *capesso* in ablative absolute in a positive, figurative sense as used it is by, for example, Cicero, meaning the undertaking of the affairs of the state with zeal: “capessendis omnibus dignum efficiat prosperis quo ita cum principe collecti populi conuentus diuinam expleat uoluntatem.” [trans.

650 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, pp. 335–47.

651 For example, Mass LXIII MISSA PRO REGIBUS (De 1266–1269), LXV MISSA COTIDIANA PRO REGE (De 1279–1272), LXVI ORATIONES AD MISSAM TEMPORE SYNODI PRO REGE DICENDAS (De 1273–1279), LXXIII MISSA PRO ABBATA UEL CONGREGATIONE (De 1308–1310), and LXX–V ORATIONES IN MONASTERIO MONACHORUM (De 1311–1312); for the latter, Choy, *Intercessory Prayer*, pp. 131–160.

652 Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority*, pp. 87–89, 335–56 discusses and edits the former mass, but not the latter.

653 *Le Mans*, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77, fol. 135r–v. See the apparatus of De 1270–1272 under sigil J.

654 *Le Mans*, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77, fol. 135v–136r. See the apparatus of De 1273–1278 under sigil J.

taking up all affairs of the state, let him make himself worthy of success, so that, in collaboration with the leaders of the people, he might fulfil the divine will].⁶⁵⁵

If my dating of **Le Mans** is correct (late 860s or ca. 870, before the Second Bible), Charles the Bald's son, Carloman, might have been Abbot just before the manuscript was written, perhaps explaining a heightened interest in royal power and practicing it judiciously. These masses, and a similar, uniquely Saint-Amand *MISSA PRO REGE* discussed below, assume, and enact, what had become an agreed cooperation between clergy, people, and king, during the reign of Charles the Bald.⁶⁵⁶ They express the agreement between the King and the Church; intercession would be offered for him and his successes, if he continued to enact the virtues of a Christian monarch. The virtue of the monarch is also, of course, a strong theme of Hucbald's poetry, including his text in the Second Bible.⁶⁵⁷ Nevertheless, in the later sacramentaries after **Le Mans** (for example, **Chelles**, **Tournai**, or **Sens**), these adjustments to the masses for a king are not maintained. In these manuscripts, the texts of the royal masses are as elsewhere in other manuscripts of the Supplement. **Le Mans**, earliest of the books in the sequence, therefore did not seem to have served as a direct exemplar for these later sacramentaries of Saint-Amand. Perhaps these adjustments that are so striking in this single Saint-Amand manuscript were, in fact, the work of Milo of Saint-Amand, Hucbald's uncle, who had died by the time the other sacramentaries were written, and wrote the long poem *De Sobrietate*, on the virtues of regal moderation, which his nephew then dedicated to Charles the Bald.⁶⁵⁸

To judge by practically every Carolingian manuscript, the votive masses which were contained in the Supplement *Hucusque* were quickly viewed as inadequate to the devotional needs of the Franks. For example, **Rodrade**, of 853, otherwise a very good copy of *Hucusque*, adds two additional series of votive masses within its third Supplement proper to this manuscript (Paris, BnF, lat. 12050, fol. 205r–219v), also including a number of additional festal masses from the Gelasian or Carolingian traditions, the latter especially from Alcuin, and then a second one on fol. 234v–242v, with more distinctive Corbie texts. Sources for such votive masses varied. Many of those found in the Supplement *Hucusque* were them-

655 Cicero *Pro Sestio* VI, 14 uses the same meaning intended here: *Cicero, Pro Sestio. In Vatimum*, Loeb Classical Library 309, ed. R. Gardner (Cambridge MA, 1958), pp. 52–53: “sed etiam memoria dignam iuventuti rei publicae capessendae auctoritatem disciplinamque praescribere.”

656 Rosamond McKitterick *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians* (London: Longman, 1977), p. 187.

657 *Ad Karolum Calvum* ed. Traube, *MGH Poetae* vol. 3, pp. 255–57.

658 Milo of Saint-Amand, *De Sobrietate*, ed. Ludwig Traube, *MGH Poetae Latini medii aevi*, vol. 3: *Poetae latini aevi carolini III* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896), pp. 615–75.

selves taken from the Gelasians, and these sacramentaries could themselves furnish additional masses for those who wished to add them. However, the Carolingian era also saw the continued production of new votive masses at an almost industrial level. The evidence suggests that a number of monasteries, including Saint-Amand, created and developed their own traditions of votive mass production, which can be distinguished in the sacramentaries produced there. We can, for example, compare the votive masses added to **Saint-Denis**, created with Saint-Denis material, to those found and progressively enhanced in the books made with Saint-Amand material, especially **Saint-Germain**. Our Sacramentary of **Sens**, however, adopts much Saint-Denis material and incorporates it, showing the porousness of these traditions. Such votive masses were added to the Gregorian at the very beginning of the reception and adaptation of the Gregorian in Francia, and important collections certainly pre-dated, or were independent from, the Supplement *Hucusque*.⁶⁵⁹ The surfeit of votive masses found in the collections of the Saint-Amand sacramentaries, and the uncertainty of their origins, means it is not worthwhile in every case to examine them in as much depth as the previous masses of the year. Instead, I have selected a couple of case studies: firstly, the incorporation of a *libellus* of Alcuin's masses into the manuscripts; secondly, the masses around death added to the *Hucusque*'s original provisions for this; thirdly, a series of very personal and striking masses for private celebration that include, in **Saint-Germain**, the structural innovation of antiphons in the margin, possibly also from an incorporated *libellus*; fourthly, those added separately in **Saint-Germain** at the end of the manuscript; fifthly, those found in the fragment, **San Marino**; and finally, a special series of seven masses for Mary and All Saints that were written at Saint-Amand itself.

A *Libellus* of Alcuin's Masses

The series of votive masses that are attributed to Alcuin of York present a convenient core of material which in very many cases is added to the more meagre offerings of the *Hucusque* Supplement. Deshusses identified nineteen votive masses as the work of Alcuin.⁶⁶⁰ We know that Alcuin sent out copies of these masses widely, to varied monasteries, and, likely, to his friends as well. Two letters survive with which Alcuin sent the masses to the monks of Saint-Vaast of Arras, and to Fulda, and, in the former case, he specifically requested that they incorporate them into

⁶⁵⁹ Those in **Modena**, **Trent**, and the Verona manuscripts.

⁶⁶⁰ Deshusses, "Les messes d'Alcuin"; Deshusses, "Les anciens sacramentaires de Tours."

their mass books.⁶⁶¹ The titles Alcuin listed correspond to a closely associated group of masses. For example, **Saint-Vaast** shows us that the monks of Saint-Vaast did as Alcuin instructed them. This manuscript contains eleven of Alcuin's masses in a discrete section (Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 163, fol. 31v–45v).⁶⁶² We can probably assume Alcuin also sent masses to his friend Arn, Abbot of Saint-Amand, who remained closely associated with this monastery even after becoming Archbishop of Salzburg. Arn's own reception of Alcuin's masses is confirmed by **Trent**, which also has a significant deposit of them, including the festal mass for Rupert of Salzburg.⁶⁶³ Deshusses employed our **Saint-Germain** as representative of the group of Saint-Amand in his edition of Alcuin's masses for his first article. However, the masses of Alcuin were incorporated earlier in the sequence than this particular book, and they appear in all our sacramentaries after **Chelles**.

Seven masses of Alcuin are the first votive masses to appear in **Chelles** and in all subsequent books. These are isolated from other votive masses since they appear just after the dominical and quotidian masses, and just before the Common of Saints, indicating a unity of their origin.

XLIII MISSA DE SANCTA TRINITATE (New Year, Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 118v–119r)⁶⁶⁴

XLV MISSA DE SAPIENTIA (fol. 119r–v).⁶⁶⁵

XLVI MISSA AD POSTULANDAM GRATIAM SPIRITUS SANCTI (119v).⁶⁶⁶

XLVII MISSA IN HONORE SANCTAE MARIAE (119v–120r).⁶⁶⁷

XLVII MISSA AD POSTULANDA ANGELICA SUFFRAGIA (sic.) (120r–v).⁶⁶⁸

LII MISSA DE SANCTA CRUCE (121r–v).⁶⁶⁹

LIII MISSA IN ECCLESIA CUIUSLIBET MARTYRIS SIVE CONFESSORIS. (122r–v).⁶⁷⁰

661 Alcuin, Epistle 296, ed. Dümmler, MGH *Epistolae* vol. 4, p. 455, see n. 282.

662 Exactly as in our sacramentaries, eight appear directly after the “Dominicale” and opening the votive mass section, again signs of a common source. The order is Trinity, Wisdom, Charity, Grace of the Spirit, Mary, Suffrage of Angels, Suffrage of Saints, then there is a gap with two votive masses from the Gregorian (IN NATALE PAPAЕ and priestly ordination), and a MISSA COTIDIANA SACERDOTIS (De 2093–2095), then three more of Alcuin's other masses (against invisible enemies, against temptation of the flesh, and for a tearful petition).

663 It is likely **Modena** also in some way descends from a collection by Alcuin. Neither **Trent** nor **Modena** have other of the masses Alcuin did not specifically mention, but which Deshusses, with significantly less justification, also attributed to Alcuin.

664 De 1806–1810; the preface is De 1621, intended in *Hucusque* for the Octave of Pentecost.

665 De 1814–1818.

666 De 2325–2329.

667 De 1841–1846; the preface is De 1652, intended in *Hucusque* for the Assumption of Mary.

668 De 1856–1860.

669 De 1835–1839.

670 De 1877–1881.

These seven examples are among the most widely witnessed of Alcuin's masses.⁶⁷¹ In **Chelles**, each is found with a proper preface (two from *Hucusque's* preface collection, others not found in it). The prefaces are likely not Alcuin's own work, as they do not appear in the sacramentaries of Tours, but were added early in the transmission of Alcuin's masses by others.

In our manuscripts, however, we find among this deposit of masses of Alcuin, placed before the *MISSA DE SANCTO CRUCE*, three additional masses that Deshusses did not identify or edit as Alcuin's texts. Each one is a votive mass for a particular saint. In *Le sacramentaire Gregorien*, vol. 2, Deshusses edited these three exclusively from **Saint-Germain**, in which they do not have the final prayer *AD POPULUM* that they possess in both **Chelles** and **Tournai**, and that makes them look more like Alcuin's other masses, which generally have a prayer *AD POPULUM*. Like Alcuin's other masses, they drew on some prayers present elsewhere in the Gregorian, while adding additional prayers which have no obvious analogue, perhaps authored by the compiler. In the summary below, I write out these new prayers in full, while referring to the Gregorian (De) for those prayers that can be found in other places in the Roman Sacramentary.

XLVIII *MISSA DE SANCTO IOHANNE BAPTISTO* (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 120v–121r) Ed. De 1976–1979.

Collect: "Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut familia tua per . . ." (De 568 Gregorian, from the Vigil of the saint).

Secret: "Munera domine oblata sanctificata et . . ." (De 572. Gregorian, from the day).

Preface: "UD. Digne enim beatus iohannes baptista cuius saepius sollemnia caelebrare nobis ad perpetuam proficiat salutem, inter natos mulierum maior apparuit. Qui deum hominemque perfectum filium tuum iesum christum dominum nostrum solus omnium et praedicare meruit et euidenter ostendere. Quem laudant angeli."⁶⁷²

[trans. For worthy is the blessed John the Baptist, whose feasts it profits to celebrate often for our perpetual salvation, to appear greater among those born of women. Who alone of all merited to preach and to clearly display this perfect God and man, Your Son, our Lord, Jesus Christ. Whom angels laud].

⁶⁷¹ For example, all are found in **Ratoldus**, in a section with other masses by Alcuin such as All Saints.

⁶⁷² In CP 232 shown to be lightly adapted from the version used for the festal mass of John the Baptist in several early MSS, including **Trent**, thus a form possibly known to Alcuin (De 3791: with "cuius hodie sollemnia recensemus"); also in *Das Prager Sakramentar*, ed. Dold, 146, 3.

AD POPULUM: “Deus qui conspicias quia nos undique mala nostra . . .” (De 579, from the Gregorian’s ALIAE ORATIONES).

L MISSA DE SANCTO PETRO (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library MS G.57, fol. 121r) (Ed. De 1980–1983).

Collect: “Deus qui apostolo tuo petro conlatis clauibus regni caelestis . . .” (De 598, from the Gregorian).

Secret: “Haec hostia quaesumus domine deus beato petro principe apostolorum intercedente, nobis ad ueniam proficiat peccatorum. Per.”⁶⁷³

[trans. We ask, O Lord God, that these sacrifices might, by the intercession of blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, profit us to the forgiveness of sins].

Preface: “UD aeternae deus. Maiestatem tuam suppliciter exorantes, ut sanctorum apostolorum nobis intercessionem donare digneris, ut te toto corde diligamus, et caelestis beatitudinis participes cum sanctis tuis esse mereamur. Per christum.”⁶⁷⁴

[trans. It is right and just, eternal God Imploring Your majesty to grant us, by the intercession of the holy Apostles, that we might love You with all our hearts, and merit, with Your saints to be partakers of heavenly bliss].

Post communion: “Perceptis domine deus sacramentorum tuorum mysteriis, praesta quaesumus ut beato petro principe apostolorum intercedente, nos aeternae beatitudinis dignos efficiant. Per.”⁶⁷⁵

[trans. Perceiving, o Lord God, the mysteries of your sacraments, we beseech you through the intercession of blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, that they might make us worthy of eternal bliss. Through].

AD POPULUM: “Familiam tuam domine propitius intueri et apostolicis defende praesidiis . . .” (De 600, from Hadrianum, an ALIA prayer for Peter’s day mass).

LI MISSA DE SANCTO STEPHANO (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 121r–v). Ed. De 1984–1987.

Collect: “Da nobis domine deus beati stephani protomartyris intercessione adiuuari, ut qui pro suis exorauit lapidatoribus, pro suis intercedere dignetur ueneratoribus. Per.”⁶⁷⁶

673 CO 2820.

674 CP 557 points only otherwise to Pamelius, 920, 4 (cf. Pamelius, *Liturgica Latinorum*, vol. 2, 603), as part of an independent preface collection (PRAEFATIONES VARIAE), in which Stephen and Peter’s appear, the second being properly in the singular. These are both in square brackets, indicating they were in only a single manuscript he viewed.

675 CO 4196.

676 CO 896.

[trans. Grant us, Lord God, to be helped by the intercession of the blessed Stephen, protomartyr, so that he, who pleaded for those who stoned him, might deign to intercede for those who venerate him. Per].

Secret: “Suscipe domine munera pro commemoratione beati stephani martyris, ut sicut ilium passio gloriosum, sic nos deuotio reddat innocuos. Per.”⁶⁷⁷

[trans. Receive, o Lord, these gifts in commemoration of the blessed martyr, Stephen, so that, as his glorious passion has done for him, our devotion may make us innocent].

Preface: “UD aeterne deus. Qui beato stephano in passione constantiam dedisti . et ante omnes post passionem filii tui triumphii gloriam contulisti . Concede nos eiusdem protomartyris cotidiana intercessione a peccatorum nostrorum nexibus absolui . et aeternae beatitudinis gloriam consequi. Per christum dominum nostrum.”⁶⁷⁸

[trans. It is right and just, eternal God. Who gave the blessed Stephen endurance in his passion, and before all others rendered to him the glory of triumph after the passion of Your Son, grant that we may be absolved from the bonds of our sin, by the intercession of the same protomartyr, and obtain the glory of eternal bliss. Through Christ our Lord].

Post communion: “Auxilientur nobis domine sumpta mysteria . . .” (De 64, from Hadrianum’s ALLIA prayers for Stephen’s day).

AD POPULUM: “Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui primitias martyrum beati leuitae stephani . . .” (De 65, from Hadrianum, as above).

The treatment and context of these masses implies these should be read as genuine, additional masses by Alcuin. They are not mentioned in his correspondence with the monks of Fulda or of Saint-Vaast, but they are like the genuine masses in both structure and method of working, partly extracting appropriate prayers from the Gregorian, and filling in gaps with newly composed prayers. The new preface for Stephen, for example, which rhymes with a deponent verb at the end of each phrase (“contulisti, consolui, absequi”), is as skilfully composed as the other mass texts of Alcuin. Their absence from other sacramentaries, particularly the sacramentaries of Tours which contain the most extensive collection of Alcuin’s masses, suggests they were part of a unique deposit supplied to Saint-Amand. In the relevant parts of *Corpus orationum* it is suggested that they are not found in any other edited books, even **Saint Eloi**, whose collection of votive masses is less exceptional and seems to be less influenced by a sacramentary of Saint-Amand, though Pamelius had before him a

⁶⁷⁷ Not in CO.

⁶⁷⁸ CP 835. Likewise only in Pamelius 920, 5 (*Liturgica Latinorum*, vol. 2, 603–4).

manuscript with their unique prefaces at least.⁶⁷⁹ For Stephen alone, the Collect can be found as an ALIA in the festal mass of this saint in **Fulda** (Ful 80). As noted above, these masses were, however, copied on an added folio in Paris, BnF, lat. 2294, fol. 68r–v, with that of Stephen being incomplete. The manuscript has a significant connection to our books of Saint-Amand, and probably directly copied them from our **Saint-Germain**, as it also copied the Saint-Amand blessings.⁶⁸⁰

The sequence of these ten masses (seven indisputable masses of Alcuin and three others in similar style for three particular saints) as found in **Chelles** is replicated in all the following Saint-Amand sacramentaries: Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 157v–161r in which Amandus (“confessoris tui amandi qui in praesenti requiescat ecclesia” [trans. your confessor Amandus who rests in this church]) is specifically named in the mass for the church of this martyr or confessor, then in Paris, BnF, lat. 2291 fol. 134v–136v, in which some have lost the prayer AD POPULUM, and Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 162r–164v, in which the same is true, and likewise in **Reims**, the Saint-Thierry copy of a Saint-Amand book (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 213 fol. 126v–128r). In **Tournai** this group of masses likewise appear between the dominical masses and the Common of Saints, as in **Chelles**. Once the dominical masses are moved into the body of the Sacramentary and into their own *Dominicale* separate from the votive masses (as in **Saint-Germain** and **Sens**), these masses become the opening of all the Supplementary material. This is the case in **Sens** so that the MISSA DE SANCTA TRINITATE has the numeral I in the *capitula*, and in **Saint-Germain**, these masses also immediately follow the end of the liturgical year (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 133v). The writers of **Saint-Germain** chose not to rewrite out the first mass, the MISSA DE SANCTA TRINITATE and instead direct the reader *require retro in octavas pentecosten* where the mass is found written out as a festal mass (fol. 76v–77r) for the Octave of Pentecost. The use of Alcuin’s Trinity mass for the Octave of Pentecost to make this Sunday Trinity Sunday echoed an established custom in Francia, to judge by the preface in the Gelasian (Sg 847), taken up in Theodulf’s collection, which is explicitly trinitarian (De 1621: “UD Qui cum unigenito filio tuo, et sancto spiritu unus et deus, unus es dominus. Non in unius singularitate personae, sed in unius trinitate substantiae . . .” [trans. Who with Your only begotten son and with the Holy Spirit is one God, and is one Lord. Not in the oneness of a single person, but in the substance of one Trinity . . .]) The mass in *Hucusque* for the first Sunday after Pentecost (De 1129–1131), to which this mass would belong, is not explicitly Trinitarian,

679 The tenth-century **Saint-Thierry** (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, 214, fol. 131r–132r), however, has them, since it copied them from our **Reims**.

680 Netzer, *L’introduction de la messe romaine*, p. 190. On fol. 68r, the form IHM is used, not generally in the rest of the manuscript, perhaps from the Saint-Amand example before the scribe.

giving another hint that these were incorporated to the Gregorian separately by different compilers with different liturgical formations and working from different sources, as argued in Chapter 1.⁶⁸¹ The Trinity mass is written out twice in **Sens**, once as the octave of Pentecost (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 84r–v), and once as the first votive mass. **Reims** has the same series, including the Peter, Stephen, and John the Baptist (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 126r–128r), and they were thus copied in **Saint-Thierry** (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 214, fol. 131r–132r), in which the patronal mass “IN HONORE SANCTORUM CONFESSORUM TEODIRICI ET TEODULEI,” placed isolated at the beginning of **Reims**, follows them directly. This is another mass by Alcuin, strongly suggesting that authorial unity was recognised and considered in the compilation of **Saint-Thierry** as well, and that the monks of Saint-Thierry, or the compiling mind behind this manuscript, knew and recognised that the three masses for Peter, John the Baptist and Stephen had the same author as the others, Alcuin.

A deposit of masses of Alcuin was one of the building blocks of the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, as they begun to move away from the format *Hucusque* and incorporate more diverse material (beginning, thus, with **Chelles**). This clearly isolated format of seven masses of Alcuin and three others likely by him suggests the insertion of an originally separate *libellus*, perhaps a copy of Alcuin’s own confectio sent to Arn, into the sacramentary copied at Saint-Amand. The three masses for John the Baptist, Peter, and Stephen appear to be a singular feature of the Saint-Amand tradition, and could have been Alcuin’s particular gift to Arn and to the monastery in which he stayed and to whom he also provided poems.⁶⁸² Stephen’s relics are attested at Saint-Amand and his was an important secondary patronage of the basilica, while Peter was the original dedication of another church in the complex.⁶⁸³ In the latest books of **Saint-Germain** and **Sens**, three final mass of Alcuin was added at the end of the sequence (after the *missa in ecclesia cuiuslibet*), and copied also in **Reims**, the *MISSA IN ECCLESIA PRO UENERATIONE SANCTORUM QUORUM RELIQUIE IBIDEM EST* (De 1870–1873), the mass *AD POSCENDA SUFFRAGIA SANCTORUM* (De 1882–1885), which is found in the Supplement (De 1243–1245), but was moved here and one mass *IN HONORE OMNIUM SANCTORUM* (De 1865–1867), also known about at **Saint-Denis**. This demonstrates clearly that this collection of “Masses of Alcuin” was recognised by compilers of this mass

⁶⁸¹ Peter Browe, “Zur Geschichte des Dreifaltigkeitsfeste,” *AfL* 1 (1959), 65–81.

⁶⁸² Alcuin of York, *Inscriptiones Elnonensis*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, *MGH Poetae Latini medii aevi*, vol. 1: *Poetae latini aevi carolini I* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), pp. 305–8.

⁶⁸³ On Stephen in later mass books of Saint-Amand see below, n. 957. Peter Paul Rubens painted the glorious Saint Stephen Triptych for the high altar of Saint-Amand in 1616–1617, now in the Musée des Beaux Arts de Valenciennes.

book as a unit which had a single author still decades after Alcuin's death. Alcuin's masses were still held together and there was some knowledge of his role in writing them (cf. the note in Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 6r "a domno alchuino collectae"), thus vindicating Deshusses's identification of at least ten of them, while making it more likely that the votive masses of Peter, Stephen, and John the Baptist, should be added to Deshusses's list.

Masses for the Dead and Additions to the Supplement *Hucusque*

As noted, some new votive masses that are not in *Hucusque* manuscripts were already inserted into the structure of the Supplement in **Chelles**, which is to say they appear after the Common of Saints. Some were simply taken out of the Gelasian, in those West Frankish manuscripts of this tradition that have more extensive votive mass sections.⁶⁸⁴ Certain individual prayers for monastic life of the same provenance were also added to **Chelles**.⁶⁸⁵ Other texts circulate in the tradition of Carolingian manuscripts of the Gregorian without having a clear or identifiable origin.⁶⁸⁶ There are some clear similarities with the tradition of Corbie, represented by **Rodrade**. This was, like **Chelles**, still a Gregorian with Supplement, including the preface *Hucusque*. Unlike **Chelles**, the Corbie manuscript kept its additional material in a third,

684 Two are for tearful petitions and can be found in the Sacramentary of Angoulême: New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library G 57, fol. 130v–131r: LXXVII MISSA PRO PETITIONE LACRIMARUM (Eng 2298–2301) and Fol. 131r–v LXXVIII UNDE SUPRA (Eng 2294–2297). These are found in the sacramentaries of **Tours** and **Rodrade** etc. (De 2335–2339, 2320–2323) as well as others; the MISSA SPECIALIS SACERDOTIS added to the Supplement's masses on this theme (De 2078–2082), with the same source (Eng 2194–2200), copied in many MSS (including **Rodrade** and **Tours**), but our manuscript copies the complete Gelasian mass unlike some of them; the MISSA DE CARITATE (Gel 2772–2777, also Aug 1794–1796), in which the secret in our MSS is taken from Alcuin's mass on the same theme (De 2303); fol. 143r–v MISSA PRO STERILITATE TERRAE (De 261–2618), found in Gelasians (Gel 2567–2570 and Aug 1671–1674), without a preface found in **Trent** and **Rodrade** (De 2619); 144r–v MISSA PRO INRELIGIOSIS (De 2666–2668) from Gel 2718–2721 and Aug 1748–1752.

685 Fol. 145v ORATIO PRO RENUNTIANTIBUS SAECULO. Found in **Trent** (De 407*, 4437), ultimately of Gelasian origin (Gel 2580); fol. 145v–146r ORATIO AD MUTANDOS MINISTERIALES, which offers two prayers (De 4474–4475), both found in certain Gelasians (Gel 2601 and 2602 also Aug 1615–1616). As in Deshusses's apparatus, these disappear from other Saint-Amand manuscripts after **Tournai**. However, they reappear in **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 225v).

686 133r–v MISSA PRO CONCORDIA FRATRUM (De 2315–2317) (also in **Tours**); fol. 134r–v LXXXVI MISSA MONACHORUM (De 2260–2266), found in manuscripts **Rodrade** and Düsseldorf, UB, D 1; fol. 137v–138r MISSA PRO PECCATIS (or DE TRIBULATIONE) (De 2489–2491) (also in **Rodrade**); Fol. 141v MISSA PRO MORTALITATE HOMINUM (De 2584–2586, 2589) (in manuscripts like Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XCI, **Modena**, **Tours**, **Trent**, **Rodrade**, and **Saint-Vaast**).

separate supplement after *Hucusque* (“propre de Corbie”), where **Chelles** incorporated all votive material into *Hucusque*’s structure, and made no distinction between the original *Hucusque* and the additions. Among the similarities are three other masses identified as “masses of Alcuin,” one of which is the *MISSA PRO ELEMOSY-NARIIS*, a key commonality between **Rodrade** and Saint-Amand manuscripts that is not found in the other manuscripts Deshusses used for Alcuin’s masses.⁶⁸⁷ In **Chelles**, most of these new masses were inserted into a thematically appropriate place in the structure supplied by the *Hucusque*.⁶⁸⁸ The rest of the manuscripts then proceed where **Chelles** had begun, filling out the supply of votive material, and thereby further creating distinct and thematic sections.

As the Supplement *Hucusque* broke down in the later books, this meant the organisation of sections independent of the origin of the text. For example, we might survey the section of **Saint-Germain** that contains masses for the dead (broadly Paris, BnF, lat. 2291 fol. 167r–171v), coming directly after the prayers and rubrics concerning the visitation of the dying, and burial. A first mass in this series (*MISSA UNIUS DEFUNCTI*) comes from the *Hucusque* Supplement (De 1416–1419), but the next mass, specifically for a dead bishop, is taken out of the original, very small votive section of the Gregorian *Hadrianum* itself (De 1010–1014). In **Chelles** (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 100v) and in **Tournai** (Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 140r–v) this mass was still strictly kept within a distinct, original Gregorian section, at the end of the years’ masses and before the identifiable Supplement, still preserved as an identifiably original Gregorian text. But in **Saint Germain**, thematic arrangement has entirely prevailed, and nothing now indicates that the text was originally Gregorian, or distinguishes it from those surrounding it, which are not Gregorian. Of the following masses here, five are also from the *Hucusque* Supplement’s texts for the dead.⁶⁸⁹

687 Fol. 132v: *MISSA AD POSTULANDAM GRATIAM SPIRITUS SANCTI ET PRO TEMPTATIONE CARNIS* De 2330–2334 (also in **Rotradus**, **Saint-Vaast**, **Trent**, and **Tours**); Fol. 134v–135r: *MISSA (IN MONASTERIO) PRO IPSA FAMILIA* De 2255–2259. In **Trent**, in **Tours**, **Rodrade**, and the Reichenau MSS; Fol. 137r–v *MISSA PRO ELYMOSINARIIS* (De 2438–2442) in Deshusses, “Les messes d’Alcuin,” it was the only mass of Alcuin he could not find in the Sacramentary of Tours. Alcuin mentions it specifically to the monks of Saint-Vaast, but curiously it cannot be found in **Saint-Vaast**, a sacramentary from there.

688 For example, in **Chelles** (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, G 57, fol. 134v–135r), the Alcuin mass *MISSA IN MONASTERIO PRO IPSA FAMILIA*, directly follows the *Hucusque* masses for an abbot and in a monastery.

689 *MISSA PRO DEFUNCTO NUPER BAPTIZATO* (De 1420–1423), *MISSA PRO DEFUNCTIS DESIDERANTIBUS PAENITENTIAM ET MINIME CONSEQUATUR* (De 1424–1428), *MISSA IN ANNIVERSARIO UNIUS DEFUNCTI* (De 1429–1432), *MISSA PLURIMORUM DEFUNCTORUM* (De 1433–1436), *ALIA MISSA* (De 1437–1440), *ALIA MISSA* (De 1441–1443), and *MISSA IN CYMITERIIS* (De 1444–1447) and,

But three new additions are slotted among them, all also concerning the dead, principally from masses found in the generally influential manuscript traditions of Tours and **Trent**, some possibly identifiable with Alcuin.⁶⁹⁰

The same series can be found in a parallel section of **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 212v–217v). But in this case, there are even more additional texts on the same theme, prior to and after those found in the source, many of which are found in the **Saint-Denis**, or in related manuscripts, but, among all of these, our **Sens** is uniquely comprehensive.⁶⁹¹ **Sens** includes two masses unique to this manuscript among Carolingian books (MISSA PRO MONACHIS DE SAECULIS CONVERSIBUS and MISSA COMMUNIS OMNIUM FIDELIUM DEFUNCTORUM), both with the stamp of originality. In the former, for a monk who has died, the Latin language is again noteworthy; for example, at De 2867, a lovely alliterative formulation with an extraordinary adverb constructed from the Greek word “coeonobium,” running: “qui pro tui nominis amore a saeculi huius uanitate conuersus cursus suum coenobialiter consummauit” [trans. who, for love of Your name, having turned from the vanity of this age, has completed, living as a monk, his race].⁶⁹² Of the second mass, for all the faithful departed, the striking phrase in the secret “uinculis horrendae mortis exutae” [trans. stripped of the bonds of dreadful death] appeared in a mass “IN CIMITIRIIS” [trans. in the cemetery] in the *Hucusque* Supplement (De 1445), an originally Gelasian prayer (GeV 1682, Gel 2990). Thus, the compiler was making

at the end, the MISSA PRO SALUTE UIUORUM UEL IN AGENDA MORTUORUM (De 1448–1450); compare Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, 77, fol. 154r–157v.

690 The MISSA IN DIE DEPOSITIONIS DEFUNCTI TERTII SEPTIMI UEL TRIGESIMI (De 2881–2885) is Gelasian in origin; two masses Deshusses identified as those of Alcuin, MISSA PRO FRATRIBUS DEFUNCTI (De 2862–2866) found in **Tours**, and **Modena** and the MISSA GENERALIS OMNIUM DEFUNCTORUM (De 3056–3071), also in **Tours**, **Trent**, and **Rodrade**.

691 A MISSA PRO SACERDOTE DEFUNCTO (De 2812–2817), also found in **Saint-Denis**, follows the Gregorian text for a dead bishop, then a MISSA PRO PLURIBUS SACERDOTIBUS (De 2852–2854), also in **Saint-Denis**; MISSA PRO MONACHIS DE SAECULIS CONVERSIBUS (De 2867–2869), unique to **Sens**; IN DIE DEPOSITIONIS (De 2875–2877), in **Senlis**, also from the monastery Saint-Denis; the MISSA UNIUS DEFUNCTI and MISSA PLURIMORUM DEFUNCTORUM have numerous ALIA prayers made up from ALIA masses, breaking up Hucusque’s masses; the MISSA COMMUNIS OMNIUM FIDELIUM DEFUNCTORUM (De 2946–2950), also unique to **Sens**, with the Collect used elsewhere in the Reichenau MS Oxford Auct. D. I. 20 (De 3121), but preface and Infra actionem from the Supplement (De 1736, 1439); MISSA PRO EPISCOPO UEL ABBATES IBIQUE COMISSIS ET CONIUNCTIS AD SALUTEM UIUENTIUM ET DEFUNCTORUM (De 3103–3107), taken from the end of **Saint-Germain**, as below.

692 For “coenobialiter,” the Brepols library of Latin texts yielded just three instances: our prayer, a single preface CP 1566, and the *Vita* of St. Gerardus of Brogne, (d. 959), probably written in the eleventh or twelfth century.

use of the phraseology of an inheritance of Carolingian compilation, and also added his own literary stamp.

Beyond Saint-Amand itself, we can find the first mass only in a book which we know to be closely related to our sacramentaries, **Fulda**, but pieces of the second mass appear in England, whose relations to Saint-Amand have already surfaced occasionally in the footnotes of the previous chapter, and, more surprisingly, also in Spain.⁶⁹³ As the previous chapter showed, the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand gradually incorporated material as it became known to them, leading up to the extremely comprehensive **Sens**.

A Possible *Libellus Missae* with Marginal Antiphons in Saint-Germain

In **Saint-Germain**, another portion of related votive masses is of interest as a case study since it has a distinctive feature. This is a selection of eight masses which have the antiphons in the margin, Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 139v–144r, a compiling method that, as noted, other Carolingian manuscripts of the Sacramentary like **Reims** employ, but which is not found generally in our authentic Saint-Amand sacramentaries and marks out this portion very clearly.⁶⁹⁴ This portion represents a series of masses for private or personal purposes, including the text of the *MISSA SPECIALIS SACERDOTIS* already given by the *Hucusque*, that is intended for the celebration of private masses (De 1280–1284). In this case, we can also see the gradual expansion of votive masses from *Hucusque*'s original collection.

First, *Hucusque*'s two masses for this purpose are given “Omnipotens aeterne deus . . .” (De 1280–1284) and “Deus fons bonitatis” (De 1285–1288), as they were already in Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77, fol. 136v–138v. In **Chelles** (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 131r–v), a third mass on the same theme, “Suppliciter te deus pater omnipotens . . .” (De 2078–2082), was added, and this can be found in the Gelasian Sacramentary of Angoulême (Eng 2194–2200), as well as a number of other Gregorians.⁶⁹⁵ In **Saint-Germain** (Paris, BnF Latin 2291, fol. 139v–144v), this sequence of three masses is now enhanced

⁶⁹³ The *MISSA PRO MONACHIS DE SAECULA CONUERSIS* (CO 4573, 2191, 4362), is found in Ful 2535–2537, the Collect is used as a post communion in the Sacramentary of Vic 1619. On the latter's relation to Saint-Amand, see below, pp. 368–369; *MISSA COMMUNIS*, the secret is CO 2834b (replicated in the Sarum Missal, *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. Dickinson 878*, post communion is CO 1751a, a version of which 1751c is also in Sarum 878*.

⁶⁹⁴ The marginal antiphons and psalms were extracted and edited by Netzer, *L'introduction de la messe romaine*, pp. 356–58.

⁶⁹⁵ Also found in **Tours**, **Rodrade**, and **Trent**, among a number of other manuscripts.

with three additional masses, all entitled ALIA MISSA (De 2188–2191, 2192–2196, 2163–2166, including alternative texts for the preface De 2168, post communion De 2171, and the addition of an INFRA ACTIONEM, an interjection in the Canon of the Mass, edited at De 2169). Of these, the first two masses are unique and only the last appears outside of the Saint-Amand tradition, again at Corbie with **Rodrade**, but also in the Sacramentary of Padua and the second Sacramentary of Tours (Paris, BnF, NAL 1589). Even in this case, only our manuscript has the alternative prayer texts noted in the bracket.⁶⁹⁶ The other two masses, are unique, not even found in **Fulda**, and are likely to be Carolingian compositions, which we can probably locate within Saint-Amand itself. As elsewhere, in these kinds of masses we have encountered, the Gregorian itself and a previous generation of compilers like Alcuin or Theodulf are reference points, and remained the guideline for the structure of individual phrases, but the spirituality and vocabulary is entirely distinct from both the Roman texts and the previous Carolingian ones.⁶⁹⁷ Unlike the Gregorian, these prayers are entirely in the first person singular (for example, De 2193 “Huius domine quaeso uirtute mysterii . . .”; De 2189 “Hostias domine quas tuae pietati indignus offero . . .”). They also deploy vocabulary, imagery and an understanding of redemption that we never find in the Gregorian, and which is almost never so sharp and acute in the Gelasians or in any of the previous compilations.

De 2189: “et omnium peccatorum meorum uincola quibus propria accusante conscientia miserabiliter constringor propitiatus absolue”

[trans. and, having been propitiated, annul the chains of all my sins, to which I am pitifully bound by my own accusing conscience].

De 2191: “quicquid in mea mente uitiosum est, eorum medicationis dono curetur”

[trans. What is amiss in my mind, may it be cured by the gift of their medicine].

De 2193: “tuaque gratia cooperante ab humanis semper excessibus retrahar, et per mandatorum tuorum semitas sine offensione gradiar, et ad perfruendam gloriam aeternae perennitatis te ducente pertingere merear”

[trans. and cooperating with Your grace, I will always withdraw from human excesses, and I will walk by the paths of Your mandates without offence, and, with You leading me, I will merit to attain the enjoyment of the glory of perennial eternity].

696 For example, CO 3764 or 3010 points only to Deshusses’s edition, where only **Saint-Germain** is referenced; CP 140, 1140 has the prefaces (De 2190, 2194) and points only to Saint-Amand manuscripts **Reims** or **Saint-Germain**. In the case of the third (De 2168), CP 247 points to Pamelius.

697 On medieval liturgical Latin, Eric Palazzo, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Âge*. (Paris: Aubier, 2000), at p. 201.

Even the grammar, as the use of the future, including the future participle of the deponent verb *perfruo*, “*perfruendam*,” in the secret De 2193, is extraordinary for liturgical formulations, and, in this case, seems to be inspired by a similar phrase used by Alcuin and Bede “*nos creaverit perfruendam uitae beatitudinem perennis*” [trans. he created us for the enjoyment of the blessing of eternal life], indicating a likely additional use of exegetical texts by our compiler for inspiration.⁶⁹⁸

These masses show extreme concern for the sinfulness of the celebrant. They are also both lengthy and detailed, especially in the extreme case of the single prayer *INFRA ACTIONEM* of the fifth mass in **Saint-Germain**, which runs over the equivalent of almost a full page of the manuscript. A mere portion of this interpolation in the Canon runs:

Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 142r–v (De 2195): “*Et quicquid in cogitationibus pessimis . in concupiscentia atque delectatione immunda . in meditationibus et exemplis prauis . in persuasionibus noxiis . in consensu malo . in consilio iniquo . in familiaritatis talento . in uerbis otiosis . et in noxio iuramento . in amicis . in inimicis . in subiectis . in lesione et scandalo proximorum seruorumque tuorum . in negotiis ecclesiasticis . in reipublicae utilitatibus deliqui . siue quaeque hoste suggerente . carne delectante . spiritu consentiente . malitia . infirmitate . ignorantia . quoquomodo peccaui . totum ineffabili pietate tua, huius uirtute mysterii . et interuentu beatae mariae uirginis dele et absterge . et iram tuae indignationis quam in his prouocau i me miseratus expelle . Et quicquid terrena fragilitate in me corruptus, quicquid diabolica fraude est uitiatum, perfecta remissione restitue . . .*”⁶⁹⁹

[trans. And whatsoever in wicked thoughts, in lust and impure pleasure, in depraved meditations and examples, in harmful persuasions, in bad agreements, in unjust plans, in the snare of familiarity, in idle words, and in harmful oaths, to friends, to enemies, to subjects, to the injury and scandal of my neighbours and Your servants, in the affairs of the church, in neglect to the interests of the commons, and in whatever other ways, the devil suggesting, the flesh delighting, the spirit consenting, in malice, in weakness, in ignorance, however I have sinned, by Your ineffable mercy, by the virtue of this mystery and by the intervention of the blessed Virgin Mary, may You erase and wipe it away, and, with pity, drive away from me the wrath of Your indignation which I have provoked by these sins. And whatever has been corrupted in me by earthly frailty, whatever has been lost by diabolical fraud, restore with perfect remission].

Another personal mass whose post communion begs excuse for “*uana huius seculi ambitione contra tuorum rectitudinem praeceptorum perfecti*” [trans. the vanity of the ambition of this world against the perfection of your righteous precepts] is also

⁶⁹⁸ Bede the Venerable, *Homiliarum euangelii libri II*, edited by D. Hurst and J. Fraipoint, *Opera homiletica, Opera rhythmica*. CCSL 122 (Turnhout. Brepols, 1955), pp. 1–405, here at p. 137. Quoted by Alcuin of York, *Commentaria in sancti Iohannis Euangelium*, PL 100, at col.783. According to the Brepols Library of Latin Texts, most other uses of “*perfruendam*” in Latin literature are later.

⁶⁹⁹ CO 6233 points only to the edition of the Gregorian, thus Saint-Amand alone.

found at the opening, on fol. 7v of the same manuscript, provided with readings.⁷⁰⁰ Gauzlin himself, who was extraordinarily involved with affairs of both church and state (“in negotiis ecclesiasticis, in reipublicae utilitatibus”) and who we know missed the translation of the relics of St. Merry in his own diocese in 884 because he was busy with the affairs of the kingdom, could have been one potential audience or intended recipient for such a mass, in which mention of these two deficiencies seems to suit a powerful bishop more than it might perhaps, a monk.⁷⁰¹

Masses like these, which appear nowhere else in such plenitude and singularity as at Saint-Amand should be taken seriously as the output of Carolingian literary and poetic talent of the late ninth century, applied directly to masses that responded directly to changing ideas of redemption that underpinned new understandings of the Mass, and which also tried to cope with psychological and spiritual burdens, felt personally by their celebrants. The author of these masses was entirely familiar and personally bound up with the Carolingian developments in sacerdotal spirituality tied up with private masses, including, as well as the consequent understanding of the Eucharist, the status of the priest, and his moral responsibilities, as these also appear in the developing apologies, which our manuscripts likewise incorporated.⁷⁰²

In **Saint-Germain** after these, there follow four related masses, also intended for private masses, which had older antecedents (Gelasian or Alcuin) and are less singular than the above, though here they also have the new feature of antiphons in the margin: a further ALIA for a priest’s own mass (De 2100–2103), two Gelasian masses MISSA PRO PETITIONE LACRIMARUM (De 2335–2338) and PRO TEMPTATIONE CARNIS (De 2320–2323), and the Alcuin mass AD POSTULANDAM GRATIAM SPIRITUS SANCTI (De 2330–2334).⁷⁰³

The Gelasian mass for temptations of the flesh, however, also includes a proper preface (De 2324) unique to the Saint-Amand tradition that has similar personal expressiveness and ornate Latin to the above compositions:

700 The mass is made up of material found in various masses in **Tours**, De 2090 as the Collect, De 2182 as the secret, the post communion as used in several masses there, the infra actionem a version of De 2170, as in Eng 2305, but, for the preface (“UD Te precamur domine deus noster . . .”), CP 1476 points only to Ambrosian sources.

701 *Translatio S. Mederici*, ed. Martin Bouquet in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 9, ed. Léopold Delisle (Paris: Oudin, 1874), pp. 110–11, at 111: “dictus Episcopus variis regni utilitatibus occupatus adesse minime potuit” [trans. the said Bishop (Gauzlin) could not be present, as he was occupied with various needs of the kingdom].

702 Angenendt, “Missa Specialis,” pp. 185–87; Nußbaum, *Kloster, Priestermonch und Privatmesse*.

703 The two Gelasian masses are found in Sacramentary of Angouleme, Eng 2298–2301 and Eng 2294–2297.

UD. Praesidium ad te confugientium . indebitam pietatem humiliter imploro . ut remissionem mihi omnium peccatorum tribuas atque a concupiscentia carnis et oculorum . uel a superbia uitae, siue a cunctis malis me eripias . desque mihi spiritualium uirtutum inuitricia arma . quibus et corporis inlecebris deuincere et antiqui hostis sagacissima machinamenta . ualeam superare fructu etiam bonorum operum me misericordite dites . et dignum fieri sempiterna redemptione concedas. Per Christum.⁷⁰⁴

[trans. It is just and right, eternal God. Protection of those who take refuge in You, I humbly implore You for a pity I have not merited, that You may grant me remission of all of my sins and deliver me from the lust of the flesh and eyes, from the pride of life, and from all other evils, until You have given me the invincible weapons of spiritual virtue, with which to defeat both fleshly allures and the most ingenious devices of the ancient enemy, mercifully grant me strength to overcome by the fruit of good works, and condescend to make me worthy of eternal redemption. Through Christ].

The same sequence of seven masses for a priests' private masses, then three additional ones for his spiritual needs, appears without the antiphons in the margin in **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 169r–176v). In this case, the antiphons were no longer regarded as relevant, indicating the general disinclination of Saint-Amand to this format. The setting of this series of ten quite personal masses, which contain a number of masses or individually provided prefaces and other texts that are unique to the tradition of Saint-Amand, and their provision with antiphons in the case of **Saint-Germain**, suggests that a *libellus* was at play here, like the surviving text of the **Rouen** *libellus*, which provided readings integrally and antiphons as a final appendix to the mass sets. This hypothetical *libellus* incorporated in **Saint-Germain** reflected a very personal devotional life, bound up with private masses, and by someone musically confident enough to supply antiphons, some of which are uncommon.⁷⁰⁵ Since the **Rouen** *libellus* seems to have been produced specifically to share masses composed at Saint-Amand with Saint-Denis, we might suggest these masses were also produced possibly at Saint-Amand by the same person or persons involved in the confection of the other series.

In **Sens**, older masses from the Gregorian surround this group of texts, the mass IN ORDINATIONE PRESBYTERI (De 828–832) at the opening, and that IN NATALEM

⁷⁰⁴ CP 734 points only to the edition of Deshusses (or **Saint-Germain, Reims**).

⁷⁰⁵ The Introit supplied to the first MISSA SPECIALIS SACERDOTIS is the only one written out in full, not in incipit, and perhaps was therefore a new composition (not abbreviated, as in Netzer's edition). Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 139v: "AN. Qui cognoscis omnia occulta a peccatis meis munda me tempus mihi concede ut repenitens clamem peccauit miserere mei saluator mundi." [trans. You who knows all hidden things, cleanse me from my sins, grant me time to repent. I cry, I have sinned, have mercy on me, Saviour of the world] according to the CANTUS database (<http://www.musmed.eu/chant/159732>), there are just three concordances; see in John-René Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium Officii*, vol. 3 (Rome: Herder, 1968), p. 424n4461.

PAPA (De 823–827) at the end. Both appear in a distinct place in **Saint-Germain** (Paris, BnF, lat.2291, fol. 158v–159v), where they still are largely surrounded by other miscellaneous Gregorian material (the marriage rite, rites for abbesses and abbots, and for making clerics). Thus, **Sens** saw more consistent reorganisation to continue the thematic organisation undertaken in **Saint-Germain**. These Gregorian masses were moved to this point, and additionally another mass PRO EPISCOPO (De 2010–2013), which is ultimately Gelasian, but appears in **Trent** and **Rodrade**, was also added. That the most personal masses are linked in this final manuscript to the episcopal office, suggests once again, more strongly than in the case of **Saint-Germain**, an episcopal owner, possibly Gauzlin, after he was Bishop of Paris. **Reims**, notably, follows the organisation of **Saint-Germain** of this section, and not of **Sens**.⁷⁰⁶ However, the later manuscript has only two masses SPECIALIS SACERDOTIS (fol. 132r–v), and lacks the special, personal ones we found in **Saint-Germain**. Perhaps those texts were no longer available to the compiler, or were not seen as relevant. If they were written for Gauzlin himself, for example, he was deceased by the time **Reims** was written.

Masses at the End of Saint-Germain

In the curious final section of **Saint-Germain**, in which the masses seemingly left out of the original compilation were incorporated, there are also several votive masses.

- Fol. 193r MISSA FAMILIARUM COMMUNIS (De 2428–2430). Also in **Saint-Denis**.
- Fol. 193r–v MISSA PRO EPISCOPO UEL ABBATE SIBIQUE COMISSIS ET CONIUNCTIS AC SALUTI UIUENTIUM ET DEFUNCTORUM (De 3103–3107). Also in **Tours**, taken up in **Sens** and moved to among the masses for the dead (above n. 691). This has a notable breadth of intercession as in the *Infra actionem* De 3106: “Hanc igitur oblationem quam tibi pro famulo tuo ill. gregeque sibi comisso . et propinquitate ac familiaritate coniunctos, et salute totius populi

706 **Reims** incorporates additional, votive material that is lacking in the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, in script that is similar to the main hand (Leroquais had them as the same),

Fol. 180r–v MISSA PRO NATALIS GENUINI (CO 4079, 136, and 2214).

Fol. 180v–181r MISSA PRO STERILITATE MULIERUM (CO 3979, 5753 and 563).

Fol. 181v MISSA PRO INRELIGIOSIS (CO 1753, 835 and 902). Again, these votive masses suggest that **Reims** was not the same manuscript that was used as the source for **Saint-Germain**, otherwise **Saint-Germain** would surely have included the extra masses for women and the irreligious. The July mass of St. Martin (fol. 183v–184r) brings this portion to an end; as above no Saint-Amand manuscript copied this either.

- christiani . suppliciter immolamus . . .” [trans. Therefore this we humbly consecrate this offering to You for your servant N. and the flock entrusted to him, and those joined to him by affinity and by kindred and for the salvation of the entire Christian populace . . .].
- 193v–194r *MISSA PRO ABBATE UEL UIUENTIBUS SIUE DEFUNCTIS FIDELIBUS* (De 3130–3133). This mass is another good example for those that, just like the above, intercede for a vast number of people simultaneously, as in the collect De 3130: “nos famulos tuos et cunctum populum catholicum in omni sanctitate custodi . omnesque consanguinitate ac familiaritate nobis iunctos a uitiiis purga . . . omnibus fidelibus defunctis in terra uiuentiam uitam concede” [trans. keep our friends and the whole catholic populus in all sanctity and cleanse all those joined to us by familiarity and by blood relation from all vices . . . to all the faithful dead grant life in the land of the living]. It can also be found in **Saint-Denis** (Paris, BnF, lat.2290, fol. 138v) and in **Tours** (the latter an altered form), but both of these manuscripts lack the proper preface (De 3133), which our manuscript shares with the Fulda additions to **Mainz** (Martinus-Bibliothek, Hs.1, fol. 204r–v), as well as **Fulda** itself (Ful 2152–2156, preface at Ful 2154). This preface also has some unusual traits, using the phrase “diesque nostros in tua uoluntate disponas” [trans. arrange our days according to your will], which is directly adapted from the Canon of the Mass (De 8), and in its ending phrase: “Incredulos conuertas, errantes corrigas, discordantibus unitatem largiaris, omnibusque fidelibus defunctis ueniam conferas, ut ad interminabilem gloriam peruenire mereantur.” [trans. Convert the unbelievers, correct the erring, grant unity to the dissonant, and grant pardon to all the faithful who have died, so that they may merit to reach endless glory].⁷⁰⁷ This last mass is missing in **Sens**, but probably originally came at the lost end of the manuscript among some *MISSAE GENERALIS*.

⁷⁰⁷ This preface is CP 394. Noted there in Ful 2154, and this informs us that the mass is also added in Leof 150–154 (“Leofric C” from Exeter itself) with preface, but only otherwise in *Corpus Praefationum* as part of the the same mass in a front guard folio in a fragment in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod.1029 on which see CLLA 983. Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 488 corrects the dating to the tenth century. This fragment may be the earliest witness of these Saint-Amand traditions in Southern Germany, where Gamber located it (the main manuscript is likely from the area of Salzburg as in Hofmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, p. 412). It is edited in Klaus Gamber, “Fragmenta Liturgica II,” *Sacris Erudiri* 17 (1966), at pp. 252–54. The previous partial mass formula on the fragment, which Gamber could not identify, is another characteristic mass for our tradition, the just noted “*MISSA PRO EPISCOPO UEL ABBATES IBIQUE COMISSIS ET CONIUNCTIS . . .*” and the two masses therefore appear here in exactly the same sequence as they do in in **Saint-Germain** (surviving of the former are De 3106 and 3107), but this latter mass is not in **Fulda**.

- 194r–v *MISSA PRO REGE* (De 2047–2049). Garipzanov noted this mass including prayers for the entire royal family (“regi nostro ill. coniugi et proli, populoque sibi subiecto” [trans. for our king N., his spouse and offspring, and his people and subjects]) joined pre-existing masses for a king in **Sens** and was at the end of **Saint-Germain**.⁷⁰⁸ The mass also appears towards the end of **Reims**, which is thus structured similarly to the latter (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 181r–v).⁷⁰⁹ Again, we find this same mass in **Fulda** (Ful 1925–1927), and altered, added in England to **Leofric** (“Leofric B”).⁷¹⁰ Garipzanov joined to this mass a second one (De 2044–2046), found immediately before it in **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A 136, fol. 177r–178r), which he edited from **Sens** and **Mainz** and which he also found as an addition (“s.IX–X”) to the Reichenau Sacramentary, Vienna, ÖNB, cod. 1815, fol. 168v–169r.⁷¹¹ This second mass for the king, his wife, offspring, and subjects is, in addition, found in **Laon** (Laon, Bibliothèque Suzanne Martinet Ms. 118, fol. 205r–v), from Saint-Denis, and later, also, in **Fulda** (Ful 1918–1920) too. Garipzanov specifically linked these two masses to Gauzlin himself, since they imitate the formulae of royal charters of Charles the Bald, which Gauzlin would have overseen and signed as chancellor from 867 to 877, especially in their requests for spiritual aid for the king. The presence of the second mass also at Saint-Denis, in the manuscript **Laon**, though not known to him, duly confirms Garipzanov’s link to Gauzlin, and this strongly supports the idea that masses were being composed in Gauzlin’s immediate vicinity to offer spiritual support to the Carolingian monarchs whom he successively conspired to set on the throne and whom he supported, and from whose largesse he benefitted. Gauzlin, thus, clearly understood and harnessed liturgical power for political ends. As he oversaw Saint-Germain and Saint-Denis, as

708 Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority*, p. 90, suggests it is “an almost contemporary addition” to **Saint-Germain** on p. 339.

709 All of the following masses here in **Reims** (two *MISSA PRO AMICO*, two *MISSA GENERALIS*) are also found in **Saint-Germain**. They are De 2463–2465, 2456–2462, De 3130–3132, 3134–3139 (in this case including prayers **Saint-Germain** copies without the ones **Sens** added). Also all in **Saint-Thierry** (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 214, fol. 183r–184v).

710 CO 2192, 2119, 2675 (as in apparatus, remove “romanis . . . ut” add: “et principi nostri fideli famulo tuo ill. coniugi et proli, populoque sibi subiecto attribue vires eiusque remitte peccata et miseratus concede quatenus”); Leof 258–60, has no mention of the queen or royal offspring.

711 Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority*, 336–37, at 340 appears to replicate Deshusses’s erroneous assumption that the part of **Mainz** with this mass is original to the ninth-century manuscript and not a Fulda addition, for which see below p. 357–358.

well as Saint-Amand, these masses could have been composed in any of these monasteries.

- 194v–195r *MISSA PRO AMICO IN TRIBULATIONE POSITO*. (De 2463–2465). Also in **Saint-Denis**.
- 195r–v *ALIA MISSA* De 2456–2462. Collect (De 2456) shared with a mass of the same title in **Saint-Denis**. Our mass curiously lacks the secret and post communion, but simply has several *ALIA* prayers, all undifferentiated, three from the Gregorian (De 916, 921, 996), one unique (De 2459), the other visible in another mass in **Saint-Denis** (De 1902).

Finally, there are some additional formulae for the mass sets for the dead:

- *MISSA IN DIE DEPOSITIONIS IIIA VIII A VEL XXXA*: a Collect (De 2882) and secret (De 2883) to add to the previous mass on this subject (fol. 167v–168r).
- *MISSA IN ANNIUERSARIO DEFUNCTI* (De 2902–2905), a Collect and series of *ALIA* prayers, found in related masses in one or more related MS including **Saint-Denis** (De 2900), **Saint-Vaast** (De 3015), Verona (De 2973), and **Tours** (De 2920). Probably also to add to a previous mass (168v–169r).
- *MISSA PRO DEFUNCTO*. This was not finished. The title *INFRA ACTIONEM* simply ends the text, with a green signum Z next to it. The prayers here are both in **Saint-Denis** (De 3009–3010), equivalents of the text De 2851 (with readings particular to **Saint-Denis**) and De 3590, in **Tours**, but there used as part of the Gelasian mass for nativity of Mary.

Thus, like the additional prayer texts and masses for saints preceding them, these votive masses and individual prayers were probably found and incorporated after the completion of the sacramentary, and possibly represented a new collection of material that the monks of Saint-Amand became aware of during or after the production. Some links to **Saint-Denis** and, potentially, Gauzlin, would suggest this material was in Paris, and most likely had been found among the liturgical collections of Saint-Germain itself. The two masses shared with **Tours**, which intercede for the whole Christian populace, imply some dissemination of these kinds of “general” masses in key ecclesiastical centres of West Francia. As can now be predicted, much of this additional material was moved back into **Sens**, in appropriate places.⁷¹²

⁷¹² The special *MISSA PRO REGE* on fol. 177v–178r with other royal masses; the two for a friend in tribulation on fol. 182r–v after the *MISSA UOTIUA PRO AMICO*; *PRO EPISCOPO UEL ABBATE*

Ongoing Additions in San Marino

The masses found in the **San Marino** fragment constitute another interesting study in the varied deployment of the same votive mass texts.⁷¹³ The two folios begin with the end of a mass, which is a votive mass for a friend from the Supplement *Hucusque* (De 2839, 2384–2385) (identified as a Mass of Alcuin), then a second ITEM ALIA MISSA, with the number XXI, that belongs exclusively to the Saint-Amand tradition (De 2405–2408), and invokes all kinds of saints exhaustively to help the friend in the Collect: “intercessione sanctae dei genetricis mariae, sanctorumque patriarcharum prophetarum apostolorum, martyrum et confessorum ac uirginum, omniumque electorum tuorum” [trans. with the intercession of the Holy Mother of God, Mary, and of the holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs and confessors and virgins, and all of those chosen by You]. On the verso, with the number XXII begins the MISSA PRO ABBATE UEL CONGREGATIONEM, edited by Deshusses as the MISSA PRO EPISCOPO UEL CONGREGATIONE from **Modena** and **Trent** (De 2242–2245). The second folio comprises the end of a mass (De 2424 – elsewhere a MISSA PRO AMICIS UIUENTIBUS), the MISSA PRO ELEMOSINARIIS by Alcuin (De 2431–2433), the MISSA DE FRATERNA CARITATE from *Hucusque* (De 2293–2296) and ending the MISSA PRO CONCORDIA FRATRUM, these being numbered xxvii to xxviii. As noted above, the layout and script of **San Marino** strongly connects it to **Sens** above all, especially in the use of rustic capitals exclusively for all titles, except in the case of the first M of Missa, which is uncial. Like **Sens**, it also had a chapter list for the separate section containing votive masses. It also seems that that the original manuscript of **San Marino** organised its votive masses entirely thematically. In the case of the surviving pages, they concern friends and the community.

As Deshusses indicated, none of the available sacramentaries of Saint-Amand orders these votive masses in exactly the same way. In the later manuscripts (**Saint-Germain** and **Sens**), they tend to appear in two distinct parts more separated from another by at least 10 folios (one series of up to five masses for a friend, and a distinct series concerning community life), and they are generally placed much further back in the Supplementary portion. In the earlier books, in which the formatting of the books is a little closer (**Chelles** and **Tournai**), the mass in **San Marino** XXI (concerning a friend, with all types of saints invoked) does not appear at all. What is more, the exact prayers used for the final mass,

SIBIQUE COMISSIS ET CONIUNCTIS on 218v–219r; the two prayers for the third, seventh and thirtieth day after death are added to the mass with the same theme on fol. 213v, replacing the original prayers.

713 Deshusses, “Encore les sacramentaires.”

that for “concord of the brothers,” appear in none of the surviving manuscripts, not even **Sens**, with the exception of the ALIA post communion (De 2317, found in all books from **Chelles** onwards). Deshusses pointed to **Fulda** (Ful 1809–1811), where one can find the same prayers as **San Marino**. It seems the fragment therefore builds on, or is an alternative convergent text to either **Sens**, in which the same masses have the numbers 46–47, 52, 51, and 98 and 99, or **Saint-Germain**.⁷¹⁴ The **San Marino** fragment confirms that the tinkering with the formatting and organisation of the mass books at Saint-Amand was obviously ongoing to the end of the surviving series of sacramentaries, and likely even beyond it. It would seem to be a contemporary or successor to **Sens**, and perhaps incorporated even more votive masses.

Saint-Amand’s Own Compositions: Seven Masses in Honour of the Virgin and All Saints

Among the votive material added to **Chelles** are three masses which reveal to us the first stratum of another distinctive Saint-Amand tradition which marks out our sacramentaries (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57 fol. 125r–126v). These are placed directly after the masses of Alcuin. The first comes under the title *MISSA IN HONORE DEI GENETRICIS ET OMNIUM SANCTORUM*, and the rest under ALIA. These masses are extensive, with an ALIA equivalent for each mass prayer. In **Tournai** (Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 163v–167v), these three masses all appear, and four new ALIA masses were added. The same sequence is replicated in **Saint-Germain** (Paris, BnF, Latin 2291, fol. 136v–139r) and **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket A 136, fol. 165v–168v). What renders them of even greater interest is the fact that the complete seven masses match the content of the original portion of the **Rouen** *libellus missae*, produced at Saint-Amand, but which came to Saint-Denis.⁷¹⁵ I cannot agree with Walters-Robertson or Decker-Hauer that the *libellus* represents the Saint-Amand copy of masses which were originally composed at Saint-Denis, since they do not appear in any Saint-Denis sacramentary, early or late, but exclusively in Saint-

⁷¹⁴ Deshusses, “Encore les sacramentaires,” 311 stated that **Reims** and **Sens** do not possess the penultimate two masses of the fragment “DE FRATERNA CARITATE” and “PRO ELEMOSINARIIS,” however, these can actually be found on Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 195v and Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, MS 213, fol. 156r–v respectively.

⁷¹⁵ Palazzo, “Un ‘Libellus Missae’.”

Amand books.⁷¹⁶ That does not include even **Saint-Denis**. Rather, these compositions from Saint-Amand were likely to have been shared, with the aid of this *libellus*, with the community of Saint-Denis, reflecting a perception that they were new and interesting. The **Rouen** *libellus* is a rare and valuable surviving example of material which represented probably a lively and constant exchange between monasteries and likely a vital part of the context for the creation of increasingly complex and comprehensive “Gelasianised” Gregorians with extensive votive mass sections in Northern France. *Libelli* from neighbouring monasteries were likely also sources for our Saint-Amand books, rendering the origin of the votive masses in many cases obscure. But in the case of these masses for Mary and All Saints, the association of Saint-Amand is strong enough for us to suggest they originated there.

Unlike in our sacramentaries, in the **Rouen** booklet of eight folios, the masses for Mary and All Saints are supplied with individual readings (see Figure 4.1) and, as an appendix, also a list of appropriate chants (fol. 8r, entitled “OFFICIA AD PRAEDICEM MISSAS”). We might suppose it was easier to do this in a *libellus* than in a full sacramentary due to their more ad hoc composition and less intimidating length. New compositions might also be more likely to be supplied with antiphons and readings, providing a comprehensiveness necessary to spread and adopt them. Thus, for example, *libelli* likely played a role in the composition of the section of **Saint-Germain** discussed above which had marginal antiphons, and included personal masses. The *libellus* in **Rouen** ends with two *Apologiae* (fol. 8v), both attributed to Ambrose (“Hanc beatus Ambrosius . . .”) and both used in our Saint-Amand manuscripts, but, again, not evident in Saint-Denis’s earlier sacramentaries, like **Saint-Denis** or **Senlis**, again undermining the assumption of origin of Saint-Denis of the *libellus*’ contents. Only the first of these (“Ante conspectum diuinae . . .”) was copied at Saint-Denis later, in Laon, Bibliothèque Suzanne Martinet Ms. 118, fol. 16r.

There are extraordinarily few copies of these masses outside of Saint-Amand. When one seeks out the Collects or other unique prayers in *Corpus Orationum* or the unique preface in *Corpus Praefationum*, for example, their presence almost only in Saint-Amand is underlined. Just one very interesting but far-off connection can be glimpsed. In fact, of all the manuscripts surveyed for these impressive works, only the Sacramentary of Vich (dated 1038) in Catalonia (**Vic**) has these seven masses, in the same order and as we find them in our **Tournai**, **Saint-**

716 Walters-Robertson, *Service Books of the Royal Abbey*, pp. 217–24; Decker-Hauer, *Memorialüberlieferung im frühmittelalterlichen Paris*, pp. 218–21.

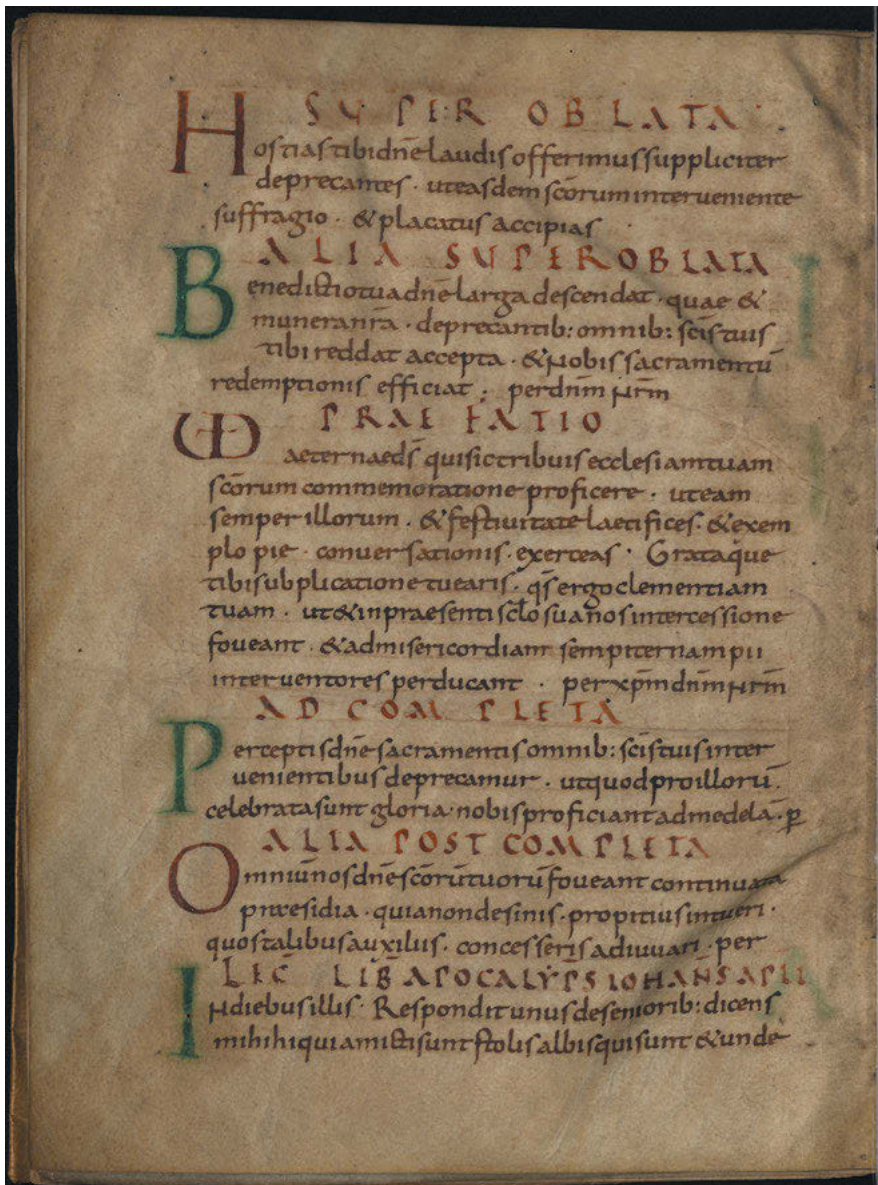


Figure 4.1: Portion of two masses for Mary and All Saints in a libellus written by Saint-Amand scribes, late ninth century. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 275 (A. 566), fol. 6r. Source: Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen, Ms. 275.

Germain, or **Sens**.⁷¹⁷ Six of the seven are in **Reims** (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 128v–131v) and, copied from it in **Saint-Thierry** (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 214, fol. 133r–136r). Both are missing the second mass (2). After the first mass, all the prefaces in **Saint-Thierry** appear with the next mass (thus, **2e** appears in mass 3, **3e** in mass 4, **4e** in mass 5 etc.), with the last **7e** supplied as an ALIA PRAEFATIO in mass 7. Otherwise, these masses are unknown in edited manuscripts, except that **Leofric** has parts of the fourth (4a, c, f) and **Mainz** (Mainz, Martinus-Bibliothek, Hs. 1, fol. 137r–v) records the fifth mass as part of additions made at Fulda or by Fulda scribes (see below, pp. 357–358).⁷¹⁸

Deshusses's edition edits all seven masses with the aid of only **Saint-Germain**, but he was not, in fact, always faithful to this manuscript.⁷¹⁹ Given their importance to the tradition of Saint-Amand and the varied transmission of them in several European manuscripts, a new edition of the seven masses is presented in appendix 4. As is visible in the edition, the tradition of Saint-Amand is remarkably consistent, with few variations. The later **Vic** generally copies these masses fairly well, but its diverse orthography is consistent enough to be of interest. Mass books have much to tell us about how spoken Latin developed, particularly in Italy, Spain, or Southern France.⁷²⁰ They consistently push back against the idea that liturgical Latin achieved a single form that was entirely distinct from the vernacular in the Carolingian period, but posit a much longer and more complex extrication from the vernacular.⁷²¹ **Vic** also preferred the Gelasian titles for prayers (SECRETA and POST COMMUNIONEM) to the Gregorian ones that Saint-Amand deployed.

The method of composition in each mass is strikingly similar. On the micro level, they do what the sacramentaries as a whole did with complete mass sets, by drawing on a very broad Carolingian tradition (Gregorian, *Hucusque*, Alcuin, as

717 Vich, Museo Episcopal, 66, *El sacramentario de Vich* ed. Olivar, 160–67; the first mass: Vic 1048=De 1906, Vic 1049=De 1907, Vic 1050=De 1908, Vic 1051=De 1909, Vic 1052=1910, Vic 1053=De 1911, Vic 1054=De 1912, Vic 1055=De 1913, Vic 1056=De 1914, etc; only the extra post communion prayer 5h (De 1927) and one preface 2e (De 1932) are missing; 7f and 7g also swap places in this mass.

718 Leof 2281–2283, ed. Orchard, vol. 2, p. 385n1: “written in the late tenth century.”

719 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 2, pp. 56–63.

720 Els Rose, “Liturgical Latin in Early Medieval Gaul,” in *Spoken and Written Language: Relations between Latin and the Vernacular*, ed. Mary Garrison, Arpád Peter Orbán and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 303–13.

721 On other liturgical texts that do the same, see Westwell, *Roman Liturgy and Frankish Creativity*, pp. 221–27; Arthur Westwell, “Correction of Liturgical Words, and Words of Liturgical Correction in the *Ordines Romani* of Saint Amand” in *Les Mots au Moyen Âge: Words in the Middle Ages*, eds. Vincent Debiais and Victoria Turner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020) pp. 89–107; Rose and Westwell, “Correcting the Liturgy and Sacred language,” pp. 141–75.

well as **Saint-Denis's** particular votive masses). Here, the Collects are exclusively new compositions (in the apparatus of Deshusses and in *Corpus Orationum* no equivalent in any Gregorian or Gelasian could be found). These are more extensive, and include, in each case, the list of all saints in their categories usually formatted in an identical manner in the genitive plural (“dei genetricis mariae, sanctorumque apostolorum, martyrum, confessorum ac uirginum, omniumque electorum tuorum”). A number of other new prayers were also supplied (1g, 3g, 4c, 5g, 6g, 7b, 7g), including one new preface (4e). Most other prayers in the sequence are reworkings of known prayers, in which some equivalent of the words “omnibus sanctis” is inserted into the middle of the prayer (for example, 6d), or these are simple adoptions of Gregorian prayers unchanged (for example, 6c). The compiler made use of the Gregorian and the Supplement, especially prefaces and the masses of Alcuin in the latter, but he also knew prayers from several votive masses found in **Saint-Denis** (Paris, BnF, Latin 2290, fol. 122r, 126r–v) which he put to use.⁷²²

There is a very similar style in the votive mass for a friend (De 2405–2408), found in **San Marino**, which appears also in **Saint-Germain** (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 145v–146r) and **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 181r–182v). Once again, there are vanishingly few surviving copies of this mass set elsewhere, though this time two English manuscripts supply them: it is original to the Missal of Robert of Jumièges (Rouen, BM, Ms. 274 (Y 6)), hence **Jumièges**, and added later to **Leofric**.⁷²³ Both English manuscripts clearly descend from the same recension, in which the singular mass became plural, and to which a different preface was supplied (De 1723), also from the Supplement. In **Saint-Thierry** it was also copied directly from our **Reims**.⁷²⁴ To complement the seven above, an edition and translation of this mass is supplied, also at the end of appendix 4.⁷²⁵

The particularly noticeable addition in **San Marino** to the Collect of both “celestium uirtutum” and “patriacharum prophetarum,” to the genitive lists of saints in 8a clearly connects it with the text added to **Mainz** by Fulda hands of the fifth

722 One such mass is copied by **Fulda** (Ful 1895–1898), supplied with a unique preface (CP 380), but our Saint-Amand masses are not found in **Fulda**.

723 Jum 261–62; in Leaf 166–74 as a MISSA PRO PENITENTIBUS (provided with chants and readings).

724 Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms 214, fol. 141r–142r.

725 A following mass in the series for a friend, likewise scarce except in **Sens** and **Saint-Germain** and not in **San Marino** (De 2409–2411) but in **Reims** and **Saint-Thierry**, which, in our manuscripts, repeatedly calls on Mary alone (“interuentu sancti dei genetricis mariae”), is also otherwise found in one English manuscript, the Red Book of Darley (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422), 166–68 with added reading and preface, with a particular interjection that adds the names of Saints Dunstan, Swithuin, and Aelphegus (d. 1012), bringing it strongly in connection to Canterbury. See CO 3066, 3365, 2245c.

mass for Mary and All Saints (5a), in which the virtues, prophets, and patriarchs were also added, along with a more specific mention of the Archangel Michael. This fact, along with the votive mass for concord from **San Marino** otherwise only found in **Fulda**, connects the recension of the Saint-Amand book possessed by Fulda monastery and used to create **Fulda** very strongly with **San Marino**. It suggests the original manuscript of **San Marino** itself was a later adaptation of **Sens**, in which it is likely all seven Saint-Amand masses of Mary and All Saints had likely been similarly enhanced with virtues, prophets, and patriarchs, an adaptation that was also available at Fulda. Thus, Fulda likely had access to a version of a Saint-Amand book more developed even than the surviving **Sens**, which might explain **Fulda**'s further "Gelasianisation" beyond even that book (see pp. 355–356). Even once they had been composed, tinkering still went on within the text of these masses, in order to make them even more exhaustive in the celestial aid they commanded. The breadth and variety of the intercession they requested was clearly their principal interest.

Given their rareness otherwise, the composition of these masses at Saint-Amand in the later ninth century seems to be likely. Their composer knew the sacramentary inside and out. His intense familiarity with the tradition can be demonstrated in the resonances of the newly composed prayers with texts from the Supplement. The use of phrases in the Collect 3a like "supernorum ciuium" (De 1942), which also appears in several of Theodulf's prefaces and blessings (De 1569, 1647, 1750) indicates this familiarity. Likewise, the votive mass for a friend also borrows images and phrasings from the broader tradition. In the AD COMPLETA 9d (De 2408) the striking image of "fidei quoque spei caritatisque gemmis ornatum" [trans. adorned with gems of faith as well as hope and charity] is taken from Theodulf's preface De 1720 and blessing De 1788.

Originality in the composition of new prayers and masses was certainly not the goal of those who composed such masses, and an individual stamp is, by design, evasive.⁷²⁶ Nor did he write new prayers when he did not need to, especially in the case of prefaces. Similar ways of proceeding are noted in some of the rare votive masses as above in **Sens**. The whole point of liturgical composition was to say something new, but in an old way, and this was something at which our compiler was very practiced. Yet taken together with the mass for a friend, their unity of focus upon all saints indicates a unity in conception. Indeed, the universalising nature of these masses coheres very strongly with the composition of our sacramentaries, which gradually incorporated all the saints whose liturgical ceremonies were available, and gave to each the dignity of a unique mass set. Masses

726 Leclercq, *L'amour des lettres*, pp. 220–235 on monastic liturgical compositions.

of Alcuin were an inspiration (De 1870: “sancta dei genetrix sanctique tui apostoli, martyres, confessores, uirgines, atque omnes sancti quorum in ista continetur ecclesia patronicia nos ubique adiuuent”) and a source. However, the wealth of texts repeating again and again these lists of saints in one series of seven masses, perhaps, as explicitly in the later copy in Vic, used to celebrate private masses on seven days of the week, is something that seems to be very peculiar to Saint-Amand.

Organising, Preparing, and Translating Liturgy

With the same ordering of the books in succession, the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand also incorporate ever more material to the opening of the mass book. In early copies of the Gregorian, the opening of the sacramentary simply started at the title and *Ordo Missae*. Gelasian sacramentaries, by contrast, could also have calendars or martyrologies, or, as in the case of the Colbertine fragments, even a penitential at the opening. **Le Mans**, as noted, had the minor ordinations as a kind of opening to the text, moved from an original place at the end of the Supplement, but in **Chelles** they were already removed. No ordinations were found at all in **Tournai** and **Saint-Germain**, but they were re-inserted into **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 18r–22r), where minor and major orders are united into a single sequence, lacking that for a deacon probably only by accident, and they are followed by a new order for church dedication (fol. 22r–23v), which was never incorporated at Saint-Amand before.

Before turning to the other manuscripts made at Saint-Amand, it is useful to consider the singular **Saint-Denis**. The compilation of **Saint-Denis** may, indeed, have inspired the other Saint-Amand books. In the calendar, unlike the Saint-Amand books, the indications of location from the martyrology are preserved, and the specific feasts of Saint-Denis are conspicuous.⁷²⁷ The vigil and day of the patrons of the monastery Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius (Paris, BnF, lat. 2290, fol. 5v) are written out in rustic capitals, including the employment of a

⁷²⁷ The dedication of the Church in Saint-Denis was celebrated: “Parisius civitate, quinto ferme ab urbe miliario, dedicatio ecclesiae beatissimorum martirum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii” (fol. 1v) as well as the invention of their relics “Parisius. Inventio corporum beatissimorum martyrum dynosii, rustici et eleutherii,” and the dedication of an altar at Saint-Denis by Pope Stephen “in galliis parisacensae, consecration altaris petri et pauli apostolorum in ecclesiae sanctorum martyrum dyonisii rustici et eleutherii quod stephanus papa de ipsorum reliquiis consecravit” (fol. 4r), the translation of relics into Saint-Denis: “et translatio corporis sanctorum in coenobio sancti dyonisii ideo hilari episcopi et sancti innocentii martyri atque sancti peregrini episcopi et martyri” (fol. 4v).

Greek capital delta and lunate sigma in the Latin name of Denis, a use of script to underline Dionysius's supposed Greek origins as the Areopagite: IN GALIIS PARI-SIUS V FERME AB URBE MILIARIO. PASSIO PRETIOSISSIMORUM CHRISTI MARTYRUM ΔΙΟΝΙΣΙΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΡΟΥΣΤΙΚΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ ΕΤ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ.

On fol. 7v to 8v are found the best and possibly earliest copy of the *Carolingian Missa graeca*. The extensive Gloria (“YMNUM ANGELICUM”), Creed, and Sanctus are written out in Greek, transliterated into Latin letters, with the translation of each word above it in smaller script in Latin.⁷²⁸ The Agnus Dei (“Agnos tou theou . . .”), of which **Saint-Denis** is the only Carolingian witness, does not have a translation. These fascinating texts have been discussed extensively by musicologists and it has become clear that they were not Byzantine or Roman in origin, or transliterated directly from Greek speakers, as older scholarship has claimed, but were compiled with the aid of glossaries and the sufficient Greek knowledge in Carolingian monasteries.⁷²⁹ They may be somewhat older than the textual evidence for them, which is our sacramentaries, and perhaps come from the reign of Louis the Pious. According to Atkinson, the texts in **Saint-Denis** were dictated by someone who knew Greek very well, but transcribed by someone who was not truly literate in the language.⁷³⁰ A Saint-Denis Greek specialist dictating to a Saint-Amand scribe less learned in the language can therefore probably be reconstructed. The exact, intended use of the *Missa graeca* is not made clear in any of the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, though we are informed by slightly later sources that they could also be said in private masses.⁷³¹ In **Saint-Denis**, they precede a litany, given here for a time of tribulation (PRO QUACUMQUE TRIBULATIONE).⁷³²

The ceremonies of ordination begin on fol. 9v. Unique to **Saint-Denis** is the EXORTATIO ET ORDO PROFESSIONIS ORDINANDORUM SACERDOTUM, which describes the duties of the bishop to enquire into the moral life of a new priest, and

⁷²⁸ On the *Doxa*, see Charles Atkinson, “*Doxa en ipsistis Theo: Its Textual and Melodic Tradition in the ‘Missa Graeca’*,” in *Chant Liturgy and the Inheritance of Rome. Essays in Honour of Joseph Dyer*, eds. Daniel DiCenso and Rebecca Maloy, HBS Subsidia 8 (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), 3–19.

⁷²⁹ Nina-Marie Wanek, “*Missa Graeca. Mythen und Fakten um griechische Gesänge in westlichen Handschriften*,” in *Menschen, Bilder, Sprache, Dinge. Wege der Kommunikation zwischen Byzanz und dem Westen*, vol. 2: *Menschen und Worte*, eds. Falko Daim, Christian Gastgeber, Dominik Heher, Claudia Rapp (Heidelberg: Propylaeum, 2019), pp. 113–23.

⁷³⁰ Charles Atkinson, “*The Doxa, the Pisteuo and the ellinici fratres: Some Anomalies in the Transmission of the Chants of the ‘Missa Graeca’*,” *The Journal of Musicology* 7 (1989), pp. 93–94.

⁷³¹ Nußbaum, *Kloster, Priestermonch und Privatmesse*, p. 248; later, the Greek mass would be said at Pentecost, see Charles Atkinson and Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, “*Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung der ‘Missa Graeca’*,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 39 (1982), pp. 120–25.

⁷³² Edited in Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 360–61; also Astrid Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften der Karolingerzeit*, MGH Hilfsmittel 24 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2007), pp. 611–15.

the duties to which the new priest would swear.⁷³³ Notably, the following ordinations were also expanded, even from their state in the Supplement, with the additions of the extra rituals which the Gelasian sacramentaries prescribed. Thus, the vesting of the new deacon in his stole (fol. 14r), the vesting of the priest in his chasuble, as well as two formulae for the unction of his hands (fol. 15r). In red, at the end of the consecration of the priest is added a text which seems to have been said by the consecrating bishop: “Mementote fratres et filii huius diei uestrae consecrationis, habentes quoque semper memoriam mei” [trans. Remember brothers and sons this day of your consecration, having also always the memory of me]. The opening exhortation/*ordo* and this personal appeal are both elements unique to the ordination rituals for **Saint-Denis**, and both relate to the presbyterial ordination. It is possible that **Saint-Denis** was, to a certain extent, intended to be used for the highest ceremonies in the monastery, which would include the ordination of priests, an ever more common occurrence in this period.⁷³⁴ That might have been an appropriate gift from Abbot Gauzlin, at the time of his accession to the abbacy in 878.⁷³⁵

Notably, sacramentaries produced at Saint-Denis towards the end of the ninth century show similar additions, indicating that Saint-Denis sacramentaries of this period had a developed apparatus. **Senlis** (written ca. 880) has a calendar (Paris, Bibliothèque Saint-Genevieve, Ms. 111, fol. 1–8r), with the special notice on the Apostles also found in **Saint-Denis** (fol. 8r–v), Gradual (fol. 9–23r), litany (fol. 23v–24v) and *Ordo* of church dedication (fol. 25–28r). Another fragmentary sacramentary from Saint-Denis preserved from the monastery of Saint-Victor also had a lectionary attached.⁷³⁶ **Laon** has, after its ordinations, the *missae graeca* with Gloria (YMNUM ANGELICUM) in Latin, then the text begins in Greek (Laon, Bibliothèque Suzanne Martinet Ms. 118, fol. 156v), with an interlinear translation in Latin, then one might hazard that a folio with the rest of the Gloria and, most likely, the Creed is now missing due to the parlous state of certain sections of the manuscript, then comes the Greek Sanctus (fol. 16v) and an alternative shorter Gloria (“Doxa patri”). Since **Laon** had a numbered chapter list running through it, we can deduce that it had a considerable amount of opening material that has not survived. The earliest numbered piece is on fol. 151r, numbered XXI, and comprises the Mass for the Anniversary of the Dedication of a Church (De 1262–1265), with the preface (De 4167) that the same mass has in our manuscripts. An *ordo* for church dedication certainly preceded this, as a first prayer on fol. 151r actually

733 Edited in De 4192.

734 Nußbaum, *Kloster, Priestermönch und Privatmesse*, p. 78.

735 Walters-Robertson, *Service Books of the Royal Abbey*, pp. 384–85; Boutemy, “Quel fut le foyer?,” p. 768.

736 Albiero, “Reconstructing a Ninth-Century Sacramentary-Lectionary.”

belonged to the mass that would be celebrated directly after the dedication in the original Gregorian (De 819), and probably a calendar and other material must be now missing. After blessings and consecrations of all sorts of objects for the church, the ordinations at the opening of **Laon** comprise not only the same ceremonies of the minor orders (fol. 153v–156r) but also all the Gregorian material, as well as extra material, that related to ordinations.⁷³⁷ Moving all the Gregorian and Supplement material that concerned ordination out of the Sacramentary and into the ordination material that preceded the Canon was an even more dramatic thematic reorganisation than we see in our Saint-Amand sacramentaries. Saint-Denis, as well, was strikingly inventive in organising books.

It is possible that **Saint-Denis**, or knowledge of books like it being made at the monastery, influenced the monks of Saint-Amand in the composition of their own sacramentaries, subsequent to that of **Chelles**. In the Saint-Amand books, from **Tournai** onwards, there also began to be more additional material opening the Sacramentary, with significant overlap.

Prefatory Material in **Tournai** (Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41)

Fol. 3r Lunar table.

4r–9v Calendar, with a full-page title in capitalis quadrata on fol. 3v attributing the organisation of some of the apparatus to Jerome.⁷³⁸ It has the four feasts of Saint Amand specific to the monastery and otherwise confines itself largely to sometimes obscure, local patrons of monasteries and cathedrals near to Saint-Amand and places with which Saint-Amand was linked.⁷³⁹

10r Lunar and temporal description.

⁷³⁷ Including for example, the Gregorian prayer for cutting of hair on fol. 183v; two prayers AD PUERULUM TONSORANDUM on fol. 153v also appear on the first page of **Saint-Denis** (Paris, BnF, lat. 2290, fol. 1r).

⁷³⁸ The title runs: “INCIPIT ORDO SOLARIS ANNI CUM LITTERIS A SANCTO HIERONIMO SUPERPOSITIS AD EXPLORANDAM SEPTIMANAE DIEM. ET AD LUNAE AETATEM INUESTIGANDAM IN UNO QUOQUE DIE PER DECEM ET NOVEM ANNOS” [trans. HERE BEGINS THE SOLAR ORDER OF THE YEAR WITH LETTERS ADDED BY SAINT JEROME FOR EXPLAINING THE DAY OF THE WEEK. AND FOR FINDING OUT THE AGE OF THE MOON IN EACH DAY FOR NINETEEN YEARS] (also in Stockholm, Kungliga Bibliotheket, A 136, fol. 5r, written there in red and green rustic capitals).

⁷³⁹ Thus Genevieve (Paris), Aldegundis (Mauberge) the deposition of Remi (Reims), deposition of St. Vaast (Arras), translation of Ragnulf (Arras), deposition of Germanus (Paris), deposition of Medardus (Noyon), deposition of Landelin (Lobbes, Crespin), deposition of Gaugericus (Cambrai), translation of Lambert (Lieges), Rupert (Salzburg), Piatius (Tournai), Bavo (Ghent), Ragemfledis (Denain), Richtrudis (Marchiennes), deposition of Eligius (Noyon), Nicasius (Reims/Tournai), and so on.

10v Gloria in Latin and Greek (entitled “Hymnus Angelicus grece et latini”) in two columns filling half the page. In the next column the Creed, but only in Latin (“Credo in unum deum”). The Sanctus in Greek in the lower margin was added afterwards, with the word ΑΓΙΟC (“Hagios”) written fully in Greek letters. The Creed may be initially only represented in Latin in **Tournai** because of a Frankish custom to recite it at every Mass.⁷⁴⁰

11r–v Litany. The saints here, once again, are the local patrons of monasteries and nunneries, as well as the episcopal churches in the immediate area.⁷⁴¹

In **Tournai**, a selection of additions is established from which later sacramentaries would draw. The sequence of cursus material, *missa graeca*, and the litany is replicated in the volumes which follow (**Saint-Germain** and **Sens**).⁷⁴² What **Tournai** still lacks are the expanding array of *apologiae*, which would be added in the later books. In these later books, conventions to set out all the introductory material in two columns were adopted, rendering the format different to the rest of the book.

The *apologiae* first appear in **Saint-Germain**, in which they come before the gradual, in a quire that is now somewhat disordered.⁷⁴³ The theological underpinning of the celebration of private and votive masses contributed to a parallel

⁷⁴⁰ Netzer, *L'introduction de la messe romaine*, pp. 222–23.

⁷⁴¹ Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften*, pp. 159–89; Maurice Coens, “Anciennes Litanies des saints (suite),” *Analecta Bollandiana* 55 (1937), at pp. 49–53; The presence of Eulalia in the litany recalls Eulalia of Barcelona, the subject of the famous Old French Eulalia Sequence, copied at Saint-Amand around 880; Chartier “L’auteur de la Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie,” pp. 159–76, makes a strikingly detailed claim that there was a translation of Eulalia’s body by Siegbord of Narbonne (Archbishop 873–885) to the nearby Abbey of Hasnon in 878, after the original, well-known translation to Barcelona. This claim has been repeated in scholarship on the Eulalia Sequence (for example, Stephen Nichols, *Literary Beginnings in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: University Press, 2021), p. 9), but seems to be founded on no evidence at all, and the reference to *España Sagrada* does not mention such a second translation. My suspicions were confirmed and a fruitless search for a source ended by Fernand Peloux, “Un Temoin ancien de la premiere translation d’Eulalie,” *Miscellanea Liturgica Catalana* 29 (2021), pp. 205–6, who said, of Chartier’s claim, “c’est pure conjecture”; Eulalia of Barcelona was venerated at Saint-Amand even from the time of Arn, according to martyrology Vienna, ÖNB, cod. lat. 420, see Maximilian Diesenberger, “Der Cvp 420 – die Gemeinschaft der Heiligen und ihre Gestaltung im frühmittelalterlichen Bayern,” *Francia* 71 (2010), pp. 219–48. She also appears in the calendar associated with Hucbald: Valenciennes, BM, MS 174, fol. 33r.

⁷⁴² Litany of **Saint-Germain** edited in Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften*, pp. 621–26, that of **Sens** pp. 627–32; **Tournai**, **Sens**, and **Saint-Denis** printed side by side in Koehler/Mütherich, DfS, pp. 370–75.

⁷⁴³ See Decker-Hauer, *Memorialüberlieferung im frühmittelalterlichen Paris*, pp. 154–58; on the apologies, see Adrien Nocent, “Les Apologies dans la celebration eucharistique,” in *Liturgie et Re-*

sense of the need for purity of priests who celebrated them, and the concomitant sense of unworthiness of many clerics.⁷⁴⁴ This strongly felt psychological need gave rise to the apologies, prayers said in preparation for the celebration of the mass, in which the priest stressed his own unworthiness and begged to be permitted to celebrate the mass worthily. These begin to appear in the Gelasians of the Eighth Century, associated with private masses in particular, but were incorporated into the Gregorian books of the later ninth century, and here, as at Saint-Amand itself, began to be placed before the Canon of the Mass itself, beginning what would later become fully developed “Ordo Missae.”⁷⁴⁵ A series appears as a distinct unit, for example, among the supplementary material “propre de Corbie” in **Rodrade** (Paris, BnF, lat. 12050, fol. 243v–245v), and likewise amongst miscellaneous closing material in **Saint Eloi** (Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 258r–264v), we find a list, though the *memoria* for the emperor was no longer present here. Corbie did not place them before the Canon of the Mass, and did not thus anticipate the development of the *ordo missae* with apologies, as our books do. Our books present them as a necessity for every mass celebrated, whereas in Corbie they are more optionally placed, and Saint-Denis generally did not copy them, as only one is reproduced in **Laon**. The products of Saint-Amand show a clear strengthening of the importance of *apologia* towards later ubiquity and their considerable expansion in tenth and eleventh century mass books.

The Corbie collection is closely related to that which begins to be incorporated at the opening of our books, beginning with **Saint-Germain**. There are eleven distinct *apologiae* in this manuscript (2v–4v, 8r–v), then the five *memoriae*, including that for the Emperor (6r, 8r).⁷⁴⁶ Several of these are not found in the

mission des Peches. Conférences Saint-Serge XVe séminaire d'études liturgiques (Rome: Edizione Liturgiche, 1975), pp. 179–96.

744 Andreas Odenthal, “Ante conspectum divinae maiestatis tuae reus assisto, Liturgie- und Frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum ‘Rheinischen Messordo’ und dessen Beziehungen zur Fuldaer Sakramentartradition,” *AfL* 49 (2007), pp. 1–35, repr. in *Liturgie vom Frühen Mittelalter zum Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung. Studien zur Geschichte des Gottesdienstes* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), pp. 16–48; Andreas Odenthal, “Zwei Formulae des Apologientyps der Messe vor dem Jahr 1000. Codex 88 and 137 der Kölner Dombibliothek,” *AfL* 37 (1995), pp. 25–44.

745 Eng 2191–2193 “INCIPIT ORATIO QUAM DEBET SACERDOS DICERE CUM UENERIT ANTE SANCTUM ALTARE CUM FLECTERIT HUMILITER CAPUT ANTE MENSAM DOMINI STATIM ARRIP-IAT COLLECTAM QUAE SUBSEQUITUR” [trans. Here begins the prayer which the priest must say when he comes before the holy altar, when he has humbly bowed his head before the Lord’s table, he should immediately recite the collect which follows].

746 Of the *Apologiae*, two are attributed to Ambrose of Milan (De 4373, 4374), then there is one in tribulation (De 4375), six without particular attribution (De 4376, 4378, 4379, 4380, 4381, 4382), and then several cotidiana (De 4383, 4384, 4385, 4386, 4387, 4388), and one is given “in festiuitatibus sanctorum” (De 4389); these all begin with the formula “Suscipe sancta trinitae”; see Joanne

Corbie collection in **Rodrade**, and the titles of the *memoriae* are also added to them only at Saint-Amand, suggesting the latter probably took from Corbie, not the other way round. In **Sens**, the same series of *apologiae* is moved to after the calendar (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 11v–14v) and before the litany. Some of the same *apologiae* were added by a Saint-Amand hand, in much smaller writing and some time later than the original manuscript, to blank folios before the ordinations and canon in **Le Mans** (Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 77, fol. 1v–2v). Bischoff specifically differentiated this from the main text and placed it during the “Franco-Saxon golden age,” which was thus later than the rest of the manuscript.⁷⁴⁷ So, the “Blütezeit” reconstructed by Bischoff can be understood to represent our “shift” in practice described above, and he confirms that that this was subsequent to the initial writing and decoration of the manuscript, **Le Mans**. This addition indicates the manuscript probably rested at Saint-Amand for some time, contrary to what Deshusses wrote when he suggested the manuscript had been designed to go to Le Mans cathedral in the 850s. In **Le Mans**, the scribe places the *apologiae* directly within the context of the unfolding of the mass itself, comprising a proper *Ordo Missae*, later to become ever more elaborate.⁷⁴⁸ Especially in this case, Saint-Amand participates in the general tendencies of clerical spirituality, without it being clear exactly how innovative the monastery itself was. The *apologiae*, perhaps from Corbie, do not, for example, take on the extreme listing of sins we saw in the collection of *MISSAE SPECIALIS SACERDOTIS*, which have more claim to be the productions of Saint-Amand itself.

Next, the books from **Tournai** onwards incorporated Saint-Amand copies of the *Missa graeca*. The somewhat confused transmission of the *Missa graeca* in the Saint-Amand sacramentaries after that of **Saint-Denis** suggests they worked from copies, and did not create the masses wholesale themselves. Indeed, with its *Missa graeca* (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 16v), **Saint-Germain** unnecessarily writes out the full Creed in Latin a second time at the bottom of the page, in addition to having the Creed in both Greek and Latin above in two columns (see Figure 4.2),

M. Pierce, “Early Medieval Prayers addressed to the Trinity in the ‘Ordo Missae’ of Sigebert of Minden,” *Traditio* 51 (1996), pp. 179–200.

747 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, p. 73n2287: “1vff Saint-Amand Schrift der franko-sächsischen Blütezeit.”

748 For example, the *Apologia* is placed during the *Gloria* by the rubric in rustic capitals: “QUANDO CLERUS TRACTIM HYMNUM ANGELICUM, ID EST SANCTUS SANCTUS SANCTUS SABAOOTH DECANTET. Deus qui non mortem . . .”; another “EXPLETA MISSARUM CELEBRATIONE ET DICTO A DIACONO ITE MISSA EST UENITUR ANTEA ALTARE ET OSCULATO DICITUR Placeat tibi deus sancta trinitatis . . .”; on this evolution, see Joanne M. Pierce, “The Evolution of the ordo missae in the Early Middle Ages,” in *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays*, ed. Lizette Larson-Miller (Abingdon: Routledge, 1997), pp. 3–23.

with the Gloria in Greek and Latin appearing on the preceding page (Paris BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 16r). The fact that the Creed in Latin is written out twice suggests the bringing together of an exemplar like **Tournai**, which had the Creed *only* in Latin, and not in Greek, with a newly available translation of the Greek Creed and its original text in Latin. **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 16v) removed the second, extra Latin Creed. Unlike in **Saint-Denis**, where all appear as a single unit, Saint-Amand perhaps only came across the elements of the *Missa graeca* gradually and perhaps from different sources and/or successive translation efforts. It has been shown, moreover, that the three books (**Tournai**, **Saint-Germain**, and **Sens**) transmit a different version of the *Missa graeca* than **Saint-Denis**.⁷⁴⁹ The Greek in the **Saint-Denis** is significantly better than that in these sacramentaries.⁷⁵⁰ Therefore it is likely the scribes working on the later books at Saint-Amand did not have access to the high-quality texts of the *Missa graeca* used in the creation of **Saint-Denis**, but they were still inspired by a knowledge of the *Missa graeca* and a recognition that these were used at Saint-Denis monastery. The manuscript of **Saint-Denis** itself was not available as a model later, but only the memory or knowledge of the Greek masses, texts for which the monks of Saint-Amand acquired elsewhere, or were compelled to make a new attempt at transliteration. Greek Creeds, for example, were available in some Gelasian sacramentaries and *ordines romani*.⁷⁵¹

The text found in all three manuscripts, the *Doxa*, is identical in **Tournai**, even in line length, to the following two manuscripts (**Saint-Germain** and **Sens**), indicating the same translation, and likely the same intended melody, was used for all three sacramentaries.⁷⁵² In **Saint-Germain**, we also have the only Carolingian copy to add neumes, here to the first part of the *Doxa*, with early palaeofrankish neumes.⁷⁵³ A few later Saint-Amand manuscripts carry the same type of neumes too, and it is likely a Saint-Amand monk was the hand who added them,

749 Atkinson and Sachs, “Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung,” p. 143; Atkinson “Pisteuo,” p. 93.

750 Atkinson “Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung,” p. 128: “Die Qualität seines Griechisch ist allerdings besser als die jeder ander der beigezogenen Quellen – einschließlich der drei anderen vermutlich gleichzeitig und im selbem Scriptorium entstanden” [trans. The quality of its Greek is also better than any other of the utilised sources – including the three others presumably created at the same time and in the same *scriptorium*].

751 Atkinson, “Pisteuo,” p. 83.

752 Atkinson, “Doxa en ipsistis Theo,” p. 14.

753 Transcribed, converted to modern notation, and edited in Atkinson, “Doxa en ipsistis Theo,” pp. 20–27; Jacques Handschin, “Eine alte Neumenschrift,” *Acta Musicologica* 22 (1950), pp. 69–97; also Ewald Jammers, “Die Palaeofrankische Neumenschrift,” *Scriptorium* 7 (1953), pp. 235–59; Rankin, *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe*, pp. 255–69, 304–17, at p. 95 she notes an added chant for Saint Germanus on Paris, BnF, lat.2291, fol. 1v is notated with Frankish neumes, indicat-

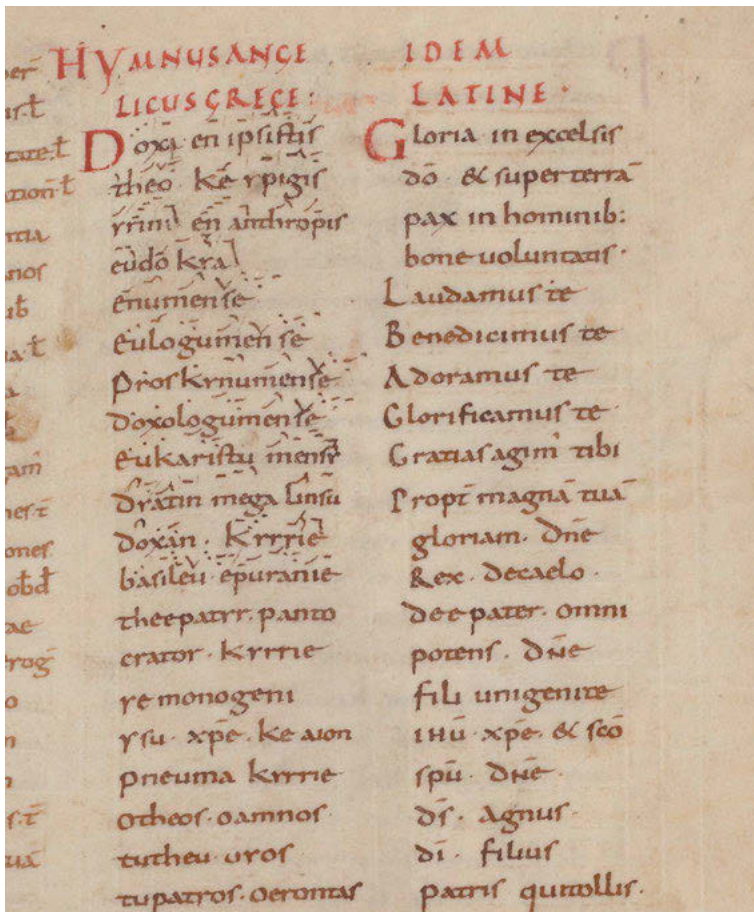


Figure 4.2: The *Missa Graeca*, translations of the Latin Mass into Greek, with Palaeofrankish neumes, in a sacramentary written by Saint-Amand scribes, late ninth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2291, fol. 16r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

perhaps while working in Saint-Germain.⁷⁵⁴ This indicates that our sacramentaries were still at the forefront of the development of ways of codifying, recording, and memorizing accompanying music to the *Missa graeca*, even if the *Missa*

ing these were likely preferred at Saint-Germain itself, while Saint-Amand, instead, wrote Palaeofrankish neumes.

754 Valenciennes, BM, MS 294, 399, and 107 from the eleventh and twelfth century.

graeca did not themselves originate at Saint-Amand, but, likely, an independent attempt at the translation and transliteration of them was undertaken there.

Of course, as has been noted, the beauty and status of Greek as a sacral language adequately explains the origin of the *Missa graeca* in the Carolingian period, perhaps at Saint-Denis in the time of Louis the Pious and without direct Byzantine input.⁷⁵⁵ At Saint-Denis, Greek served as a special link to the patron saint, as he was understood then, Denis as Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, whose life was translated for Hilduin, and whose name is conspicuously written with Greek letters in the calendar of Paris, BnF, lat. 2290 as well.⁷⁵⁶ At Saint-Amand by contrast, with the copying of an independent transliteration, and the conspicuous use of the Greek lettering for Jesus's name through the deluxe volumes, the use of the Greek probably rested on the principle of synthesis that underlines our manuscripts, which, by their breadth and universality of the saints they venerated, made claims to be “universal liturgical encyclopaedias,” in which the Greek texts proved the incorporation of all Christian traditions.

Spiritual Succour: The *Ordo* for the Sick at Saint-Amand

In contrast to, for example, **Saint Eloi** from Corbie, the use made of *ordines* is not exceptional in the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand. For the majority of occasional rites (marriage, baptism), they simply copied what they had in the Supplement *Hucusque*. There is, however, one extraordinary exception. The experimentation with liturgical forms at Saint-Amand has already been highlighted by Paxton with regard to the orders for the sick and the dead.⁷⁵⁷ As he noted, both **Chelles** (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57, fol. 147r–148r) and **Tournai** (Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 185–186r) simply replicated the order for the visitation of a dying person as found in the Supplement *Hucusque* by Benedict of Aniane (De 1386–1415). This comprised mostly prayers, and very few rubrics, and was somewhat out of step with developing norms around death presented in the equivalent rites in the Gelasians of the Eighth Century.⁷⁵⁸ A separate rite for unction of the sick, not found in the Supplement's description, can be found added to the Supplement in the Corbie Sacramentary of **Rodrade**,

⁷⁵⁵ Bernice Kackzynski, *Greek in the Carolingian Age: The St. Gall Manuscripts* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1988), pp. 100–112.

⁷⁵⁶ Atkinson and Sachs, “Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung,” pp. 141–44.

⁷⁵⁷ Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, pp. 169–85.

⁷⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 138–48.

among its own “proper” supplementary material.⁷⁵⁹ In **Saint-Germain**, and in **Reims**, for which Paxton accepted Deshusses’s dating, the monks of Saint-Amand integrated a new rite of the unction of the sick into Benedict of Aniane’s simpler description of the ritual, with the newly added formula (De 4005):

UNGUES EUM OLEO SANCTO ET DICENS Deus omnipotens pater domini nostri iesu christi in uirtute spiriti sancti unus in trinitate deus miserere huic famulo tuo . et tribue ei remission omnium peccatorum et recuperationem ab imminente aegritudine per hanc sanctam unctionem et nostram supplicem deprecationem. qui uiuis

[trans. God, almighty father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the virtue of the Holy Spirit, one in the Trinity, have mercy on this Your servant, and grant him remission of all sins and recovery from this threatening illness, through this holy unction and our humble supplication. Who liveth].

They added a new mass for those on the verge of death: “PRO INFIRMO QUI PROXIMUS EST MORTI” (De 2794–2797) (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, 164r–v), just prior to the rites for the dead. Paxton wondered if the mass was a Saint-Amand composition.⁷⁶⁰ As he noted, the mass makes use of a Gallican concept of spiritual medicine, while partaking of the growing sense that the devil could be overcome by communal prayer. Paxton then highlighted that **Saint-Denis** (Paris, BnF Latin 2290, fol. 157v–165r), separately and more completely, synthesised the different ritual traditions of Gelasian and Gregorian, Roman and Gallican, including more

⁷⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 148–53; more on unction in H. B. Porter, “The origin of the medieval rite for anointing the sick or dying,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 7 (1956), pp. 211–25, discussing mostly the rite in **Saint Eloi** as the Carolingian rite, and unaware of the Saint-Amand development. Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, pp. 149–50 notes that **Saint Eloi** and **Rodrade** are very related, but the former has been altered with material from visitation. Both possess an interesting final gloss, quoted *Ibid.*, p. 159n116 which noted that “many priests” elsewhere also anointed the senses, in contrast to the practice described in the previous rite, indicating an awareness of diversity of practice in the rite, but, typically, without condemnation.

⁷⁶⁰ Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, p. 172n27; Paxton missed that the mass is present in **Tournai**, but is not found with the rites of the dead. Instead, it comes at the very end of the manuscript (Saint Petersburg, Publichnaia Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41, fol. 206v–207r) and is not numbered within the *capitula*. It appears with the *MISSA GENERALIS UEL OMNIMODA*, which was still copied at the very end of **Saint-Germain** (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 196r–v) as well. We can again follow the development of the structuring of votive masses from one manuscript to another, since **Saint-Germain** obviously moved the mass for the dead added at the end of **Tournai** to the proper place within the rites of dying, but left the *MISSA GENERALIS* where it was; the same mass for those near to death is however, also in **Saint-Vaast** and **Tours** (De 2794–2797), not known by Paxton, and thus may not be of Saint-Amand itself, but a general tradition circulating in the area.

extensive rubrics.⁷⁶¹ He presented the Saint-Amand sacramentary **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 197r–212v) as the “culmination” of this extensive work of synthesis, since it integrated the **Saint-Denis** description of the rite with what had been done in **Saint-Germain** into a “cohesive sequence” that covered the entire process from the final illness to burial, including a deathbed reconciliation and anointing. The rubrics prescribe the anointing to be done nine times to different parts of the body, and explains specifically the purifying intent of the anointing, with five prayers to accompany these anointings, including the single prayer of **Saint-Germain**, the one found in the **Saint-Denis** rite, one found in the Corbie rite of **Rodrade**, and two others.⁷⁶² **Sens** wrote out in full two complete litanies accompanying these rites, which no previous book made at Saint-Amand had done, and also includes all the antiphons.⁷⁶³ In the rites for the sick these are written out in full in normal-sized script, not in smaller ones. The mass for the person “proximus morti” is also provided with both antiphons and readings in the main

⁷⁶¹ Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, pp. 177–79.

⁷⁶² Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, p. 149; Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 201v: “ET SIC PERGUNGUANT SINGULI SACERDOTIS INFIRMUM DE OLEO SANCTIFACTO . FACIENTIS CRUCES IN COLLUM ET GUTTUR ET PECTUS ET INTER SCAPULAS ET SUPER QUINQUE SENSUS CORPORE OS ET INSUPER CILIA OCULORUM ET IN AURES INTUS ET FORIS ET IN NASUM SUMMITATEM SEUE (sic.) INTERIUS ET IN LABIA EXTERIUS . ET IN MANUS SIMILITER EXTERIUS ID EST DE FORIS . UT MACULAE QUAE PER QUINQUE SENSUS MENTIS ET CORPORIS FRAGILITATE CARNIS ALIQUO MODO INHAESERUNT . HAEC MEDECINA SPIRITALE ET DOMINI MISERICORDIA PELLANTUR . DUM ERGO UNGUIT SACERDOS INFIRMUM: DECANT HAS ORATIONES MOROSIUS UNGUENDO” [trans. and then each priest anoints the sick with sanctified oil. You make a cross on the neck, on the throat, on the chest and between the shoulders and on the five senses of the body, that is the mouth and over the lids of the eyes and on the ears, within and without and onto the top of the nose and inside it and on the outside of the lips and similarly on the outside of the hands, that is from outside, so that the impurities that have adhered in any way by the five senses and by the fragility of the bodily flesh, by this spiritual medicine and the Lord’s pity are overcome. Then therefore the priest anoints the sick, they should say these prayers more slowly while anointing].; the innovative nature and importance of the **Sens** rite is also highlighted by Ruggero Dalla Mutta, “Un rituel de l’onction des malades du IX^e siècle en Flandre, chaînon important entre le rituel ‘carolingien’ et les rituels des X^e et XI^e siècles,” *Mens concordet voci. Mélanges Martimort* ed. Ferdinando Giuseppe Antonelli (Paris: Desclée, 1983), pp. 608–18.

⁷⁶³ Litanies of **Sens** are edited by Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften*, pp. 632–45; **Saint-Denis** prescribes the litany, Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, p. 171: “ATQUE AGENDA EST LAETANIA PROUT PER MISERIT RATIO TEMPORIS ET SECUNDUM QUOD IN CAUSA EGRESSURI PERSPICIT POTERIT UEL AESTIMARI,” [trans. and the litany should be done as time permits, and according to what can be appreciated and estimated in the case of the person dying], does not write it out. Presumably the litany at the beginning of the manuscript could serve.

text See Figure 2.12.⁷⁶⁴ Saint-Amand's tendency and ability to experimentally synthesise various traditions, which we have seen on the macro level in the complete sacramentary, is thus confirmed on the micro level by Paxton's analysis of the *ordo*.

Paxton was aware that the same rite was also added to Hildaard's sacramentary, **Cambrai**, and we now know this also was done by Saint-Amand scribes (Cambrai, Le Labo, 164, fol. 223–32v: “ORDO AD UISITANDUM ET UNGENDUM INFIRMUM” [trans. AN ORDO FOR VISITING AND ANOINTING THE SICK]).⁷⁶⁵ What he was not able to verify is that **Cambrai** actually further developed the text along the lines he traced for the previous books. **Cambrai** has only one litany, edited by Orchard in his article.⁷⁶⁶ In general, the two **Sens** litanies are significantly more extensive, but **Cambrai** has the addition of one local Cambrai saint, Autbertus, not found in **Sens**.⁷⁶⁷ However, after the same rubric as in **Sens**, it assigns distinct new liturgical formulae for each anointing of the different parts of the body, rather than five generic formulae being available for all unctions in **Sens** (see Figure 4.3).

Anointing Formulae in **Cambrai** (Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 164, fol. 228r–229r)

“UNCTIO AD CAPITE. Unguo caput tuum oleo sanctificato. in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti ut more militis uncti praeparatus ad luctam possis ereas superare cateruas . per.

[trans. UNCTION OF THE HEAD. I anoint your head with holy oil, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, so that, after the manner of a soldier prepared for victory, you may be able to overcome the forces of the enemy. Through].

UNGUO(sic.) AD OCULOS . (U)nguo oculos tuos de oleo sanctificato . ut quiquid in licito uisu deliquisti . per huius olei unctionem expietus . per.

[trans. UNCTION OF THE EYES. I anoint your eyes with holy oil, that in what way be sight you have trespassed, is propitiated by the unction of this holy oil. Through].

AD AURES. Unguo aures has sacri oleo liquore . ut quicquid peccato delectatione nociui auditus ammissum est haec medicinas spiritualis euacuet . per dominum.

[TO THE EARS. I anoint these ears with the liquid of this holy oil . so that in what way you have fallen into sin by the pleasure of hearing . this spiritual medicine will erase . Through the Lord].

⁷⁶⁴ Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 206r–v; it follows a *MISSA PRO INFIRMO IN DOMO* from **Saint-Denis** (Paris, BnF, lat. 2290, fol. 158v–159r), which in **Sens** now also has rubrics and antiphons.

⁷⁶⁵ Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, p. 193.

⁷⁶⁶ Orchard, “Ninth and Tenth Century Additions,” p. 287.

⁷⁶⁷ Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften*, pp. 646–51.

AD NARES. Unguo has nares de oleo sacrato ut quicquid noxae contractum est a [o]doratus superfluo ista emaculet medicatio . per.

[TO THE NOSTRILS. I anoint these nostrils with this holy oil, so whatever badness has been caught by excessive smells, is cleansed by this medicine. Through].

AD LABIA . Unguo labia ista consecrati olei medicamento . ut quicquid otiosa uel etiam criminosa peccasti locutione . diuina clementia miserante expurgetur hac unctione . per.

[trans. TO THE LIPS. I anoint these lips with the medicine of consecrated oil, that however you have sinned by idle or even criminal speech, with the mercy of the divine clemency, is cleansed by this unction. Through].

AD SCAPULAS . Unguo has scapulas de oleo sacrato ut omni parte spirituali protectione munitus . iacula diaboli impetus uiriliter contemnere . ac procul e corpore [sic. cum robore] superni iuuaminis repellere possis . per.

[trans. TO THE SHOULDERS. I anoint these shoulders with holy oil, so that every part is fortified with spiritual protection, to despise in a manly fashion the darts of the devil, and that you can repel them with the strength of heavenly aid. Through].

AD MANUS . Unguo has manus de oleo benedicto . ut quicquid illicito uel noxio opere peregerunt . per hanc unctionem euacuetur . per.

[trans. TO THE HANDS. I anoint these hands with holy oil, that whatever unlawful or harmful work they have undertaken, will be erased by this unction. Through].

UNCTIO AD PEDES . Unguo has pedes de oleo benedicto . ut quicquid superfluo uel nociuo incessu commiserunt, ista aboleat per unctio . per.

[trans. UNCTION TO THE FEET. I anoint these feet with blessed oil, so that whatever vain or harmful walks they have undertaken, may be cancelled by the unction. Through].

ITEM ALIA AB ALIO SACERDOTE DICENDA . In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti sit tibi haec unctio olei sanctificati ad purificationem mentis et corporis et ad munimen. et ad defensionem contra iacula inmundorum spiritum.

[trans. AGAIN ANOTHER SAID BY ANOTHER PRIEST. In the name of the Father and the Son and Holy Spirit be to you this unction of holy oil to the purification of body and mind and to the fortification, and to defence against the darts of the unclean spirits].

The theme of spiritual purification of the senses from the sins of life is the same, but **Cambrai's** *ordo* is obviously a developed form of that in **Sens**. Notable in both texts is the assumption of the presence of several ordained priests at the bedside, in the final rubric, indicating this is likely taking place in the monastery, well equipped with many priest-monks, and this should not be seen as a visitation by a local clergyman to a dying parishioner. The new features of **Cambrai** were proba-

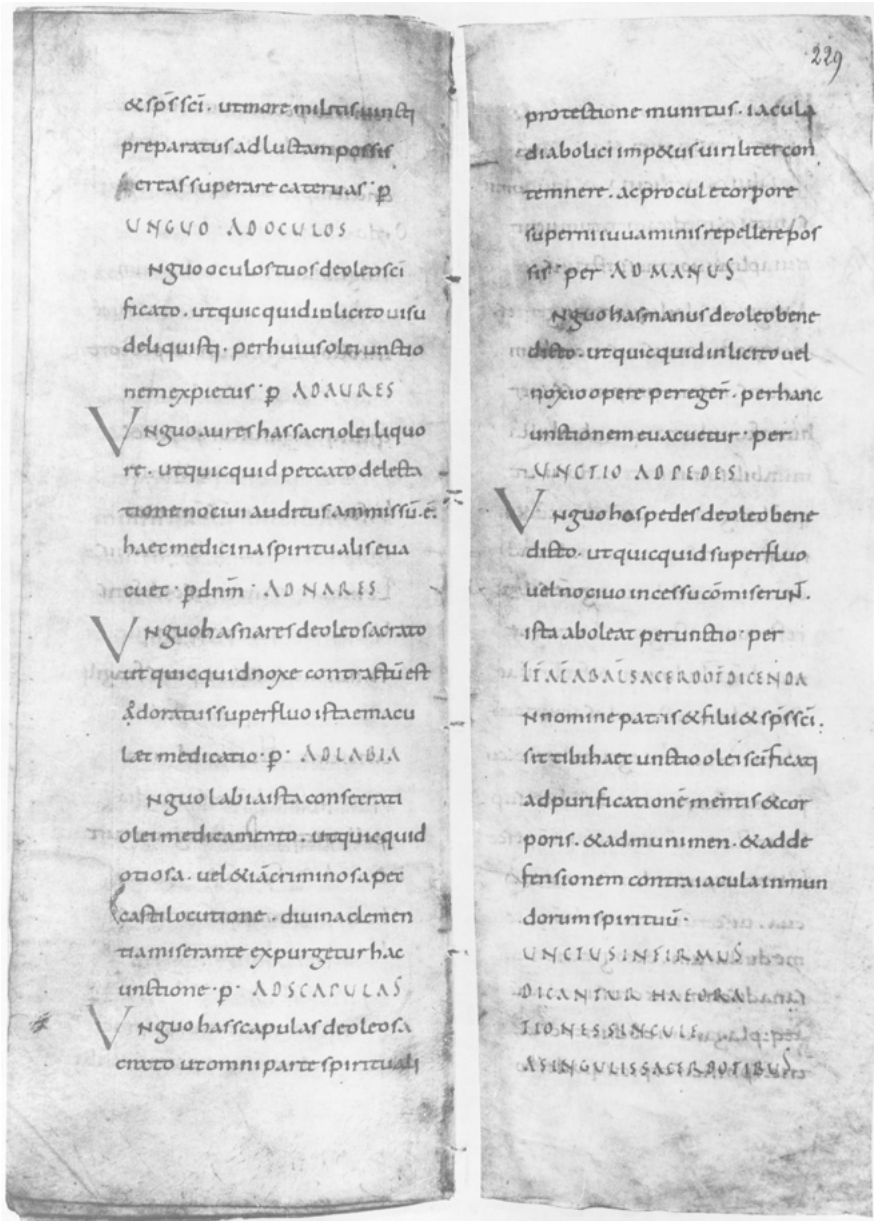


Figure 4.3: Formulae for anointing the sick written by Saint-Amand scribes in the later ninth century into an earlier sacramentary of Cambrai. Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 164, fol. 228v–229r. (Photos Le Labo – Cambrai).

bly incorporated into the *ordo* after the writing of **Sens**, otherwise the latter would have these new forms.⁷⁶⁸ This places the additions to **Cambrai** in the later 880s, and I would hazard that some monks of Saint-Amand were in Cambrai at this time, perhaps seeking refuge and possibly distinct from those at Saint-Germain, and were asked to enhance the venerable Sacramentary of Hildoard with what were recognised in Cambrai as innovative and useful new liturgical texts: new rites for sick and the dead developed within our sacramentaries, but also the Saint-Amand blessings discussed above. The liturgical creativity humming at Saint-Amand under Gauzlin had not gone unnoticed in nearby centres. Orchard showed that these unction formulae appear in a number of tenth-century books, including **Fulda**, confirming the book used at Fulda was likely more advanced than **Sens**, and the earliest portion of **Leofric**, “Leofric A.”⁷⁶⁹ **Cambrai** is the earliest of them, and this addition of anointing formulae follows the logic of the *ordo* being developed in Saint-Amand through our books. Thus, it seems, “the important centre in northern Europe” (Orchard) from which these unction formulae originally issued was our monastery, Saint-Amand.

This is further indicated by the *libellus* noted by Palazzo (Paris, BnF, lat. 13764, fol. 90r–117v), which includes an *ordo* of unction, with the Saint-Amand “MISSA PRO INFIRMO QUI PROXIMUS EST MORTE” (fol. 114r–115v), including antiphons and readings, as in **Sens**, but also the unction of each part of the body, fol. 106r–107r, with developed rubrics drawing on **Sens**, as in **Cambrai**.⁷⁷⁰ This booklet is dated to the turn of the ninth to the tenth century, and it was clearly written in Reims. The litany capitalises Benedict, Amandus, Remigius of Reims, but also Noyon saints Medard and Eligius, linking it conceptually to the **Noyon** fragment and **Reims**, which was likely copied under Huchald at Saint-Thierry, and in which Noyon saints also appeared in the distinct Canon quire. Perhaps this booklet was copied from other working texts of Huchald. Palazzo suggested the *libellus* was copied by Saint-Amand hands, though scribes of Saint-Thierry imitating them is again, in this case, more likely. The traits I noted to distinguish **Reims** from the true books of Saint-Amand appear in this *libellus*, including the irregular forms of initials (for example, the A on Paris, BnF, lat. 13764, fol. 95v, and 116r). This is very suggestive of a similar production process as the sacramentary, **Reims**, that is, Reims scribes copying Saint-Amand models under direction of a Saint-Amand

⁷⁶⁸ The two masses of St. Dionysius they also added (Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 164, fol. 220r–221v) are also not found in the surviving traditions of either Saint-Amand or Saint-Denis, see Orchard “Ninth and Tenth Century Additions,” p. 291.

⁷⁶⁹ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, vol. 1, pp. 118–19 in the edition Leof 2523–2533; also Ful 2934–2457; they are translated into Old English in Jum 290–94.

⁷⁷⁰ Palazzo, “Les deux Rituels d’un libellus de Saint-Amand.”

master (Huchald), and including another Reims copy of a “Franco-Saxon” initial on fol. 90r.

The *ordo* for the sick proves that our Saint-Amand sacramentaries were the venue for liturgical experimentation going on at Saint-Amand and that this was recognised and appreciated in other, nearby centres. The focus of this experimentation was not only texts of the mass, but also the duty of the monastic community and of the priest to purify and prepare a sick brother for death.⁷⁷¹ In the Reims *libellus*, the rite of the dying is preceded by an order of penance (fol. 90–95r), but this rite was not developed within our Saint-Amand sacramentaries, whose penance rite was generally not exceptional, and it was, I would suggest, copied by Reims scribes from another source.⁷⁷² The focus of the energy of our sacramentaries was principally within the monastic community, including the monastery’s cycle of masses, not on the rites carried out outside of it. They do not have the pastoral focus of the later **Fulda**, with its Old High German confessions, for example.⁷⁷³

Likewise, **Sens** also has an order for church dedication, the *ORDO AD ECCLESIAM DEDICANDAM* (fol. 22r–23v), but this is unexceptional.⁷⁷⁴ It does not present the more unique characteristics of the same rite found, for example, in the **Saint-Denis** (Paris, BnF, lat. 2290, fol. 139v–151v).⁷⁷⁵ The return of the rites of ordinations to **Sens** (which were removed in **Tournai** and **Saint-Germain**), and the new addition of the order of church dedication offers an intriguing possibility that the sacramentary was created for a bishop, for whom such rites would be of value. It is possible the sacramentary which came to Sens might have been intended for Gauzlin, once he was made Bishop of Paris in 884. Gauzlin might have also seen to it that some material from his other abbey of Saint-Denis was now available to the compilers of this book. This would have been easier, indeed, if **Sens** was created during the time the Saint-Amand monks were in Paris itself, perhaps prior to the siege of Paris in 886 and Gauzlin’s death.

In the case of the rites for the dying, **Sens** drew once again on a text from **Saint-Denis**, which the earlier sacramentaries of Saint-Amand did not choose to

771 For example, neither sacramentary of Tours show the same traits (Dehusses, *Le Sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, pp. 152–54).

772 Even Stockholm, Kungliga Bibliotheket, A 136, fol. 196r–v simply replicates the Supplement’s prayers for penance, without any more rubrics; see Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, p. 123 (**Saint-Germain**) and p. 122 (**Saint-Denis**).

773 Ful 2377; on **Fulda**’s pastoral character, see Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West* (Harlow: Pearson Education limited, 2013), p. 137.

774 Edited by Deshusses according to **Saint-Vaast**, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, pp. 197–98.

775 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, pp. 200–204.

access, since **Saint-Denis's** death and burial rite, itself an ambitious synthesis, was integrated only in **Sens**. If **Sens** was written in Paris, soon after **Saint-Germain**, and for Gauzlin as Bishop, the renewed availability of **Saint-Denis** forms in this final case is less surprising. The use of special **Saint-Denis** material by **Sens** is confirmed by an ALIA prayer in the mass for the anniversary of the dead (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 216v), with the invocation of “Beatorum martyrum tuorum stephani dionisii . . .,” appearing also in **Saint-Denis** (De 3006).

Gauzlin, Abbot of both Saint-Amand and Saint-Denis, and Bishop of Paris, was a likely recipient or patron for a book which, in a renewed form, combined distinctive masses from Saint-Denis with the fruits of liturgical creativity of Saint-Amand. The incorporation of Saint-Denis material into **Sens** was the reason why some have theorised, contrary to Deshusses, that **Saint-Denis** was also among the last books made by Saint-Amand, perhaps, in fact, after **Saint-Germain**, which does not conspicuously incorporate the same weight of distinctly Saint-Denis material as **Sens** does, though it does have some texts from Paris, likely from Saint-Germain.⁷⁷⁶ **Sens** and **Saint-Denis** share the trait of using no silver in their decoration, and also have a separate quire for the Canon, but **Saint-Denis's** script is, however, more consistent and considerably more well-executed than **Sens** or **Saint-Germain**. Theoretically, there is no problem placing **Saint-Denis** in the late 870s or early 880s, before or after **Saint-Germain**. We do know it was likely prior to 884, by the addition of the plural form “et regibus nostris” to the Canon. Nevertheless, I would be inclined to suggest it was compiled and written by a master scribe of Saint-Amand who was summoned to Saint-Denis by Gauzlin in the late 870s, who left it behind there, but that then Saint-Denis material was independently rediscovered by the monks of Saint-Amand during the compilation of **Sens** for Gauzlin, after they had returned to Paris in exile, a few years later.

Saint-Germain and the Enhanced Sacramentaries

Lections and antiphons appear occasionally in individual rites and masses within our sacramentaries, as integrated parts of the mass texts (particularly in the material for the sick or dying in **Sens**, Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket A 136, fol. 201r, 201v, 204v, 209v). Another mass with integrated readings is found on Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 7v. The same occasional and unsystematic application is true of, for example, in one mass in **Rodrade** (Paris, BnF, lat. 12050, fol. 212r–213v), again a **MISSA**

⁷⁷⁶ Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, p. 169n18, referring to the sickness rite.

SACERDOTIS PROPRIA (De 2078–2082), which clearly links the incorporation of readings to masses of private celebration.⁷⁷⁷ These mass texts possibly came out of a *libellus* or a single sheet, in which this incorporation was both conceptually and practically easier, as in the case of the **Rouen** *libellus*, and/or it represented a distinct *ordo*, in which extensive rubrics made the incorporation of full readings and, especially, antiphons a logical step, as in the case of Saint-Amand's *ordo* for visiting the sick, that also circulated in *libelli*. An innovation in the Northern French context was the addition of incipits of antiphons to the margin, sometimes seen unsystematically in our manuscripts (for example, the private masses in Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 139v–144r), but fully undertaken throughout the entire manuscript only in **Reims**, in another stark divergence from Saint-Amand's usual practice.⁷⁷⁸ As Rankin also noted, the **Reims** marginal antiphons diverge in their organisation from the Gradual attached to **Saint-Germain**, having Alleluias assigned to the post-Pentecostal Sundays ordered by the number of the psalm itself, where the Gradual attached to **Saint-Germain** is not ordered in this fashion.⁷⁷⁹ This is another clue that **Reims** is later, and more distinct, than was supposed by Deshusses. As Huchald was likely behind the **Reims** book, he might have come up with the new ordering of the post-Pentecostal Sunday psalms in the process of compiling it.

However, our manuscripts never systematise the incorporation of antiphons and readings into the mass sets to cover the entire sacramentary tradition. That systematisation gave rise to what is known as the plenary missal, and which was often represented as a progressive process that was only completed in the high Middle Ages. Nevertheless, varied attempts were made in the ninth century, and even prior, to construct books that were more integrated.⁷⁸⁰ In particular, in central and southern Italy, fully integrated missals, with both antiphons and readings, represent the overwhelming majority of the evidence for mass books even

777 This mass is one of the earliest extant of this kind, already in the Gelasians (Eng 2194–2200), from whom **Rodrade** simply takes it over, but adds readings, and it was incorporated to the Gregorian early and often (Verona MSS, **Trent**, etc.).

778 Susan Rankin, "Carolingian Liturgical Books: Problems of Categorization," *Gazette du livre médiéval* 62 (2016), pp. 28–31.

779 Michel Huglo, "Les listes alléluïatiques dans les témoins du graduel Grégorien," in *Speculum musicae artis. Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann*, ed. Heinz Becker and Reinhard Gerlach (Munich: Fink, 1970), pp. 219–27.

780 Nußbaum, *Kloster, Priestermonch und Privatmesse*, pp. 179–82; Giacomo Baroffio, "I manoscritti liturgici italiani tra identità universale e particolarismi locali," in *Vita religiosa e identità politiche. Universalità e particolarismi nell'Europa del tardo medioevo*, ed. Sergio Gensini (Pisa: Pacini, 1988), pp. 449–64.

prior to 1100.⁷⁸¹ This evidence is unfortunately almost entirely fragmentary and/or palimpsested. In the more extensive surviving evidence from Northern France, more integrated sacramentaries appear later and are more like individual experiments, seemingly undertaken at several centres simultaneously and perhaps to a degree independently in the later ninth century. Our **Saint-Germain** displays one way this could be done, attaching a distinct Gradual at the opening of the sacramentary, and a lectionary at the end, giving a kind of triptych structure.⁷⁸²

Saint-Germain confirms that our manuscripts were designed to preserve the distinctive traditions of Saint-Amand. The lectionary, in particular, is not a full lectionary, unlike the preceding sacramentary or Gradual but only has readings for distinctive votive masses, the masses of Alcuin, and includes the readings for the masses of this style unique to Saint-Amand: DE SANCTO IOHANNE BAPTISTAE, DE SANCTO PETRO and DE SANCTO STEPHANO, as well as for various common masses. These could theoretically be used for any of the saints' feasts in the preceding portions. The presence of the three particular votive masses confirms that these are readings selected to apply to masses transmitted in our sacramentaries, which were not given their own readings in other lectionary manuscripts, such as the "Comes of Alcuin," copied somewhere nearby in Paris, BnF, lat. 9452.⁷⁸³ They offer only a judicious selection of what would not be available elsewhere, perhaps selections made by liturgists in the monastery of Saint-Amand itself. This was a different compiling principle from the sacramentary or Gradual, but one which makes equally clear a distinctive effort to safeguard the monastery's traditions. Likewise, neumes were added to a few of the chants in the Gradual of this manuscript, representing memory aids in cases of possible confusion, as in the case of the neumes on the "Doxa en ipsitis" translation of the Gloria, where the chant would be particularly complex and unfamiliar. Rankin identified that the neumes marked those chants which began with the same words as other chants, and thus allowed singers to differentiate the melodies between chants that they might otherwise confuse.⁷⁸⁴

781 Andrew Irving, "On the Counting of Mass Books," *AfL* 57 (2017), pp. 24–48; Rankin, "Carolingian Liturgical Books."

782 On "Sacramentary-antiphoners" as a Carolingian phenomenon, and in-depth analysis of one example: Daniel J. DiCenso, "The Carolingian Sacramentary-Antiphoner: A Case Study (Bruxelles, KBR, Ms. 10127-44)" in *On the Typology of Liturgical Books* ed. Irving and Buchinger, pp. 353–452.

783 André Wilmart, "Le lectionnaire d'Alcuin," *EphLit* 51 (1937), pp. 136–95; even in the supplemented form of this manuscript, this only provides readings for a small handful of votive masses, and not Alcuin's own.

784 Susan Rankin, *Sounding the Word of God: Carolingian Books for Singers* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2022), pp. 191–192 and 331n42.

A sacramentary “enhanced” with a Gradual and/or lectionary is seen in a couple of manuscripts of this time, notably also from Saint-Denis at the time of the siege of Paris. **Senlis**, ca. 880, has a Gradual, and a second manuscript has an even more innovative format, **Laon**, a combination of sacramentary, Gradual and lectionary for the winter months, newly dated to the end of the ninth century.⁷⁸⁵ Presumably a second book for the summer months was also made, but this is lost. The same context may be raised by the first surviving complete sacramentary in the North to incorporate antiphons into all of the mass sets themselves, **Tours**, written by monks of Saint-Martin in a brief period between successive exiles, and taken with them into the city when they abandoned the basilica to the predation of the Vikings.⁷⁸⁶ The fragment in Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 163 indicates the existence of at least one other example showing the same extent of incorporation, but this time codicologically very distinct from the others, as a pocket-sized book. It can be linked to Reims, whose archbishop, Hincmar, was driven from his see around the same time.⁷⁸⁷ Nevertheless, our **Sens** no longer had the lectionary and Gradual attached to it, though otherwise it copied directly from **Saint-Germain**. This shows that these developments of what became standard organisations of the mass book were not inevitable progressions “towards” a new form, but arise from a specific historical context, including possible anxiety about survival of liturgical traditions, and broader shifts in how communities organised their texts. Similarly, a copy of **Tours** made in the tenth century for the Cathedral of Tours (Deshusses’s Tu3) removes the antiphons from the mass sets, and returns them to incipits in the margin, thus reverting to a less fully integrated type.⁷⁸⁸

Conclusion: From Hucbald’s Pen

We have conclusively established the innovative nature of the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, entirely extraordinary among other Carolingian manuscripts, and discovered some telling or even unique features of the manuscript tradition. The question remains, who was responsible for this extraordinary, precise, and intricate work, in which the Gelasian tradition was accommodated to the Gregorian, new masses written and added, ancient prayers recovered and a completely and

⁷⁸⁵ Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, p. 26: “Saint-Denis, IX Jh., 3. Drittel.”

⁷⁸⁶ Westwell, “The Lost Missal of Alcuin.”

⁷⁸⁷ See above, p. 169, n. 438.

⁷⁸⁸ This is the third Sacramentary of Tours (s.X), today bound up with **Tours** in a confusion of quires and leaves between two manuscripts Paris, BnF, lat. 9430 and Tours, BM, Ms. 184.

uniquely vibrant mass book compiled? There is one obvious candidate, Hucbald of Saint-Amand.

Some or many of the texts we identified as Saint-Amand compositions could have stemmed from Hucbald's pen, or from among his followers and students. We identify these masses by their presence exclusively in Saint-Amand manuscripts, or also in those we have shown to be influenced by them, especially **Fulda**. Hucbald could well have been the author of the masses for Mary and All Saints, as well as others we have noted (for example, the two *MISSAE SPECIALIS SACERDOTIS* which appeared in **Saint-Germain**, and were marked by a personal preoccupation with sin). Hucbald's prodigious latinity has been noted, especially in the case of the *Passion of Cassian*, intended for his students.⁷⁸⁹ Yet, as Smith noted, what most defined Hucbald's hagiographical writings is his ability to adapt his Latin to varied audiences. The Latin of the liturgy was itself a special idiom, and we cannot expect to find the most complex forms of rhetorical Latin here. Clearly the author we have identified made sure to form his prayers in Gregorian terms (often borrowing equally from Theodulf's prefaces and blessings), but we have noted throughout some self-consciously classical words in texts appearing in Saint-Amand, words Hucbald himself might have used. There are commonalities with Hucbald's other writings in many of the texts we have been able to identify as singular to Saint-Amand, including agentive nouns (De 2168 "consolatricem"), verbs strengthened by a prepositional prefix (De 2188 "contraxi," De 2189 "constringor"), and especially, his marked and noted fondness for alliteration and *adnominatio* (De 2194 "qui es uera uia et uita," De 2195 "Mentemque meam munere cumpunctionis aperi, ut tua inspiratione compunctus, malum amare defleam quod inique gessi," De 1920 "carne circumdati cotidianis," and De 1906 "absolutionem omnium peccatorum, et beatitudinem percipere mereamur aeternorum gaudiorum") and anaphora – successive clauses opening with the same phrase – (De 2188 "quae mala sunt declinare et quae bona sunt iugiter explere," De 2195 "Et quicquid terrena fragilitate in me corruptus, quicquid diabolica fraude est uitiatum, perfectas remissione restitue"). In particular, the extraordinary phrase with its showy *graecizing* adverb "conuersus cursus suum coenobialiter consummauit" in De 2867, which appears in **Sens** in a rare mass for a dying monk, only otherwise in **Fulda**, would be a typical phrase one could attribute to the author of the *Eclogae de Calvis*, a poem in praise of baldness, in which every word begins with *c*.⁷⁹⁰ This would include too the episcopal blessings of Saint-Amand, which often share common forms of composition (De 3815 "caeco suppli-

⁷⁸⁹ Smith, "The Hagiography of Hucbald," pp. 527–32.

⁷⁹⁰ Hucbald of Saint-Amand, *Eclogae de Calvis*, ed. Paul von Winterfeld, *MGH Poetae Latini medii aevi*, vol. 4.1: *Poetae latini aevi Carolini IV* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), pp. 267–71.

canti . . . caecitatem uestri cordis clementissimus,” De 3813 “uos uineam suam uocare uobisue,” De 3829 “Zizaniorum superseminatorum,” De 3879 “Iocuplatius aeterna perfruamini”).

Furthermore, we know that Hucbald composed prayers. From a letter he wrote to the monks of Saint-Thierry (preserved in Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 466, fol. 25r–v) Hucbald involved himself with the composition of chants and hymns for their patron. He asked the monks to pray for him at the end of the office he had composed, and supplied the texts for them to do so, with one set of prayers and chants intended for their intercession while he was still living, and one to be continued in a new form after his death. Each was given a Collect for this purpose. The one to be said while Hucbald was still living, he took directly from the Supplement (De 1289, abbreviated in the manuscript to the incipit: “Deus qui iustificas impium et non uis mortem peccatorem . . .”). The second prayer, to be said after his death, he composed anew using Gregorian style language. This is written out in full in the manuscript of the letter, implying it was a new composition, and, furthermore, a prayer of the exact wording cannot be located in known sources: “Annue nobis Domine, ut anima famuli tui Hucboldi remissionem quam semper optauit mereatur percipere peccatorum. Per dominum” [trans. Allow to us, Lord, that the soul of your servant Hucbald might deserve to receive the remission of sins, for which he always wished].⁷⁹¹ For Hucbald’s composition of prayers, there is also the longer personal prayer that concludes his life of St. Cassian of Imola, adapted from Prudentius.⁷⁹² This is markedly personal (“Noli obsecro me relinquere vagari in mea voluntate, sed dirige me in tua veritate, et doce me te per te intelligere, te deligere, te semper in memoriam habere, ut sic me attrahas ad te, tuamque semper uoluntatem facere” [trans. Please do not leave me to wander in my will, but guide me in Your truth, and teach me to understand You through You, to love You, to have You always in my thoughts, to draw me thus to You, and to do Your will always]), and also shows once again Hucbald’s deep knowledge of the Latin of the liturgy, in, for example, the employment of the word “precordiorum” (used in De 346, the Good Friday prayer for the catechumens). This prayer shares phrasing and a preoccupation with some texts we have

791 Edited and translated in Jean-François Goudeuses, *Les offices historiques ou historiae composés pour les fêtes des saints dans le Province ecclésiastique de Reims 775–1030* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), pp. 308–9; Within the office of Theodericus, a Collect for the saint was supplied and to be repeatedly said: “Intercessio nos quaesumus, Domine, beati Theoderici abbatis tibi commendet, ut quod meritis non valeamus eius patricionio assequamur,” which is an adaption of the Gelasian Collect of the feast of Benedict (Sg 995), used as an ALIA prayer in our manuscripts, edited as De 3544.

792 Dolbeau “Passion de S. Cassien,” p. 256.

encountered as special to Saint-Amand, particularly the two *MISSAE SPECIALIS SACERDOTIS*.⁷⁹³ In 899, Hucbald also devised a prayer confraternity with the monks of Saint-Bertin, whereby Saint-Amand would say a mass for the dead and fifty psalms for them on Ash Wednesday, and vice versa.⁷⁹⁴

Among his hagiographic writings there is also a clue to Hucbald's ideological and devotional alignment with the project of our sacramentaries. In the opening of his life of St. Richtrudis of Marchiennes (d. 687), he marvelled at the range, number, and variety of saints who had favoured the Frankish kingdom, as numerous as the stars, proving that the kingdom was uniquely blessed:

Denique ubi quondam peccatorum abundaverat, intantum Dei gratia superabundavit, ut sicut coelum varia stellarum decoratur pulchritudine, sic et a Patre luminum a quo descendit omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum Francorum terra multiplici perfectorum sanctorum tam indigenarum quam et ab exteris regionibus advenientium utriusque sexus et omnis ordinis illustraretur claritate.⁷⁹⁵

[trans. At last “where sins once abounded, so much more did God's grace overabound” (Romans 5:20), so that just as the sky is adorned with the beauty of a variety of stars, these also “from the Father of Light, from whom descends every excellent gift and every perfect endowment” (James 1:17), so the land of the Franks would have been adorned with the glory of a multitude of perfect saints, both native and those who came from outside regions, of both sexes and of every order].

Hucbald's use of the term “*varia*,” and his stress that the saints were of all kinds are both of interest. This clearly aligns with the supposition that such “*varietas*” is an underlying principle in both the decoration and content of the manuscripts. One who expressed such sentiments could have written the masses particular to Saint-Amand “for Mary and all Saints,” as well as overseeing the project of the Saint-Amand sacramentaries themselves, which enclose that heavenly multitude within the covers of the monastery's mass books.⁷⁹⁶ Indeed, Hucbald's hagiography shows a further elaboration of these themes on the variety of types of saints, and Francia's particular richness in the grace of them, particularly in his life of

⁷⁹³ *Ibid.*, 256: “ab incursu inimicorum visibiliorum et invisibiliorum expugnabili tua seruari defensione” compare De 2192: “et contra hostium visibilium et invisibilium insidias tua protectione”; likewise De 2045 in the mass for a king “ab hostium visibilium uel invisibilium insidiis, tutum atque securum effice.”

⁷⁹⁴ Platelle, “L'abbaye de Saint-Amand au IX^e siècle,” p. 20.

⁷⁹⁵ PL 132, col. 829–48, at col. 831; on this *Vita* see Karin Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders* (Woodbridge: Boydell, for York Medieval Press, 2005), pp. 96–125.

⁷⁹⁶ For more on Hucbald's emphasis on God acting through the saints, see Platelle, “La thème de la conversion,” pp. 516–17.

St. Lebuin, written ca. 918.⁷⁹⁷ These books likewise made it clear that Francia was uniquely blessed in celebrating all these saints, and having all this spiritual power, adding a political dimension to the project of mass books made at Saint-Amand, which might have specifically appealed to Gauzlin, who was trying to hold that kingdom together and needed as much saintly power as he could muster. Hucbald was also deeply conscious of his own sinfulness, and claimed that it was due to God's punishment for his sins that he was forced by the Vikings several times from his own monastery (see n. 103). This is not an atypical understanding of cause and effect in the Early Middle Ages, but it adds to the sense that Hucbald was immersed in the atmosphere that gave rise to private, votive masses of the extreme scrupulousness of those composed at Saint-Amand, perhaps some by him.⁷⁹⁸

Context strongly suggests, at least, it would have been Hucbald who would have overseen the production of the **Reims** at Saint-Thierry, today the complete Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, in 898–900 (the mention of the king in the apologiae dating it later in his residence in Reims, after Charles the Fat was deposed). Hucbald could have provided an unfinished decorated Canon Quire written by his fellow monks at a previous date, **Noyon**. He also had an exemplar that looked very much like **Saint-Germain**, or working documents that had gone into that book. Perhaps because of the requests of the monks of Saint-Thierry, he made sure to help their scribes work quite differently than those at Saint-Amand, preserving the Gregorian in its entirety, while adding all the additional material in the varied appendices, offering the Reims monks the wealth of work already done at Saint-Amand, while allowing them to still preserve the Gregorian. This intricate work demanded familiarity with the process that had led up to **Saint-Germain** and the same deep familiarity with all the competing traditions (Gregorian and Gelasian) that fed into this book too. The likelihood that Hucbald worked in Saint-Thierry to create **Reims**, since he is the link binding Saint-Thierry and Saint-Amand, makes it even more probable that it is he who oversaw the work undertaken in the previous mass books, perhaps initially at the monastery of Saint-Amand itself (**Chelles**, **Tournai**), but most thoroughly undertaken around a period of exile at Saint-Germain in Paris (**Saint-Germain**).

Hucbald was also called away sometime in the 880s, with the permission and recommendation of Gauzlin, thus before the latter's death in 886, to instruct Rodulfus (ca. 867–896), lay abbot of Saint-Bertin, son of Eberhard of Friuli, and, thus,

797 Hucbald of Saint-Amand, *Vita sancti Lebuini*, ed. PL 132, col. 880; see Platelle, "La thème de la conversion," pp. 521–22.

798 Simon Coupland, "The Rod of God's Wrath or the People of God's Wrath? The Carolingian Theology of the Viking Invasions," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42 (1991), pp. 535–554.

brother to the later Emperor Berengar.⁷⁹⁹ Very varied dates are given by historians to this assignment, from 872 (Palisca) to 890 (Ugé), but the most reasonable is Platte's estimate of Hucbald coming there between 883 and 886, because Rodulf became Abbot of Saint-Bertin after Fulk, his predecessor there, was promoted to become the archbishop of Reims in December 882.⁸⁰⁰ Perhaps we can even rule out 886, since Gauzlin would have been besieged in Paris from November 885.⁸⁰¹ The source for these events, Folcwin of Saint Bertin's Deeds of the Abbots and the accompanying charter which gives Hucbald a manse in the Vermandois as recompense which he would pass to the communal income of the monks (the conventual mense) do not say that Hucbald actually took over as "headmaster" at the school of Saint-Bertin or founded a "school" there, as claimed by, for example, Weakland or Palisca, and we are probably best to imagine something more personal and somewhat less formal.⁸⁰² Hucbald may still have been less directly involved in *Sens*, if we associate it with Gauzlin's episcopacy from 884, but his students and colleagues certainly were the ones who undertook the manuscript, if he was indeed away during its creation. Nevertheless, it is clear that by the time *Sens* was written, Saint-Amand already had an established stock of unique masses, that Hucbald had likely composed for his brothers, himself, and perhaps his Abbot, Gauzlin, too. The strongly marked tendency towards synthesis, and ambition to a variety of sanctity, which they embody, also cohere with Hucbald's aspirations, and we cannot doubt that he played a role in inspiring the exciting atmosphere in the *scriptorium* that gave rise to them.

However, there is evidence to locate more tangible traces of Hucbald in one of our manuscripts, *Saint-Germain*. The first and most intensely deployed layer of marginal notes in the manuscript are clearly linked to the organisation of the books. These do not include those in more faded ink that return the replaced Gregorian prayers; for example, on Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 73v. As noted above (pp. 236–237), these earliest notices have two functions: to direct the reader to the extra masses and prayers found at the end of the book, and to prepare certain substitutions of individual prayers made in *Sens*. Sometimes they make textual corrections as well.

799 Folcuin of Saint-Bertin, *Gesta abbatum S. Bertini Sithiensium* ed. PL 136, col. 1253: "Hugbaldus ex coenobio almi pontificis Amandi confessoris ad erudiendum domnum abbatum Rodulfum, seniorem nostrum, concedente ac praecipiente Gauzolino eiusdem loci abbate . . ." [trans. Hucbald from the monastery of the confessor Amandus, the worthy Bishop, for the education of the Lord Abbot, Rodulf, our superior, with the consent and command of Gauzlin, abbot of that place . . .].

800 Palisca, *Hucbald, Guido and John on Music*, p. 4; Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past*, p. 30; Platte, *Le Temporal*, pp. 60–61.

801 Chartier, *Hucbald*, pp. 8–9; 284.

802 Weakland, "Hucbald as Musician and Theorist," p. 68.

These notes have some palaeographical characteristics that clearly differentiate them from the main text (see Figure 4.4). Some of these were due to the more informal character of the notating script.⁸⁰³ However some characteristics single this hand out more. It never uses the **ra** ligature, for example.⁸⁰⁴ Most unusual is that on Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 55r, the corrections to the text of the *Exultet* employ the abbreviation of the singular form of Jesus's name with lunate sigma: "iHC xpc." Another rarer trait is the abbreviation of **orum** this hand uses, where the tail of the R portion, that often resembles a capital R goes below the line and has a cross through it (for example, Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 93v: "sociorum"; fol. 94v: "sanctorum," particularly exaggerated; fol. 97r: "coronatorum"). Where, for example, in the calendar of **Sens**, the main Saint-Amand scribes use an **orum** ligature on "sanctorum" (Stockholm, Kungliga Bibliotheket, A 136, fol. 7v), it is distinct without the tail or the crossing x form, remaining entirely on the line, even though the calendars are written in Saint-Amand's more informal style too. However, the **orum** abbreviation is occasionally used elsewhere in **Saint-Germain** (fol. 34v "caelorum," on 193r repeatedly). Altogether, notes in this style can be found on the following pages: Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 27v, 28r, 29r, 33r, 35r, 55r, 61v, 68v, 69r, 71v, 72r, 77v, 93v, 94v, 97r, 118r, 130r, 138r, 153r, 156r, 172r, 194r, and 195r. The character of the script does vary, sometimes these are very thickly written in dark ink by someone pressing very hard on the page, sometimes they are light and clearer. The hand that added marginal antiphons to the seven personal votive masses seems to be distinct; for example, using on fol. 143v the **ra** ligature on "orat."

But traits of these notes recur in the hand of a single Saint-Amand scribe in Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 142, a manuscript that was plausibly possessed and partly written by Hucbald, as Bischoff's Nachlass suggested "*könnte Hucbald sein*" [this could be Hucbald].⁸⁰⁵ This was a manuscript written in collaboration by a single Saint-Amand scribe with several Reims' scribes, and which lends itself to a reconstruction that Hucbald himself participated in the copying of the manuscript at Saint-Thierry, as indeed the same Saint-Amand hand recorded events of significance for Hucbald in the calendar of this manuscript – his ordination and the

803 It uses both the minuscule and uncial **d**, for example, both on fol. 35r or 88r as in the opening material of our books, or the hand that Bischoff's Nachlass said "could be Hucbald" in Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 174 e.g., fol. 7v, final line "haud dubie." It also uses, for example, on Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 72r "intende," both the lower-case and upper-case **N**, as the latter in Valenciennes does too. The **et** ligature with open top is used by this hand on fol. 118r. In Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 174, fol. 9r "libet" it also appears.

804 Used in the more informally written Gradual too e.g., fol. 9v: Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 9v upper right corner: "Adorabo."

805 Munich, BSB, ANA 553, A, I VALENCIENNES, above pp. 171–172.

death of his uncle, Milo. The Saint-Amand hand undertook most of the additions to the calendar and had several stints through the manuscript. In the calendar, it also included extensive organisation of music for saints' feasts, noting which ones have a gospel and offertory chant (abbreviated as "eug" and "off") throughout, something that would have interested Hucbald. In fact, the additions also note with the abbreviations "Gl" for Gelasian and "Gr" for Gregorian, which tradition of the sacramentary each feast was found in, as well—for example, on fol. 32v "octauas theophaniae" is marked with "Gl" and this is a Gelasian feast, while "felicis presbiteri" is marked with "Gr" and this is a Gregorian feast. Such interest in the different traditions fits well within the activities of Saint-Amand at this time, or, more particularly still, within the production of **Reims**, that kept both traditions firmly apart.

This hand uses the same form of **orum** abbreviation repeatedly, for example, on Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 142, fol. 20v for "machabeorum," "graecorum," or "temporum" on fol. 168r five lines from the bottom, and again on "annorum" and "predicorum" on fol. 168v, as we see in the notes in **Saint-Germain**. It also used the form xpc (fol. 57r) of the singular of Jesus's name, also IHm on, for example, fol. 168r, on the last line from bottom.⁸⁰⁶ It also employs similar capital forms, largely rustic capital **E**, **A**, **P** and so on (see Figure 4.5). It is particularly in the glosses where the resemblance to the notes in the sacramentary are strongest. There is even one instance of the employment of the same text in both manuscripts. One of the more extensive notes in this hand in **Saint-Germain** is the addition of the extract from Ado of Vienne's martyrology on the names of the Quattuor Coronatorum (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 97r), which includes the **orum** abbreviation, both forms of **d** and **n**, as well as the Anglo-Saxon sign for "est" (÷), and abbreviation for "et," the latter used in the Valenciennes book too. In Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 142, fol. 39r, the same names are added to the calendar in which Hucbald's personal entries were added: "Quattuor coronatorum nomina haec sunt . Seuerus Seuerianus Victorinus et Car (po)phorus," which is the exact same phrase that opens the Ado extract in **Saint-Germain**, down to the error in missing out the middle syllable of the last name, which was corrected in the Valenciennes manuscript, but not in **Saint-Germain**. Given Valenciennes BM, Ms. 142's contextual relation to Hucbald, and the fact that he was most likely to have been the one who oversaw our sacramentaries, and contributed certain masses to them, it may be that the hand of Hucbald himself, thus far elusive, has finally here been revealed.⁸⁰⁷

806 A faded note with an extract from Jordanes on Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 142, fol. 41v also uses both iHc and xpc. Here the attribution is less clear, Bischoff wondered if it was an old-fashioned hand or not.

807 Smith, "A Hagiographer at Work," p. 158.

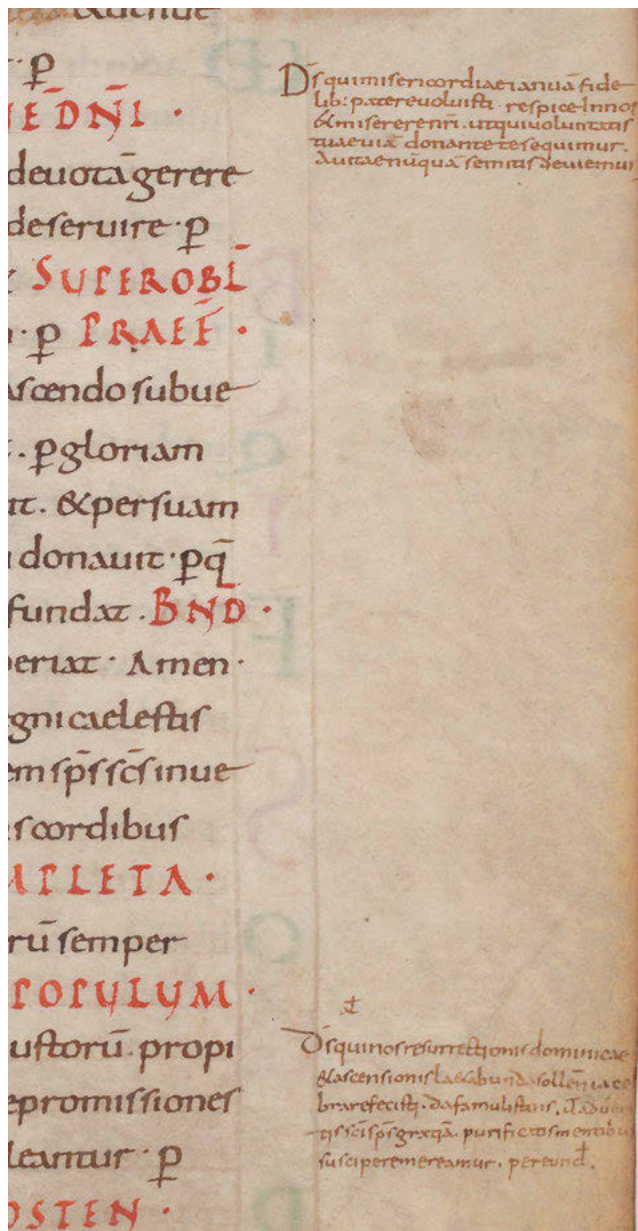


Figure 4.4: Corrections in the margin of a sacramentary written by Saint-Amand monks, late ninth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2291, fol. 118r. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

lu foras. Sunt etenim quidam patrum. qui in eo
 quod scriptum est. In principio creavit deus caelum
 & terram. terra autem erat inanis et
 uacua. et tenebrae erant super faciem
 abyssi. Informem caeli et terrae &
 aquae. omniumque elementorum
 confusionem. putant esse designatam.
 Ita ut nec aqua. nec terra. nec caelum.
 sed eorum omnium una uerba dixe-
 rim. seminaria sit in di castamati
 nos. Ideo que non inuenientur

Figure 4.5: Portion of a text of Bede in a Miscellany written by a Saint-Amand scribe in collaboration with Reims scribes, late ninth century. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 174, fol. 49v. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque municipale de Valenciennes.

Chapter 5

The European Influence of the Sacramentaries of Saint-Amand

Use of the Manuscripts Beyond the Ninth Century

The sacramentaries of Saint-Amand show clear evidence that they had a significant lifespan of use in the centres at which they arrived. This includes numerous signs of their use in the liturgy, but also a continued function as “archives” for a varied range of texts, which clearly indicates the multifaceted functions such manuscripts could serve.⁸⁰⁸

As signs of liturgical use in their new homes, we note that new patron saints (Julian in **Le Mans**, Bertilla in **Chelles**, Germanus in **Saint-Germain**) had their own masses added, as well as adaptation by the addition of the local saints to the calendar or the *Canon missae in Sens*. In the latter case, as well, are clear indications of attempts to make this already very comprehensive book even more complete with additional Gelasian masses.⁸⁰⁹ Three of the manuscripts (**Le Mans**, **Sens**, **Saint-Denis**) were also enhanced with additional elements of the episcopal ordination as practiced by the Frankish Church, especially the handing over of the ring and staff (*baculum*). In the case of **Saint-Denis**, these additions are ambiguous as regards the history of the manuscript, since we know the manuscript had been in the monastery of Saint-Denis until the sixteenth century, with no sign it was ever elsewhere, in any episcopal church. Perhaps the monastery provided or lent it to a bishop of Paris, or perhaps monks simply wished to keep up with the shape of such rites. We are reminded here that a strict understanding of an “episcopal book” does not always cohere with the known history of manuscripts.

808 Some additions by Saint-Amand hands to **Saint-Germain**, include a copy of one chapter from Hilduin of Saint-Denis’s prose passion of Dionysius on fol. 1v (“Ad eundem etiam Timotheum alterum scripsit librum de ecclesiastico sacro principatu . . . liquido manifestat”), which summarises the writing and content of Pseudo-Dionysius’s *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*. Michael Lapidge, *Hilduin of Saint-Denis. The Passio S. Dionysii in Prose and Verse*, *Mittelalterliche Studien und Texte*, 51 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2017), at p. 248.

809 Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 111–12, for example, Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 31r, the masses of Sother and Zoticus, Ireneus and Iacintus, both Gelasian masses the Saint-Amand manuscripts otherwise did not incorporate, a further private mass follows on the verso, and a votive mass for the living and dead on fol. 108v. Remigius (fol. 236r–v), Crisanthus, Maurus and Daria (150r) and Maurice (158v), receive additional proper masses.

Our assumed sense of the use of liturgical books is also queried by the extensive marginal additions of an *expositio missae* to **Bobbio**, undertaken at the monastery during the time of Abbot Agiulf.⁸¹⁰ This is rather unusual, since the *expositiones* are traditionally understood as teaching or educational tools, and this deluxe book seems a strange setting for what is, in the end, a rather elementary text. Perhaps the manuscript had come to be used for contemplation of or meditation on the Canon's meaning. The **Bobbio** manuscript shows how relaxed or fluid the boundaries in the early Middle Ages were between liturgical manuscripts per se, and manuscripts for educational or contemplative purposes, a boundary that classic liturgical scholarship assumed to have been entirely fixed.⁸¹¹

Such manuscripts also served a memorialising function, especially evident in the two manuscripts in Paris (**Saint-Denis**, **Saint-Germain**) (for example, Paris, BnF, lat. 2290, fol. 4r, names at 8v and 168v).⁸¹² **Saint-Germain's** name lists are particularly extensive (Paris, BnF lat. 2291, fol. 1v, 196v–197v).⁸¹³ Similarly, some acquired lists of bishops in their later homes, in **Sens**, updated up to Archbishop Leotheric (999–1032) and **Saint-Germain**, updated up to Bishop Walter of Chateau-Thierry (d. 1249). A note added to the Canon of the Mass in **Saint-Denis**, Paris, BnF, lat. 2290, fol. 22r “episcoporum presentis ecclesiae” shows that the bishops of the diocese were specifically recited during the *Memento* of the dead. This provides further indication for this custom, additional to the small amount of evidence found for it by Dubois, and explains why bishops' lists might tend to appear near the Canon.⁸¹⁴

In **Sens**, lists of properties, as well as the copy of a letter of Pope Sergius IV (1009–1012) to the clergy of Gaul concerning Ildelinde, a widow who had made a pilgrimage to Rome, and would thereafter be commemorated in Sens, according to the preceding calendar (fol. 6v), closely connect it to a record of the prestige of the archepiscopal church, as do the oaths, added to the end of the manuscript (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 237v) to successive Archbishops of Sens, Hugh (1142–1168) and William (1168–1176).

Both **Sens** and **Saint-Germain** also suggest centuries of active, liturgical use. In the latter, the Canon was extensively notated at a later date with additional prayers for the *Ordo Missae* (notes Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 20r, 20v (“et rege nos-

810 Unterkircher, “Interpretatio canonis missae.”

811 Westwell, *Roman Liturgy and Frankish Creativity*, pp. 69–100.

812 Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 388–89; Decker-Hauer, *Memorialüberlieferung im frühmittelalterlichen Paris*, pp. 197–98.

813 Wilmart, “Un sacramentaire a l’usage de Saint-Germain,” pp. 384–92, many can be found in martyrologies of the Abbey; they include Gauzlin (“Gozlini episcopi”).

814 Dubois, “La composition des anciennes listes épiscopales,” pp. 78–80.

tro”) 21v, also 22v) which show a number of later medieval letter forms and abbreviations. These include “quo,” “spus” for “spiritus,” which Capelli records as a thirteenth-century abbreviation, “q;” for -que which is, in Capelli, designated as used from the eleventh century onwards.⁸¹⁵ These additions are thus likely made in the thirteenth century, like the updates to the bishop’s list, with which they cohere palaeographically. These show the book was still being actively used at Saint-Germain at least 300 years after its production.

This brief survey of their additions suggests these manuscripts were among the most revered in the centres at which they arrived, and diverse types of texts were appended, enhancing their “archival” function as well. We can see that manuscripts like these could serve as storehouses of knowledge, so that their initial design by the monks of Saint-Amand to preserve a multitude of prayer texts becomes even more explicable.

A Profile of Saint-Amand’s Uniqueness: The Corbie-Saint-Amand Group

Deshusses already indicated the existence of clear affinities in the sacramentaries produced in northern France from 850, which he gathered together in the group “Corbie-Saint-Amand,” indicating that these two monasteries played a decisive role.⁸¹⁶ He meant principally in the textual variations of the Gregorian itself. Alongside **Chelles** (by Saint-Amand) and **Rodrade** (by Corbie) the group also included London, British Library, Add. MS 16605 (**Stavelot**), made at that monastery, whose patron, St. Remaclus (d. 679), has three masses, a feast day, Vigil and Octave.⁸¹⁷ There is also Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, cod. 137 (**Cologne**) which was likely not produced in Cologne itself despite the fact this is often repeated in scholarship.⁸¹⁸ In fact, the book was most likely made at or for the Cyriakusstift in Neuhausen, near Worms, but it came to Cologne by the

815 Adriano Capelli, *Lexicon Abbreviaturarum*, 6th ed. (Milan: Hoepli, 1961), p. 371; a name “Suggeri” next to the *Communicantes* has been interpreted to refer to Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis (1081–1151) by Delisle in *Mémoire*, p. 149, who therefore located the manuscript to Saint-Denis, but Wilmar “Un sacramentaire,” p. 381, disputes this.

816 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 73.

817 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, pp. 95–96: “Belgien (Stablo), IX Jh. 3./4. Viertel”; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 37, vol. 3, p. 45: “U”; digitised at: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_16605; the Remaclus masses are De 3570–3578, 3579–3843, and 3584–3586.

818 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, p. 401: “Wohl nicht Köln”; Robert Amiet, “Les sacramentaires 88 et 137 du Chapitre de Cologne,” *Scriptorium* 9 (1955), pp. 76–84; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 37, vol. 3, pp. 47–48 “V2”; Joachim Plotzek and Ulrike Surmann, *Glaube und Wissen*

890s.⁸¹⁹ The fact that St. Cyriacus and Martin are added to the Canon in the *Libera Nos* (Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, cod. 137, fol. 4v) has remained curiously neglected in scholarly assessment, but this clearly points to a church with relics of the former, at least. There is no such foundation in Cologne, but Cyriacus's relics were possessed by the Worms Stift since the 840s.⁸²⁰ Another manuscript in the group, Dusseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS. D 1 was also probably copied in Northern France or Belgium, or by three scribes from that region, before it came to the Stift Essen by the tenth century.⁸²¹ Notably, **Berengar**, another mobile Northern French book, which came to Italy, was also associated by Deshusses with the same class.⁸²² Not used by Deshusses, another sacramentary should probably be drawn into this discussion, and this is the Sacramentary of Nevers (divided between London, British Library, Harley MSS 2991 and 2992).⁸²³ Despite the name, it was actually made at Saint-Columba in Sens, at the turn of the tenth century, and came to Nevers only afterwards, since both Columba and Lupus appear in the original text of the Canon. Likewise, the surviving sacramentary from Reims, the Sacramentary of Kroměříž, ought to be considered, especially as Deshusses did not know this book, and it confirms the availability of a “pre-Hadrianic” sacramentary in Northern France, whose influence Deshusses had already detected in this group.⁸²⁴

From an initial, surface examination, many of these sacramentaries share a decorative and palaeographical vocabulary, one practiced commonly in Northern France. Since these books share a common set of motifs that are identified with the “Franco-Saxon” style, but interpret them very variously, they equally reveal the complications and limitations of the “Franco-Saxon” terminology, as used by

im Mittelalter. Katalogbuch zur Ausstellung (Munich: Hirmer, 1998), pp. 392–93; digitised at: <https://digital.dombibliothek-koeln.de/hs/content/titleinfo/175806>.

819 Philipp Walter Fabry, *Das St. Cyriacusstift zu Neuhausen bei Worms* (Worms: Stadtbibliothek, 1958).

820 **Cologne** was in Cologne by the 890s as the litany added on fol. 181v–182r names Pope Formosus (891–896) and Archbishop Hermann I of Cologne (889/890–92), and prays for the clergy and people of Cologne.

821 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, pp. 230–31: “ein belgisches oder nordostfranzösisches Zentrum(?), zwischen 868 und 872“ and explicitly rejects a Corvey or Hildesheim origin, sometimes posed; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 36, vol. 3, pp. 48–49: “W”; Digitised at: <https://digital.lib.uni-duesseldorf.de/ms/content/titleinfo/3664968>.

822 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 73: “(Monza) rapelle un peu le manuscrit de Stavelot” [trans. resembles a little the manuscript of Stavelot].

823 Nevers, *L'introduction de la messe romaine*, pp. 123–27; Harley MS 2991 digitised at: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_2991_fs001r; Harley MS 2992 digitised at: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_2992_fs001r.

824 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 72–75.

Koehler and Mütterich. It becomes more difficult to isolate these traits in a single “school,” or define Franco-Saxon purely by reference to any one element, such as interlace or animal forms, when these appear in such varied configurations in varied centres. **Stavelot** reveals another very competent artistic atelier active at or for this Belgian monastery, and using traits identified with the “Franco-Saxon” style.⁸²⁵ In **Cologne** the artist traced with black ink and without any further adornment two initials: a straight letter V with interlace in the belly, and a TE which is clearly Franco-Saxon inspired, particularly where the E interlocks with the shaft of T, and animal motifs appear looking down, with tongues extended. Thus, a model, which the prominent animals suggest was probably fairly close to what we described as the “Hauptgruppe”, was copied, but without the expertise or materials that were available to the atelier working with Saint-Amand. Dusseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS. D 1 has simple initials, but particularly on fol. 67r it has a much larger, half-page DS initial, which incorporates interlace, volutes, and floral motifs. Likewise, the Sacramentary of Nevers was described by Bischoff as “Franco-Saxon” in its script.⁸²⁶ The decoration of the Canon, purely in gold outlined in red, is stylistically closer to Corbie than Saint-Amand, but distinct from both. That script can also be called “Franco-Saxon” is, again, an illustration of how imprecisely this terminology is used.⁸²⁷

A notable liturgical feature of these books is the ambiguous relation of the “Corbie-Saint-Amand” group to the Supplement *Hucusque*. Deshusses had here foregrounded **Rodrade** as a very good example of the Supplement *Hucusque*, as is also our **Le Mans**. Yet other cases suggest the *Hucusque* was seen as a potentially useful resource to have at hand, but it was far from definitive. While **Cologne**, our single German witness, may have the text of the *Hucusque* preface and the *capitula* list corresponding to it, this manuscript still does not contain collections of proper prefaces and blessings, despite the fact that the *Hucusque* preface it contained mentioned these both.⁸²⁸ In other cases, like **Saint-Vaast**, Dusseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS. D 1 or the Sacramentary of Kroměříž, it is difficult to say that the full *Hucusque* was the source, and that it was not one of the preliminary

825 The chalice-shaped U initial for Uere dignum (fol. 17v), and rounded E interlocking with the shaft of T for the TE initial (fol. 18v).

826 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, p. 118n2464: “Gebiet des franko-sächsischen Stils, IX/X Jh” and “Originale Schicht: etwas quadratische, wohl von der vorbildlichen franko-sächsischen Minuskel geprägte Minuskel” [trans. Area of the Franco-Saxon style, ninth or tenth century; The original layer: a somewhat square minuscule, probably influenced by the exemplary Franco-Saxon minuscule].

827 Henderson, *Franco-Saxon Manuscript Illumination*, p. 136

828 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 37.

forms of supplementation that clearly anticipated and formed sources for the complete *Hucusque*. These and related manuscripts often lack the other elements identified as the last to be added to supplements of the Gregorian, among them the proper prefaces probably collected by Theodulf, yet they contain other elements identified as earlier, such as the masses for ordinary Sundays. More often they have the episcopal blessings. Our **Saint-Denis** shares these tendencies.⁸²⁹ Other centres were clearly less fond of proper prefaces than Saint-Amand was, and felt free to reduce or discard the selection appended to *Hucusque*, if they ever knew them. Such monasteries, however, often found value in the “Gallican” episcopal blessings, even when the books were seemingly intended for a monastery. These manuscripts tend also not to copy the title of the sacramentary which attributed it to Gregory (“INCIPIT LIBER SACRAMENTORUM . . .”) and the brief *Ordo Missae* of the *Hadrianum* (“QUALITER MISSA ROMANA CELEBRATUR”), as in **Saint-Vaast**, **Stavelot**, the Sacramentary of Kroměříž and Dusseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS. D 1, and also **Berengar**, possibly from Cysoing. This group showed another, parallel tendency of Carolingian compilers to that found in the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand and “superabundant” books. This parallel tendency maintained a Gregorian text, while adding Gelasian masses, and judiciously selecting from supplements and available votive masses. But the books were shorter and much less complex.

Another feature of these manuscripts is their reference to the Viking attacks, which were taking place in the background of the origin of all these manuscripts, and destroyed a number of the centres in which they were produced. In response, these communities produced new masses against the pagans or re-purposed older ones. Unique to **Saint-Vaast** is a MISSA CONTRA PAGANOS on Cambrai, Le Labo, Ms. 163, fol. 43r. This mass, which asks for defence against the pagans, certainly places the manuscript in the same tradition as the second sacramentary of Tours (Paris, BnF, NAL 1589), in which masses specifically for defence against the Norman aggressor are conspicuous and unusually specific in naming the threat.⁸³⁰ Saint-Vaast monastery itself would be destroyed by them in 883. **Senlis** (Paris, Bibliothèque Saint-Genevieve, Ms. 111, fol. 137r) contains, likewise, a unique MISSA CONTRA INFESTATIONEM PAGANORUM. Meanwhile, among the supplementary portions of

⁸²⁹ It has elements like the ordinary Sundays, gathered into a Dominicale and some, but far from all, of the supplement’s votive masses appear in the collection of votive masses it offers. Here, however, the *Exultet* is missing as are many of *Hucusque*’s blessings of objects. The Supplement’s collection of prefaces is also entirely missing. Instead, **Saint-Denis** offered only a restrained collection of proper prefaces of its own (fol. 92–93r), for common use. Yet **Saint-Denis** does contain the Supplement’s list of episcopal blessings, entirely complete (fol. 169r–182r).

⁸³⁰ De 2570–2574: “de nortmannica presenti calamitate.”

the Sacramentary of Kroměříž can be found a Gelasian mass for the king and his army (MISSA PRO REGE ET EXERCITU EIUS), originally perhaps meant against the Basques or Saracens, but, given the manuscript's context in Reims, whose archbishop, Hincmar, was driven out of the city, clearly re-purposed for Viking attacks.⁸³¹ The Sacramentary of Nevers includes not only masses against pagans (London, British Library, Harley MS 2992, fol. 57r–v: MISSA PRO INUASIONE GENTIUM) but also a separate and unique episcopal benediction CONTRA PAGANORUM, added on London, British Library, Harley MS 2991, fol. 38r (“a crudeli inminencium paganorum persequitione” [trans. from the cruel persecution of the pagans]), which is otherwise not known and, for example, not in *Corpus benedictionum pontificum*. Sens, where this book was written, was besieged by the Vikings in 886. These mass compositions comprise neglected evidence of the quite visceral fear of the Vikings felt in a number of ecclesiastical centres. They have the advantage of actually being contemporary responses to the Vikings rather than narratives constructed centuries later that, as important critical scholarship has shown, often exaggerate the extent of Viking destruction of Christian institutions in order to glorify later restorers of religious institutions, explain gaps in their written history, or justify a shift or rupture in their observance.⁸³² As actual contemporary compositions appearing in many mass books simultaneously, the masses reveal there was a significant psychological and spiritual impact from these invasions, which affected those compiling and overseeing the compilation of sacramentaries.⁸³³

Yet perhaps the most important aspect of these manuscripts in relation to Saint-Amand is that none of them undertook the project we see in Saint-Amand to entirely incorporate the Gelasian tradition. Many of them certainly incorporate individual Gelasian or Carolingian masses, usually a handful, sometimes even more, but they do not intervene in the pre-existing masses of the Gregorian in any serious way. They maintain steadfastly a standard Gregorian format of three prayers for most of these feasts, and adjusted any mass texts they added to this format. Very rarely do any of the special traits we noted in the discussion in the chapter above appear in these books.

831 Westwell, “The Carolingian Sacramentary of Kroměříž,” pp. 83–84.

832 D’Haenens, “Les invasions normands,” pp. 254–60; Anna Trumbore-Jones, “Pitying the Desolation of such a Place: Rebuilding Religious Houses and Constructing Memory in Aquitaine in the Wake of the Viking Invasions,” *Viator* 37 (2006), pp. 85–102; Robert Bartlett, “The Viking Hiatus in the Cult of Saints,” in *The Long Twelfth-Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past*, ed. Martin Brett and David Woodman (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 13–26; Julia Barrow, “Danish Ferocity and Abandoned Monasteries: The Twelfth-Century View,” in Brett and Woodman, *The Long Twelfth Century*, pp. 77–94.

833 For theological responses, see Coupland, “The Rod of God’s Wrath.”

Corbie and the “Superabundant” Sacramentaries

Beyond this group, Deshusses excluded other products of the same monasteries from his edition, including his complete exclusions of a vital source, **Saint Eloi** from Corbie. The latter manuscript, Deshusses already noted, was “tout proche de ses congénères de Saint-Amand” [trans. very close to its peers of Saint-Amand] (meaning the later Saint-Amand manuscripts from **Tournai** onwards).⁸³⁴ We have been clearly able to demonstrate that Saint-Amand shares many traits with **Saint Eloi** in their mutual departure from the Gregorian text, and ample reference was made to it in chapter 3. Given this, the supposition that the decorative scheme of this Sacramentary was likewise influenced by Saint-Amand becomes a fair one, and helps to show that the influence ran principally from Saint-Amand to Corbie, even if Corbie likely also made some contribution. Notable is that **Saint Eloi**’s decoration diverges in numerous ways from the earlier Corbie book, **Rodrade**, not least in the lavish employment of purple for the pages of the Canon. I would argue that the new model which strongly influenced the liturgical content, a book from Saint-Amand, played a role in inspiring the artists of this book, who interpreted the motifs of Saint-Amand in some innovative and creative ways. Its influence on the art is seen above all in the medallions of the borders, which imitate the style of Saint-Amand books very closely, down to the “mirroring” effect across the diagonal and contrast of gold and silver (see Figure 5.1), the shift from the older UD monogram (in **Rodrade**) to the chalice-shaped U shape, in which the semi-circular lower-case e rests, with RE DIGNUM ET IUSTUM EST written next to it, and the use of only six, rather than nine (again in **Rodrade**) framed pages.⁸³⁵ Notably, **Saint Eloi** also imitates a sacramentary of Saint-Amand in the internal layout, with the alternating red and green initials for each individual mass prayers, and those for the first prayer in the mass being larger (three lines), while also using alternating red and green for rubrics (see e.g. 80r, 84r). **Rodrade** had used only one kind of small (one and a half lines) red initials, or gold for the first initial in important feasts, and its rubrics are only in red. Additionally, some initials in **Saint Eloi** adopt motifs from the Franco-Saxon “Hauptgruppe”, like the capital C on fol. 112v, which uses interlace very like Saint-Amand manuscripts, but whose golden lobes made of intertwining threads at the terminus points of the letter are the Corbie feature, adapting the Franco-Saxon motifs. Such initials are not used in **Rodrade**.

⁸³⁴ Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 74.

⁸³⁵ Otto Homburger, “Eine spätkarolingische Schule von Corbie,” in *Karolingische und Ottonische Kunst: Werden, Wesen, Wirkung 6. Internationaler Kongreß für Frühmittelalterforschung. Deutschland, 31 Aug. - 9. Sept. 1954* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1957), pp. 412–26.

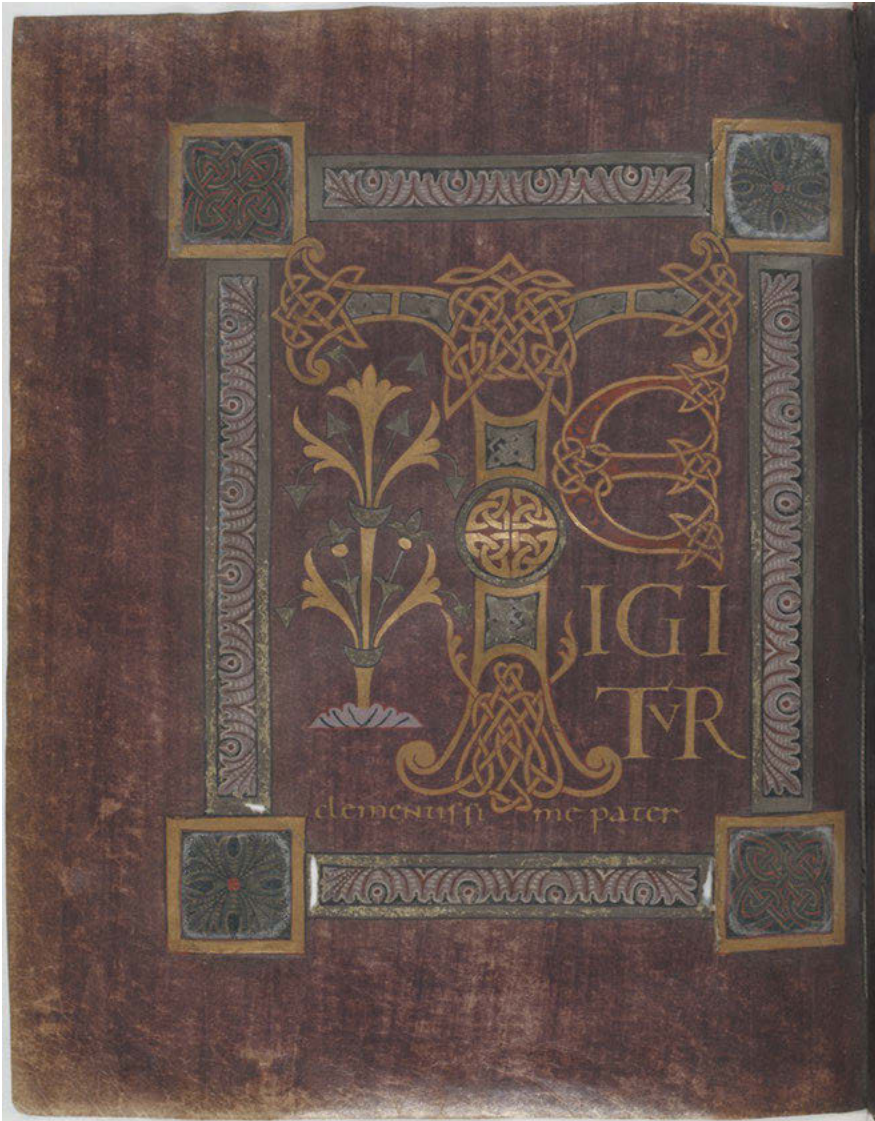


Figure 5.1: Ornamented page with TE IGITUR in a sacramentary written at Corbie in the second half of the ninth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 12051, fol. 8v. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The employment of a Saint-Amand model means the date given by Bischoff’s catalogue to **Saint Eloi**, “ca. Mitte,” or the dating of Ganz to “around 853,” both of which rely on the palaeographical similarities to **Rodrade**, does not seem justifi-

able in this case.⁸³⁶ A date in the late 870s would better explain the developments that distinguish **Saint Eloi** clearly from **Rodrade**, liturgical as well as decorative. It could still have been produced for Odo, Bishop of Beauvais, who died in 881, as Orchard hypothesised.⁸³⁷ Odo too, was a member of the key circle to whom Charles the Bald gave power and influence in 877 at Quierzy.⁸³⁸ Nevertheless, it remains difficult to explain why books that are described as “episcopal,” so often returned very quickly to monastic collections, or seem not to have left them at all. We know that **Saint Eloi** was already back in Corbie by the earlier tenth century, at which time the addition of a mass for the Translation of St. Gentianus, a local event, was made on Paris, BnF, lat. 12051, fol. 1v–2r. We might heed all of the very valuable cautions of Henry Parkes, who noted that “episcopal” books very often stayed in monasteries and must therefore have been of interest to monks, and expand our understanding of the value of such books to their monastic creators, in the case of such sacramentaries as well.⁸³⁹ Thus, Odo’s lifetime may not be an entirely reliable indicator for dating **Saint Eloi**.

Additionally, we should note that a sacramentary of Saint-Amand appears to still have been available at Corbie in the tenth century, based on an added text of the *Canon missae*, additional to the original text of the Canon, (Paris, BnF, lat. 12051 fol. 2v–5r), in which Amandus of Maastricht is named.⁸⁴⁰ The same Canon including Amandus was also added at Corbie to the later Sacramentary of Ratoldus (Paris, BnF, lat. 12052), probably around the same time.⁸⁴¹ A Saint-Amand book stored at Corbie could easily thus have been the model for **Saint Eloi**.

836 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 182; Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 146; Homburger, “Eine spätkarolingische Schule von Corbie,” pp. 412–26, on **Saint Eloi** at pp. 420–21 disputes that these are simply “parallellaufende Tendenzen oder . . . vereinzelt Anregungen” [trans. parallel running tendencies . . . or isolated suggestions] to “Franco-Saxon” ornament, but wrote at a disadvantage since the homeland and unity of the Saint-Amand sacramentaries had not yet been established when he wrote, nor their close parallels in content to **Saint Eloi** established; according to the system of Huelsenbeck, “A Nexus of Manuscripts Copied at Corbie,” pp. 287–309, **Saint Eloi**, not mentioned here, is clearly in the “Corbie-II” type of script.

837 Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, vol. 1, p. 19, 25–26.

838 Gibson and Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 249–50.

839 Parkes, “Towards a Definition of the “Romano-German” Pontifical,” at pp. 279–284.

840 This assimilates new elements not found in the original Canon, such as the expanded Memento of the Living with the mention of a congregation and its donors (as in our **Tournai** or **Noyon**), this time the “congregationis sancti petri apostoli tui” (i.e., the monks and/or dependents of Corbie), and the addition of a clause for the saints celebrated on the given day and two mementos of the dead. The telling part is the list of saints in the *Communicantes*, which adds, after Damian: “hilarii martini benedicti gregorii amandi et omnium sanctorum tuorum.”

841 Orchard, *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, p. 86n220; two readings added at Corbie to votive masses in the same manuscript (Ratoldus 2325–2326), were specifically noted by Orchard, *Ibid.*,

Turner counts “at least 124” instances in which a prayer of the *Hadrianum* has been replaced in **Saint Eloi**.⁸⁴² We have seen that a significant proportion of these were also found in Saint-Amand. Some are additional replacements, particularly in Lent, but these are not as systematic as undertaken at **Saint-Germain**.⁸⁴³ A common source for **Saint-Germain** and **Saint Eloi** seems plausible, perhaps a sacramentary of Saint-Amand between **Tournai** and **Saint-Germain**, or working documents used in the latter.

In its organisation, **Saint Eloi** remains closer to **Saint-Germain** than **Sens**, since it did not separate out the Sanctorale entirely from the Temporale, but did establish a separate *Dominicale*, combing the twenty-seven supplementary Sundays after Pentecost with the originally Gregorian Sundays of Advent. In **Saint Eloi**, this is introduced with its own ornamental letter (fol. 192r), and capital title EBDOMADA SECUNDA POST PENTECOSTEN (in the lower margin of fol. 191v). However, **Saint Eloi** has a unique comprehensiveness in that, painstakingly, the *Te Igitur* prayer is written out each time for the masses in which a distinct *Communicantes* prayer was already supplied (for example, Christmas Vigil, fol. 13r–14r, Christmas Day fol. 15r–16r, Epiphany fol. 25r–v, etc.). The opening words of the preface are also repeatedly fully written out for each proper preface: “UD et iustum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agete, domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus” [trans. It is indeed right and just and salutary, that at all times and in all places we offer thanks and praise to you, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Everlasting God]. Other manuscripts did not bother to repeat this every time, instead the monogram UD represented this entire portion. One can only see this tedious repetition as part of the sumptuousness of the manuscript. **Saint Eloi** incorporated another source which divides it from Saint-Amand, since clearly an *Ordo Romanus* was put to use to add extensive additional rubrics (written in alternating red and green) to several feasts, describing the celebration of the feasts in an episcopal church.⁸⁴⁴ A full *Ordo* for the dedication of the church (fol. 162v–173v) placed at the end of the Sanctoral also incorporates the prayers and blessings for this occasion. Moreover, the ordinations are particularly strongly developed (fol.

p. xcv to first appear together in **Saint-Germain**'s lectionary, indicating a Saint-Amand's influence there.

842 Turner, “A 10th–11th Noyon Sacramentary,” p. 146.

843 SUPER POPULUM of the second Monday in Lent (fol. 52r) with Gelasian Collect (Sg 326), used as AD UESPERAS in our manuscripts; secret of the second Thursday in Lent (fol. 53r) with Gelasian equivalent (Sg 342); replacement of the mass of Thursday of the fifth week with Gelasian equivalents (Sg 448, 450–451, 449); SUPER POPULUM of the sixth week of Lent with Gelasian equivalent (Sg 457).

844 The text is that of *Ordo Romanus* XXIV, for which see Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani*, vol. 3 (Louvain, 1956), pp. 277–97.

246r–255r).⁸⁴⁵ These suggest the manuscript would have been intended to reflect an episcopal liturgy, which might explain an absence of the feast of Saint Benedict and a developed series of five masses *pro episcopo defuncto* (fol. 241r–244r).⁸⁴⁶ These are among the traits that show that, just as in the art of the manuscript, the monks of Corbie were capable of integrating a Saint-Amand source into a new project.

We might also note that a tenth-century copy of **Saint Eloi**, or of a manuscript that was substantially identical to it, survives, which has been placed in the Champagne or Reims area, yet whose provenance remains largely unclear: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 1238.⁸⁴⁷ Netzer believed it was for Saint-Remi in Reims, since it adds a mass of St. Remigius to those in **Saint Eloi** (Paris, BnF, Latin 1238, fol. 125v–126r), though Leroquais supposed it was not actually for a monastery, since an “episcopus” is mentioned in various rubrics from the *ordo romanus*, and St. Benedict also has no mass. The Remigius mass, he judged, was not actually a patronal one. The only further clue is the addition of the name of Baldwin to the margin of the *Memento* of the living on fol. 2v, though unfortunately badly damaged (“Balduuni . . . uxore et . . . eius). In an elevated place at the Canon, but not with “et rege nostro” and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, it could be this was one of the Counts of Flanders, Baldwin II (r. 879–918), Baldwin

845 From the *Hucusque*, there is a new title and rubric: “INCIPIT ORDO AD SACROS ORDINES BENEDICENDOS. MAIORES GRADUS ANTE EUANGELIUM MINORES POST COMMUNIONE DANTUR. ET MINORES QUIDEM DOMINICIS DIEBUS SI NECESSE EST. MAIORES UERO IN SABATIS (sic.) DUODECIM LECTIONUM PER QUATTUOR TEMPORUM TANTUMMODO” [trans. Here begins the order for blessing the sacred orders. The major orders are given before the gospel, the minor ones after communion. And the minor orders can be on any Sunday, whenever is necessary. But the major ones only on Ember Saturdays]. The acolyte has a formula for the handing over of the candelabra: “Accipite hoc gestatorium luminis . . .”; the ORDO QUALITER refers only to deacons and priests, correct to Roman practice, and new questions are asked of them: “Postulat sancta mater ecclesia catholica . . .,” Gallican rites for the clothing of the deacon and anointing of the priest return from the Gelasian. The final formula of the Gregorian (De 1018) for the Pope’s ordination is placed after the bishop’s, with a new title “SI PAPA ORDINATUS EST HAEC ADDI DEBENT,” [trans. THIS SHOULD BE ADDED WHEN THE POPE IS ORDAINED] a clear sign of interest in formulae that had no practical application at Corbie.

846 The first from the Gregorian itself (De 1010–1014), the second found in **Trent** and **Modena** (De 2818–2823), the third unedited, the fourth De 2812, 2814, 2813, the fifth adapted from De 2818, 2820, 2821, 2842, and a final one “PRO SACERDOTE DEFUNCTO” De 2833–2835.

847 Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, pp. 81–83; Netzer, *L’introduction de la messe romaine*, pp. 122–23; Delisle, *Mémoire*, p. 193; digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100331341.image>; at the time of writing, Gallica has two bibliographic notices which say it is from Saint-Martial in Limoges. In fact, these are incorrectly assigned to this manuscript from another book, Paris, BnF, lat. 1138; The Sacramentary, lat. 1238, was acquired from Adrien-Maurice Noailles (1678–1766). Possibly he received it from Gaston de Noailles, Bishop of Châlons (1669–1722).

III (r. 958–962) or Baldwin IV (r. 987–1035). In fact, the “episcopal” traits are all copied from **Saint Eloi**, which explains why it often agrees with our Saint-Amand books in the same way that **Saint Eloi** does, having, for instance, many examples of “Gelasianisation of individual mass sets.”⁸⁴⁸ Thus, like **Saint Eloi**, it also has the Saint-Amand blessings (cf fol. 18v for the fifth Sunday after Epiphany). Corbie’s achievement thus had an afterlife in the tenth century, and this transmitted their Saint-Amand exemplar further. At Corbie itself, the tradition was still influential into the eleventh century, as Gelasian prayers and masses, as well as distinctive Carolingian masses of our tradition, persist in a missal written at the monastery then, Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale Louis Aragon, Ms. 155.⁸⁴⁹

Saint Eloi is among several “superabundant” sacramentaries that appear towards the end of the ninth century in Northern France: specifically **Sens** and **Saint-Germain** from Saint-Amand, **Laon** from Saint-Denis, and **Tours** from the Basilica of Saint-Martin. Characteristic of these five books is their assimilation of a broad range of very distinct material. These manuscripts no longer distinguish between the origin of mass material which they assimilate, whether it came from the books we distinguish as the Gregorian and the Gelasian, or other archival material, such as *libelli*. All of them also bring in material beyond the prayer texts which distinguish the sacramentary genre, as strictly defined, such as *ordines* (**Sens** for church dedication and the visitation of the dead, **Saint Eloi** for ordination, Holy Week, and church dedication, **Tours** and **Laon** for penance), chant (**Saint-Germain** in a separate Gradual, **Tours** integrated to each mass), *Missa graeca* (**Laon**, **Saint-Germain**, **Sens**), *apologiae* (**Saint-Germain**, **Sens**, **Saint Eloi**) etc. All the “superabundant” sacramentaries have some rela-

848 Paris, BnF, lat. 1238, fol. 20r–v the Mass of Annunciation is very clearly exactly the same as our books, and it even does the same shuffling around of the Gregorian prayers, using the Gregorian SUPER OBLATA as the post communion, added the Gelasian SUPER POPULUM, and Gregorian post communion as ALIA, plus the same two additional ALIA prayers (“Omnipotens sempiternus deus . . .” and “Exaudi nos domine . . .”), then two further prayers that **Saint Eloi** adds (“Beatae et gloriosae . . .” and “Porrigite . . .”); Vincent (fol. 12r) has the same secret. Agnes (fol. 13v) has the same added SUPER POPULUM; Silvester has the same post communion fol. 36r. Friday after Ash Wednesday has the same preface (fol. 28v), Urban has the same post communion (fol. 87v), etc.

849 Leroquais, *Les missels et sacramentaires*, vol. 1, pp. 164–67. Divergences from the Gregorian text are generally all found in **Saint-Eloi**, including some of many examples: 38v the Collect of the first Thursday in Lent, 39r SUPER POPULUM of the Friday, 39v the DOMINICA UACAT, secret and post communion, 41v–42r third Thursday in Lent (Cosmas and Damian mass replaced with Gelasian), 56r Pascha annotina, 6 75v Holy Innocents secret, 76r Genevieve, 76v Hilary, 77r Felix in Pincis with *Veronense* preface, 100r–v Cyriacus secret and post communion, 111v Jerome with Saint-Amand preface etc.

tion in choice of mass sets, and some individual votive masses, but they all deal with the organisation and placement of the varied material in distinct ways. They converged on the incorporation and assimilation of diverse sacramentary traditions, with shared texts being passed around, but had different processes of compilation. Of all of these, the monks of Corbie most closely copied a model related to Saint-Amand, but added their own personal stamp in adapting **Saint Eloi** specifically to an episcopal liturgy. In the other cases, the collections were seemingly independent of each other. Neither **Laon** nor **Tours** show the “Gelasianisation” of individual mass sets that so distinguishes Saint-Amand. Another distinct compilation, the Sacramentary of Echternach (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 9433), dated 895–900, proves the rapid spread of Northern French compilations of this kind.⁸⁵⁰ They were already received in a monastery in Luxembourg before the end of the century, a most convenient waypoint for them to reach the rest of East Francia, including, for example, Fulda.

We also know that these were the manuscripts that communities took with them, when they were forced to flee from Viking attacks. This is true in the parallel cases of **Tours**, which came into the city of Tours where the monks of Saint-Martin abandoned their basilica, **Saint-Germain**, carried there or written during exile by the monks of Saint-Amand, and **Laon**, which the monks of Saint-Denis probably took to the Reims/Laon area when they fled there, or also produced while in

850 Digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8479011k/f1.item>; see also Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 254–57; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 1, pp. 121–25; Hen, *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, pp. 34–35 suggests a sacramentary of Saint-Amand was one of three books used here, and the decoration is “Franco-Saxon,” see Nordenfalk, “Ein karolingisches Sakramentar.” Echternach clearly drew on Northern French manuscripts for numerous additions to the Gregorian, but these masses do not appear exactly the same as they do in Saint-Amand (Conversion of Paul with the same SUPER POPULUM (Echternach 1005–1009), but Maurice and Companions (Echternach 1435–1443), Remigius, Germanus, and Vedastus in Echternach 1456–1458, are both with extra ALIA prayers not found in Saint-Amand, Denis and friends at Echternach 1469–1472, but without vigil). Echternach’s scribes then chose not to include or did not have the most distinctive Saint-Amand mass sets, except in the case of an added flyleaf, fol. 156r–v, with script that is contemporary to the main hand, which added two masses, one of Jerome, without preface, and of Matthias the Apostle (Echternach 14^r-20^{*}). The latter is as at Saint-Amand, while Jerome has our distinctive Collect (De 3606), but the secret from another mass of Jerome (De 3612) and a new post communion. Direct parallels in the “Gelasianisation” of individual masses or ALIA prayers occur at Echternach 932, 933, 956, 961, 966, 992, 1111, 1113, 1070, 1071, 1085, 1096, 1098, 1102, 1103, 1174, 1208, 1252, 1310, 1312, 1317, 1351, 1356, 1529; Echternach’s ordo for the anointing of the dying transmitted the “synthesis” of Saint-Amand, including unctions for each part of the body at Echternach 2226–2254, also QUI PROXIMUS EST MORTI (Echternach, 2279–2282); Nicholas Orchard, “Some notes on the Sacramentary of Echternach (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France cod. lat. 9433,” *AfL* 43/44 (2002), pp. 1–12, suggested a source from Tours was most likely.

exile.⁸⁵¹ Decker-Hauer even suggested that the impulse to memorialise names and specific commemorations, visible in most of these sacramentaries, was an attempt by the monks to save their history and safeguard the continued existence of their communities in this uncertain time of dislocation.⁸⁵² The Viking invasions, and a certain experience of exile, however long or short it lasted, may have caused certain monasteries to begin to record their liturgical heritage in more comprehensive portable volumes, distilling a library into a single, easily transportable volume, in order to secure a continuity of liturgical tradition. This was a hypothesis I offered previously to explain the appearance of “superabundant” and “enhanced” sacramentaries at the end of the ninth century.⁸⁵³ **Saint Eloi**, however, does not show evidence of any such dislocation, nor was it experienced by the monks of Corbie, who designed and made this manuscript.

Revisiting the Viking invasions and their effects on Northern France, scholars have emphasized the continuity of monastic life in these regions, strikingly illustrated by Saint-Amand’s continued production of deluxe manuscripts.⁸⁵⁴ Indeed, the destruction of the Saint-Amand’s oratory of St. Andrew, built by St. Amandus himself, is a good example of the ambiguity of our sources.⁸⁵⁵ It is really not clear that the Vikings themselves destroyed it, or if it was simply abandoned and neglected over a long period by the monks during a difficult time, until it had to be restored at the end of the tenth century.⁸⁵⁶ While “disruption” did certainly occur at the end of the ninth century, it had varied causes beyond the Vikings, and different monasteries experienced it to different degrees.⁸⁵⁷ Saint-Amand, which benefited from Gauzlin’s care and then from support by Fulk of Reims, for example, seems to only seriously decline in the tenth century, due to depredation by its secular rulers, the Counts of Flanders.⁸⁵⁸ Thus, exile from the Vikings cannot fully

851 Walters-Robertson, *Service Books of the Royal Abbey*, p. 43, 361–63; Rankin, *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe*, p. 103, other books from Saint-Denis ended up in the same region.

852 Decker-Hauer, *Memorialüberlieferung im frühmittelalterlichen Paris*, p. 279

853 Westwell, “The Lost Missal of Alcuin”; I thank the reviewers for pressing me productively on this point.

854 D’Haenens, “Les invasions normands,” pp. 254–60; Pierre Riché, “Consequences des invasions normandes sur la culture monastique dans l’occident franc,” in *I Normanni e la loro espansione in Europa nell’alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo 16 (1969), pp. 705–21; on Saint-Amand see Platelle, *Le Temporal*, p. 83.

855 Henri Platelle, “Les effets des raids scandinaves à Saint-Amand (881, 883).” *Revue de Nord* 43 (1961), p. 129.

856 Henri Platelle, “L’oeuvre de Saint Gérard de Brogne à Saint-Amand,” *RevBen* 70 (1960) at pp. 139–40.

857 Trumbore-Jones, “Pitying the Desolation of such a Place.”

858 Platelle, *Le Temporal*, pp. 111–21.

explain the production of these books in the late ninth century, but their memorialising function hints at further, deeper explanations.

Lost Books in the Netherlands (the Pamelius Sacramentary)

In the sixteenth century, Jacobus Pamelius (1536–1587) had access to at least one sacramentary of Saint-Amand, which was on balance likely a Carolingian original, which he used in his edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary, published in 1571.⁸⁵⁹ Of all the singularities of Saint-Amand, Pamelius's edition has the vast majority when it comes to the yearly cycle. Unfortunately, his treatment of votive masses is considerably less complete. Yet none of the books he described as sources for this edition in the *Praefatio* to the book matches exactly what we know of the history of our surviving manuscripts, so it seems this was an additional, now lost manuscript. There are two possibilities among the books Pamelius described. The first is the book he found in the Cathedral Library of Utrecht and dated to the ninth century. He noted specifically that it was not divided in distinct books (that is, it had no separate Supplement like the Cologne manuscripts), and that it contained episcopal blessings at the end (distinct from the masses themselves), and a Gradual at the beginning.⁸⁶⁰ Pamelius made it clear that, for example, some of the Saint-Amand blessings came out of this same book (*Liturgica Latinorum*, 501: “Ex Ultraiectino codice”).⁸⁶¹ It has been suggested that this Pamelius book was a lost

859 Arthur Carolus De Schrevel, “Pamele,” in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, vol. 16: *Nucenus-Pepyn* (Brussels: Académie royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 1901), cols. 528–42.

860 Amiet, “Les sacramentaires 88 et 137,” pp. 76–77, quoted and helpfully interpreted Pamelius, *Liturgica Latinorum*, vol. 1, *Praefatio* (unpaginated), “quod in libros non distinguerur . . . Benedictiones vero episcopales idem codex in calce habebat adscriptas, quas deinde cum in nostro omnes non essent” [trans. This is not divided in books . . . But the episcopal blessings are written at the end of the same manuscript, all of which are then not in our own book]; Paul Séjourne, *L'ordinaire de S. Martin d'Utrecht* (Utrecht: Dekker en van de Vegt, 1919–1921), pp. 141–47: “il contenait vraisemblablement . . . quelque-unes des oraisons gélasiennes que Pamelius a notées 2o loco sous la rubrique Unus codex” [trans. it contained probably . . . several of the Gelasian prayers that Pamelius noted “in the second place” under the rubric “one book”].

861 Pamelius, *Liturgica Latinorum*, e.g., pp. 484–87, the blessings for Sundays after Epiphany, the blessing of Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima, none of which are from *Hucusque* (and none present in the Cologne manuscripts), pp. 495–99 and eleven of those for the Sundays after Pentecost pp. 501–4 “Hoc usque Benedictiones Dominicales Pentecosten habebat codex Ultraiectinus”; see also Moeller, *Corpus Benedictionum Pontificalium: Praefatio*, CCSL 162–162C (Turnhout 1971–1979), p. xxxiv.

sacramentary of the Oudmunster or Salvatorkerk, founded by St. Willibrord.⁸⁶² Another possibility is that the lost Saint-Amand manuscript was the second of two manuscripts which Pamelius found in the collection of the Cathedral of St. Bavo in Ghent.⁸⁶³ Of this, he noted only that the manuscript was from a Benedictine house, and that it contained all that his Cologne books did and more, while still having the title attributing it to Gregory, as our books do. What makes this manuscript a likely candidate for an actual Saint-Amand book is that Pamelius noted in the margin that he extracted many of the additional and, we now know, non-Gregorian SUPER POPULUM and AD UESPERAS prayers from it.⁸⁶⁴ This is noted next to the first mass for the Vigil of Christmas, to which Pamelius had added to the Gregorian core the SUPER POPULUM “Praesta quaesumus Domine deus noster . . .” and the AD UESPEROS “Praesta misericors deus, ut ad suscipendum filii tui . . .” The same prayers were used in the same way in our **Saint-Germain**. Perhaps both Utrecht and Ghent manuscripts had some connection to Saint-Amand, but Pamelius suggests that the Ghent book bore closest resemblance to the Carolingian books of Saint-Amand we have examined. Given its seeming pure reproduction of what is found in **Saint-Germain** and **Sens**, it may, indeed, have been a lost example of another book the monks of Saint-Amand made in the late ninth century.

Pamelius’s main aim was to extract and reconstruct the “original” Gregorian Sacramentary, but he was not inattentive to the diversity of manuscripts. For the most part, he employed two manuscripts he found in the Cologne Dombibliothek as the basis of his edition, that is manuscripts **Cologne**, noted above as originally from Worms but very soon in Cologne itself, and Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, cod. 88, a tenth-century adapted copy of the former.⁸⁶⁵

862 Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, “Incest, Penance, and a Murdered Bishop: The Legend of Frederic of Utrecht,” in *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms*, ed. Rob Meens, Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude and Carine van Rhijn (Manchester: University Press, 2016), pp. 409–34 at n. 25

863 Pamelius, *Liturgica Latinorum*, vol. 1, Praefatio; the first manuscript was Anglo-Saxon and apparently contained certain chants in Old English!

864 Pamelius, *Liturgica Latinorum*, vol. 2, p. 184: “Orationes super populum, non nisi in Quadragesima . . . non esse Gregorianas. Et vero frequenter desiderabantur in Coloniensi codicis, sed in pietatis studiosorum gratiam, ex codicibus S. Bauonis Gandensis eas ubique suppleuimus, ex quorum etiam uno Orationes ad Uesperos” [trans. Prayers over the people, except those in Lent . . . are not Gregorian. And these are frequently missing in the Cologne books, but in favour of the piety of the studios, we have supplied them everywhere from the codices of St. Bavo in Ghent, from which also comes this Prayers for Vespers].

865 Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, cod. 88 is digitised at <https://digital.dombibliothek-koeln.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:hbz:kn28-3-464>.

His main text tends to reflect these two books. Nevertheless, other manuscripts he found in other libraries, for example, those in Utrecht and Ghent, in fact contributed substantially to the text, though one must read carefully to see exactly how. Where a text was only found in a single manuscript, he tended to include it in square brackets. It is principally in these bracketed prayers we can reconstruct a sacramentary of Saint-Amand, whose special traits are clearly visible. As noted above, the prayers AD UESPERAS appeared in his edition during Lent, and his copy of the Exaltation of the Cross, for example, contains the extra ALIAE ORATIONES we find in our books.⁸⁶⁶ Throughout, individual Gelasian prayers are noted as alternatives in square brackets for the otherwise Gregorian feasts in the Cologne manuscripts. These also align with the substitutions made in our books. For example, Pamelius has in the square brackets in the mass of Urban, p. 296, the same post communion with which our sacramentaries replaced the Gregorian one, “Beati Urbani martyris atque pontificis . . .” or in the mass for Marcellinus and Petrus, p. 306, where Pamelius noted as an ALIA secret the Gelasian prayer our books interpolated “Votiva domine munera deferentes . . .,” or in the case of Marcus and Marcellinus, 308–9, where he has the alternative Collect, secret, and post communion our books contain.⁸⁶⁷ Likewise, Pamelius copied some complete Gelasian masses from the manuscripts, sometimes noting they were not in the Cologne books but were in “aliis codicibus” (for example, the Vigil of Epiphany, Conversion of Paul, Cathedra of Peter, Pascha Annotina, Invention of the Cross, Octave of Pentecost, Octave of Laurence, Bartholomew, Matthew, and Luke, etc.) and some Carolingian ones, with the same sets as appear in our books (Matthias, pp. 208–9, Mark – in which it combines the two masses found in our tradition,

⁸⁶⁶ From Septuagesima, 212 onwards. In the case of, for example, Quadragesima Sunday, the two prayers interpolated in our books “Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui nobis in obseruatione ieiunij . . .” and “Concede nobis omnipotens Deus ut per annua Quadragesimalis . . .” are specifically differentiated from another prayer AD UESPEROS (in other MSS); for the first Thursday, Pamelius notes not only the AD UESPEROS our manuscripts add, but also the Collect “Suscipe quaesumus Domine propitius . . .” our manuscripts from **Saint-Germain** onwards took from the Gelasian cotidian prayers; for the Third Sunday, p. 239, he noted the alternative secret our manuscripts replaced the Gregorian one with, also as ALIA (Suscipe quaesumus Domine deuotorum . . .), etc.

⁸⁶⁷ For Vincent, p. 202, the alternative secret “Hodiernum domine sacrificium . . .”; Candlemas, at p. 206, he has the two ALIA prayers added in **Saint-Germain**: p. 212 Septuagesima, p. 213 Sexagesima the alternative post communion, p. 284 St. George the alternative secret “Tanto placabiles . . .” and added Super Populum “Tuus martyr Georgius . . .” and so on throughout; other very characteristic details for example, that one manuscript he used gave the prayer “Deus qui ecclesiam tuam Apostoli . . .” with the uncommon heading “ad uigilias in nocte” (p. 315) are likewise clear resonances of our books (compare Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 81r)

pp. 286–87, All Saints’ Vigil and Day).⁸⁶⁸ Likely because he concluded they were not Roman, he did not copy a number of complete masses which were already added in our **Saint-Germain** (for example, Vigil and feast of Dionysius, Jerome, Priscus, Augustine, Praiectus, etc.). But, for example in the Octave of Epiphany, he employed a rare prayer only our **Sens** used (p. 198), and likewise for Felix in Pincis (p. 199).⁸⁶⁹ It should be noted that the editors of *Corpus Orationum* and *Corpus Praefationum* unfortunately made the error of assuming that, if a prayer text is included in Pameliu, whether in square brackets or not, it was therefore in the Cologne books, and they thus present an entirely false picture of the latter. Though Pameliu is not always entirely clear with his methods, he was explicit enough to allow us to avoid this error, and the Cologne manuscripts do not ever include these special traits that align with Saint-Amand.

The lost Utrecht Sacramentary of Pameliu has been said to have been rather close to the later book made for a significant patron of the Oudmunster, the Sacramentary of Bishop Balderic of Utrecht (Bishop 918–976) (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lit. 2), which is only a festal Sacramentary, for the highest feasts of the year and thus was more limited in scope than the book Pameliu consulted clearly was (for example, it lacks Lent and most saints’ feasts).⁸⁷⁰ Yet, in its Sanctoral, Balderic’s book is simply a “Gelasianised” Gregorian in the same style as the “Corbie Saint-Amand group,” again one in which *Hucusque*’s Sundays, votive masses, and episcopal blessings were incorporated and whose Gregorian masses remained untouched, but allowing the simple addition of, for example, Matthew the Evangelist or Maurice (fol. 44r–v), Germa-

868 Another clue, on p. 293, is that two of the “vetutistisimis codicis” [trans. very old codices] he consulted, presumably including the one we are attempting to reconstruct, lacked the feast of the dedication of Maria ad Martyres, removed in Saint-Amand; for Saint Gregory, Pameliu copied the Gregorian mass, while providing the Gelasian texts as ALIA in square brackets, likewise with the third Thursday at Cosmas and Damian, where the main text is the Gelasian mass, because it was used in the Cologne manuscripts, and the Gregorian in brackets.

869 Also for Philipp and James (p. 288), he has the Collect “Da qui es omnium sanctorum . . .” which **Sens** added; for the Invention of the Cross (pp. 289–90) he knew two versions of the ALIA prayer our manuscripts contained. The main text aligns with the shorter prayer in **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 122r), yet some corrections in square brackets “cui cunctae obediunt creaturae et,” “in sapientia,” and “tu qui es lignum vitae paradisque reperator vita” are found in **Saint-Germain** (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 70r–v), where the prayer was seemingly edited later (these are also in Ful 892); likewise Vigil of Assumption gives the Gregorian text, but marginally (p. 329), notes the variant “Munera nostra domine apud clementiam tuam Dei genetricis commendat oratio,” which our sacramentaries have (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 87r; Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 155r); the three ALIA ORATIONES at the Assumption parallel our books too (p. 331).

870 Séjourne, *L’ordinaire de S. Martin*, pp. 147–48.

nus, Remigius, and Vesdastus (fol. 45r), All Saints, as well as, for example, additional masses of Boniface or Leodagar.⁸⁷¹ The influence of a potential Saint-Amand exemplar was, however, seemingly more visible in one place in the votive masses: Balderic's Book (fol. 72r–73r) has the three votive masses (John the Baptist, Peter, and Stephen) that were very characteristic of our manuscripts, and these are even placed among the masses of Alcuin, as they were also at Saint-Amand. Unfortunately, Pamelius's account of votive masses is even less complete, and follows almost exclusively the Cologne manuscript, but we can see that Pamelius knew at least the prefaces of these same three masses. However, these are not in the manuscript of Balderic, which generally ignores proper prefaces. In the episcopal blessings, a few from the Saint-Amand collection added to **Cambrai** can also be found in Balderic (fol. 117r), but not, for example, the Sundays after Pentecost that Pamelius specifically found in his Utrecht manuscript.⁸⁷² **Fulda** and Utrecht's later liturgical books have their own crossovers, muddying the waters further.⁸⁷³

It is thus more likely that it was the sacramentary Pamelius saw at the Cathedral of St. Bavo in Ghent that had the more complete text of a Saint-Amand book, very like ours for **Saint-Germain**, with some traits of **Sens** too. Close relations between Ghent and Saint-Amand would help to explain if a sacramentary was provided to an institution of that city perhaps even before the end of the ninth century, as the Sint-Pietersabdij there seems to have received, for example, a copy of the life of the founder they shared, St. Amandus (today, Ghent, Grand Seminaire, Ms. 224), and possibly also the Gospel Book today in Leiden. It is not likely that the manuscript Pamelius used is now our **San Marino** fragment, though that may also have circulated in the Netherlands. It forms a paste down in a manuscript made in 1443, which came to the Bethlehem monastery near Louvain, and this is too early for Pamelius to have seen it. Thus, we can imagine an even more significant production of sacramentaries at Saint-Amand than the surviving books disclose, helping to explain their influence on a number of other centres and adding further glory to this monastery's singular contribution to medieval compilation.

871 In, for example, the Vigil of Ascension, Balderich agrees with Saint-Amand in the choice of Gelasian prayers.

872 Moeller, *Corpus Benedictionum Pontificalium*, vol. 2: *Praefatio, Indices, Concorda Verborum A-B*, CCSL CLXIIB (Turnhout, 1973), p. 7; it contains eighty-two blessings.

873 See Séjourne, *L'ordinaire de S. Martin*, pp. 143–47, 168.

Tenth and Eleventh-Century Copies of the Saint-Amand Tradition

Reims

Evidence suggests that **Reims** was made at the monastery Saint-Thierry, probably just before 900, the date of the death of Archbishop Fulk, and the likely departure of Hucbald from Reims. The apologies and *Memoriae*, which are also taken from the Saint-Amand model (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, fol. 1r–6r) are clearly part of the same campaign of writing the manuscript, and closely resemble the Reims material which follows them, much more than they do the truly Saint-Amand portion, **Noyon**.⁸⁷⁴ A text added on 6r, “*Catholica est fide . . .*” is associated with a list of the titles seven of Alcuin’s masses, here specifically “*a domno alchuino collectae*” [trans. gathered by master Alcuin], including those of the patron “*Theoderici et Teodulfi*,” and the days one should say them.⁸⁷⁵ Two patronal mass for St. Theodericus alone are found on 7v–8r.⁸⁷⁶ As noted, these hands do not distinguish themselves from the hand or hands writing the main sacramentary as much as both are clearly distinct from the Canon, copied at Saint-Amand. In another hand, there appears a final mass for St. Remigius (fol. 185r–v), and material for monastic profession (fol. 185v–186r).⁸⁷⁷ This Reims material precedes the preface collection which is still part of the main manuscript, that begins on fol. 187r.

We possess, in this case, a second manuscript that clearly directly copied from the identifiable and available source, **Reims**, viz. the “*deuxième sacramentaire de Saint-Thierry*” or **Saint-Thierry**, Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 214.⁸⁷⁸ This latter manuscript was written at Saint-Thierry in the succeeding century, probably between the restoration of monastic life at the Abbey of Saint-Thierry in 972, and a second translation of the patron saint in 976, a mass for which had to be added

874 Leroquais, *Les sacramentaire et missels*, p. 21 has one hand writing fol. 1–5, another 6, 134 and 184, 187–235, a fourth 6v, 7, 185, and 186; he has the main hand writing the Canon and the whole manuscript (fol. 8–183).

875 “*Catholica est Fide . . .*” edited by Deshusses in “*Les messes d’Alcuin*,” p. 16 and also attributed to Alcuin, p. 12.

876 Not edited by Deshusses. CO 990, 4684c and 5300.

877 Deshusses edited the latter: PRO PUERO DIE OBLATIONIS SUAE (De 2773–2775), PRO MONACHIS DIE PROFESSIONIS SUAE (De 2267–2269), and PRO HIS QUI ECCLESIAE DEI PRAESUNT (De 1992–1994); also Jean Leclercq, “*Messes pour la profession et l’oblation monastique*,” *AfL* 5 (1955), pp. 93–96; also absent from our Saint-Amand books are the two masses for a sick priest to sing for himself (De 2791–2793) and the further MISSA GENERALIS (De 2385–2386).

878 Digitised at: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/38096/canvas/canvas-582366/view>.

by a later hand on fol. 71v. The principal source for the “deuxième sacramentaire” was **Reims** (or the “première sacramentaire de Saint-Thierry”).⁸⁷⁹ In the decoration, the relations are only general. One can say that **Saint-Thierry** drew from general Franco-Saxon motifs, probably including **Reims**, without exactly copying them and without their finesse or expertise, including interlace borders and interpolating interlace and duck and hound heads into its UD monogram on fol. 9r, which also includes two haloed faces, and a Crucifixion by next to the TE IGITUR with the apostles’ creatures in the corner medallions, but most clearly on fol. 10r with the TE IGITUR initial. Like our later books, the “deuxième sacramentaire” separates Temporal and Sanctoral, with Sundays entirely integrated to the former, including the Sundays after Pentecost and in Advent directly following Pentecost week. Additions to the Sanctoral beyond what appears in **Reims** (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie Ms. 213), are generally local feasts.⁸⁸⁰ The episcopal blessings, including those “of Saint-Amand” remain distinct from the masses at the end (fol. 202r–223r).

Saint-Thierry includes all the additions and Gelasian masses (Pascha Annotina on Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 214, fol. 49v–50r, Genevieve on fol. 73v, Praiectus 76v–77r, Donatus 95v, etc.) and individual prayer texts such as these were found in **Saint-Germain** (or the second section of **Reims**). But this time the prayer texts are now united to the masses in question (for example, addition of two ALIA prayers to Candlemas on fol. 77v). This includes in Lent (fol. 19v–35r), where all the same AD UESPERAS prayers appear, simply given as an ALIA to the main mass. Yet **Saint-Thierry** maintains the station names, presenting the clear accommodation of the two separate and distinct parts of **Reims** in one relatively seamless whole. New blessings were also incorporated to the extensive, distinct portion with episcopal blessings, probably representing a Reims collection.⁸⁸¹ Where **Saint-Germain** replaced a Gregorian prayer text with a Gelasian one, this is usually given as an ALIA at the end of the mass and the original Gregorian text is also copied (for example, Sexagesima on fol. 20r, Wednesday of Holy Week fol.

⁸⁷⁹ Relations are clear, for example, in Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 214, fol. 4v, where the note about Alcuin’s division of masses and the text “Catholica est fide . . .” are copied directly from these additions to **Reims**; it includes chants in the margins like the latter too; the Canon itself has unfortunately been subsequently strongly altered. The *orationes solennes* of Good Friday (fol. 37r) pray for “rege nostro,” not “imperatore nostro”, as does the *Exultet* (fol. 41r); see Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 1, p. 94.

⁸⁸⁰ Proper feast for Remigius, Nicasius (fol. 93r), and three bishops of Reims (Sixtus, Sinicus, and Nivardus) on fol. 101v, Vigil and feast of Remigius fol. 107r–v; for the interest in the Cappadocian Basil (fol. 109v), the Translation of Helena (fol. 78r–v) and Barnabas (on an added strip) (fol. 86r–v) at Saint-Thierry, see Dubois, “Le calendrier et martyrologe de l’abbaye de Saint-Thierry,” in Bur, *Saint-Thierry*, pp. 183–205.

⁸⁸¹ Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 214, fol. 201r–223r.

35r). Other special traits that prove the direct use of our **Reims** as a model include: the mass of Benedict, Mark the Evangelist, Jerome, the same mass for the Thursday of Pentecost Week and Ember Days of June, the votive masses for John the Baptist, Peter, and Stephen (fol. 131r–131v), and the seven for Mary and All Saints (fol. 133r–136r), the prayers after the Exaltation of the Cross, “Fundamentum fidei . . .” in the Christmas ALIA prayers, the mass for Hilary, Vincent’s SUPER OBLATA (“Hodierna domine sacrificum laetantes offerimus . . .”), the AD UESPERAS of Ash Wednesday, the Prefaces for Friday and Saturday after Quinquagesima, and the secret of the Saturday after Pentecost (“Haec oblatio Domine quaesumus cordis nostri . . .”)⁸⁸² At Saint-Thierry, Saint-Amand’s work exercised a significant lasting influence into the tenth century, and it was deemed suitable to compose an entirely new manuscript that united all the material that had been gathered by the monks of Saint-Amand, even though **Reims** still existed. However, this influence had apparently attenuated by the twelfth century, to judge by a missal of the same Abbey belonging to that time, Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 231.⁸⁸³

Saint-Denis

We can see that **Saint-Denis**, written by a scribe of Saint-Amand, formed the basis of later books written at the same monastery afterwards, including, for example, the Sacramentary of Ratoldus Paris, BnF, lat. 12052. The pre-history and history of this complicated book was intricately reconstructed by Orchard. Its principal core represents an attenuated copy of a lost Sacramentary of Saint-Denis (of ca. 940), but this source had passed through various churches and had been copied and adapted each time, in Brittany, Orleans, and Arras, before we come to the surviving manuscript copy, which was written at the request of a monk of Corbie, Ratoldus, later abbot 972–986.⁸⁸⁴ The Temporal and Sanctoral are still mixed and not separated, and this is one sign of the relatively unaltered ninth-century Saint-Denis

⁸⁸² The preface for Felix in Pincis has been overwritten to give the *Hucusque* preface (fol. 74v). This would only have been necessary if the *Veronense* text was there originally.

⁸⁸³ Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 2, pp. 281–82; digitised at: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md46d217sp4b>; this is a “Gelasianised” text with additions like the Vigil of Epiphany (Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 231, fol. 25v–26r), but the mass for Benedict (fol. 185v–186r), for example, is not as in Saint-Amand. The Gregorian text for the third Thursday in Lent is returned (fol. 61r–63r), as is also Gregory (fol. 185v). Jerome, etc., are missing and votive masses are reduced to a comparative minimum.

⁸⁸⁴ Hohler, “Some Service Books,” pp. 65–69; Orchard, *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, p. xxix.

model. The compilers of Ratoldus incorporated episcopal blessings to masses, including those “of Saint-Amand,” but, in other elements, the manuscript stays relatively close to our **Saint-Denis**.⁸⁸⁵ In the numerous new masses added to the Sanctoral, however, we are presented with the familiar mass for Hilary (Ratoldus 346–53) which appeared at Saint-Amand (De 3441–3444), while the mass for Symphorian (Ratoldus 1678–1680) is a related form to the one used at Saint-Amand, but had, according to Orchard, been altered at Dol, where Symphorian also was locally venerated.⁸⁸⁶ A Parisian context for these two masses in their original form is likely.

Relations to Saint-Amand are even clearer in Paris, BnF, lat. 9436, the lavish sacramentary-gradual or sometimes, “augmented sacramentary,” as chants are incorporated to the individual masses, made for Saint-Denis in 1041–1060. In this manuscript, which was created and decorated at Saint-Vaast, the Sanctoral and Temporal are now separated.⁸⁸⁷ This manuscript copies once again the *Missa Graeca* (fol. 1v–2v), with neumes, and the votive mass of Denis, Rusticus, and Eleutherius transmitted in **Saint-Denis** appears exactly on fol. 131v. In the Sanctoral, a number of new masses appear.⁸⁸⁸ While this manuscript still has certain traits of **Saint-Denis**, including the Gregorian’s station notices, and the general preservation of the Gregorian mass sets, it has others shared with the Carolingian Sacramentary **Saint-Vaast**, indicating the creators at that monastery were probably giving some input.⁸⁸⁹ Yet, in fact, the manuscript likewise transmitted many other traits of Saint-Amand manuscripts of which **Saint-Vaast** shows no trace, and goes much beyond the earlier Sacramentary of Ratoldus in doing so. In the Sanctoral we discover Hilary in the form of Saint-Amand (74r), Felix in Pincis including the

885 As noted by Orchard, *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, p. civ, the church dedication order is also related to **Saint-Denis**; the blessings for example, at Ratoldus 322 = De 3824, Ratoldus 344 = De 3825, Ratoldus 372 = De 3826; Ratoldus 419 = De 3828 etc.; see Orchard, *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, pp. clxxi–clxxxiii, which suggests these came from the English pontifical incorporated, not the Saint-Denis Sacramentary, which is plausible.

886 Orchard, *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, pp. lxxxix–xc.

887 Digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105511278.image>; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 1, pp. 142–44; Walters-Robertson, *Service Books of the Royal Abbey*, pp. 387–91.

888 For example, Medardus and Gilardus of Soissons, as in **Senlis** (fol. 87r), Mary Magdalene (fol. 92v), Invention of Stephen (fol. 95r), two masses for Martial fol. 90v–91r, the **Tours** mass for ordination and translation of Martin (fol. 91r–v), etc.

889 Third Thursday of Lent at Cosmas and Damian (fol. 34r–v), the form of **Saint-Vaast** and Saint-Amand not **Saint-Denis**; introduced Gelasian masses for the Ember Days of June (fol. 58v–59r), marked in the margin even as “ORATIONES SECUNDUM GELASIVM”; Mark the Evangelist (fol. 84r), copying the form of **Saint-Vaast**, the *Cathedra Sancti petri* including the form “Benedic domine quaesumus . . .” as an ALIA.

Veronense preface (74v), Matthias including the preface (81r), the Saint-Amand mass of Jerome (104v–105r), combined with another mass. Likewise, the substantially Gelasian masses transmitted in the Saint-Amand Common of Saints from **Tournai** appear here (De 3164–3166 on fol. 116r, 3228–3239 on fol. 116v–117r, 3269–3271 on fol. 117r–v, 3303–3306 on fol. 117v, 3327–3330 on fol. 117v–118r, 3321–3324 on fol. 118r). This book even contains the Alcuin votive masses of John the Baptist, Peter (fol. 130v), and of Stephen (fol. 131r), including prefaces for both John and Stephen. A votive mass for All Saints incorporated prayers from the set of Saint-Amand masses for Mary and All Saints (De 1920, 1915, 1926), one *MISSA SACERDOTIS* (2188–2191) on fol. 138r–v, is unique to our manuscripts from **Saint-Germain** onwards, the mass for a king and his family linked to Gauzlin (fol. 141v) appears, as do the two *MISSAE PRO AMICO* (fol. 145r–146r), the *MISSA PRO INFIRMUS QUI PROXIMUS EST MORTI* (fol. 153v–154r) and a *MISSA GENERALIS* in both **Saint-Denis** and Saint-Amand books (fol. 161r–v). Thus, into the eleventh century in France, the distinctive tradition of Carolingian Saint-Amand and the texts composed there were still being copied.

On the one hand, as at Reims, these manuscripts show that any initial efforts in **Saint-Denis** to keep the Gregorian distinct without the addition of Gelasian or Carolingian mass sets were discontinued, and on the other hand that the Gregorian *Hadrianum* had ceased to be seen as worth preserving distinct from the addition of mass sets since Ratoldus and the Saint-Denis Missal are both amply supplied with them, without any distinction from the true Gregorian texts. An accepted and widely shared suite of additions included many masses that our sacramentaries were among the first to supply (Genevieve, Germanus, Remigius and Vedastus, Maurice, etc.), as indeed the forms of organisation which our **Sens** adopted very early, such as the separation of Sanctorale and Temporale and distinct Dominicale with all Sundays, regardless of origin, became widespread. But again, unlike at Fulda, Gregorian mass sets still remained untouched. It is possible that Arras provided a secondary transmission of distinctive Saint-Amand mass sets, which allowed these to be incorporated at other centres, seemingly without the concomitant adaptation of actually altered Gregorian mass sets. These masses had not been incorporated in the ninth-century manuscript, **Saint-Vaast**, but could easily have found roots in the diocese, not far from Saint-Amand, in the period immediately after, and continued, in the eleventh century, to be used and copied.

Fulda

Fulda (Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. theol. 231) is one of the most important and widely known mass books of the Middle Ages, principally famed for its rich cycle of illustrations, but also noted by liturgical scholars for its extreme comprehensiveness. It was probably written between 975 and 980 at the German monastery.⁸⁹⁰ An early edition of the book by Richter and Schönfelder, re-issued by the Henry Bradshaw Society, has contributed considerably to its visibility. In their studies of the manuscript, Hohler and Palazzo both theorised the existence of some kind of Saint-Amand model underlying the Göttingen manuscript.⁸⁹¹ The presence of a number of West Frankish saints and masses in **Fulda** has long been conspicuous, including many of the Carolingian mass sets we have encountered (Genevieve of Paris in Ful 111–14, Hilary of Poitiers 131–36, Scholastica 209–211, Matthias 228–231, Maurice and Companions 1334–1338, and Germanus, Remigius, and Vedastus 1360–1362). Yet because **Fulda** was edited very early, and has long been available to liturgists, while the complexity of the ninth-century sacramentaries of Saint-Amand has remained unstudied and unknown, the extent to which the Saint-Amand books already accomplished much of what has been viewed as specific and special to **Fulda** has never been appreciated.⁸⁹² In the latest study of the Göttingen manuscript, Winterer downplayed the possible influence of Saint-Amand considerably. He noted, for example, that a number of the West Frankish masses in **Fulda** (especially Matthias, Mark, and Symphorian) must have come from other places rather than Saint-Amand (“keinesfalls in Saint-Amand entstanden sind” [trans. in no way originated in Saint-Amand]), since Saint-Amand did not especially venerate the saints in question.⁸⁹³ Since Symphorian, Hilary, and Genevieve appear in **Saint-Germain**’s final section, which seems to represent mass material that came to the attention of the compilers only at a late stage, the ultimate origin of these three mass sets in Paris seems likely, as Orchard noted.

⁸⁹⁰ The dating in Winterer, *Das Fuldaer Sakramentar*, pp. 172–77.

⁸⁹¹ Palazzo, *Les sacramentaire de Fulda*, pp. 150–53; Hohler, “The Type of Sacramentary.”

⁸⁹² Winterer, *Das Fuldaer Sakramentar*, p. 290: “bildeten die übrigen frankosächischen Sakramentare sämtlich Gregoriana” [trans. the other Franco-Saxon sacramentaries (of Saint-Amand) represent all Gregorians], which, as we have seen, is not true.

⁸⁹³ Winterer, *Das Fuldaer Sakramentar*, pp. 251–67; at p. 266 Winterer stated that the West Frankish feasts (Symphorian, Hilary, Genevieve, Remigius, Germanus, and Vedastus, Dionysius, Eleutherius, and Rusticus) and the feasts of Mark, Matthias, Scholastica, and the Decollation of John do not all appear in any one single manuscript of Saint-Amand (“niemals all diese zusätzlichen Heiligenfeste gemeinsam in einer einzigen Handschrift” [trans. these additional saints’ feasts never appear together in a single manuscript]), which is inaccurate, since they do all appear in **Saint-Germain**, **Sens**, and **Reims**.

Of course, we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that someone at Saint-Amand composed the masses for another centre, as Alcuin had done, but the Paris mass sets are likely local, and were likely integrated to Saint-Amand's books and practices at Saint-Germain. In the other cases (especially Mark, Matthias, Scholastica, and Benedict), the mass sets appear in various centres and an origin cannot be determined with certainty, since Scholastica and Benedict would be venerated in any monastery, while Mark and Matthias result from the seemingly broadly shared Frankish preoccupation to supply all the apostles with distinct mass sets. The varied origin of these mass sets does not, however, change the clear evidence that **Fulda** received them via the same Saint-Amand model which marks the rest of the manuscript so thoroughly.

We can see this model above all in the "Gelasianisation" of individual mass sets, in which **Fulda** often makes exactly the same choice of Gelasian prayer to replace a Gregorian prayer in a mass set as Saint-Amand did.⁸⁹⁴ Very often the same prayers appear as ALIA or AD UESPERAS here at the end of masses as they do at Saint-Amand.⁸⁹⁵ On the other hand, sometimes **Fulda** adds Gelasian ALIA prayers Saint-Amand did not, particularly early in the liturgical year.⁸⁹⁶ But in such cases, **Fulda** was building on what Saint-Amand had done, and following their methodology, or perhaps even drawing on a model more integrated than those which have survived. This process does not mark **Winchcombe** at all, to

894 For example, all of the following masses have exactly the same prayers replaced with the same prayers used at Saint-Amand, with an extract of masses from the 3rd May to 13th December: Ful 900 for the post communion of Alexander, Eventulus, and Theodolus; 906 for the secret of Gordian and Epimachus; 953 for the post communion of Urban; 1022 and 1024 for the secret and post communion of Marcellinus and Petrus; 1057, 1058, and 1059 for the Collect, secret, and post communion of Marcus and Marcellinus; 1063, 1064, and 1066 for the Collect, secret, and post communion of Gervasius and Protasius; 1073 for the first mass of John the Baptist; 1097 and 1102 for the Vigil of Apostles; 1153 for San Pietro ad uincula; 1177 and 1178 for the secret and post communion of Cyriacus; 1208 for the post communion of Eusebius; 1210 for the secret of the Vigil of Assumption; 1215 for the secret of Assumption; 1256 for the secret of Hermes; 1339–1342 for the entire mass of Cosmas and Damian; 1358 for the secret of Mark the Pope; 1413 for the secret of the Quattuor Coronatorum; 1420 for the secret for Mennas; 1437 for the post communion for Cecilia; 1439 and 1441 for the secret and post communion of Clement; and 1481 for the post communion of Lucy.

895 For example, the following prayers appear in exactly the same position: Ful 169, 201, 880, 885, 897, 947, 959, 950, 1070, 1084, 1087, 1104, 1106, 1115, 1184, 1195, 1196, 1212, 1219, 1220, 1222, 1223, 1283, 1284, 1300, 1307, 1345, 1348, 1349, 1428, 1442, 1460.

896 For example in the case of Marcellus (Ful 144–148), discussed by Winterer, *Das Fuldaer Sakramentar* at p. 253, the added preface is already found added to the mass in our books (like Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 29v), but **Fulda** adds a Gelasian Collect as an ALIA, while otherwise keeping the Gregorian mass as Saint-Amand did; *Ibid.*, p. 258 indicates some other singular prayers.

which Winterer pointed in order to hypothesise a relation to Fleury in Fulda. Moreover, **Wincombe**, I suggest below, also has some underlying relation to the same Saint-Amand models and, in some cases, is independent of **Fulda** in this. **Fulda**'s *ordines* for the visitation of the sick (Ful 2394–2457) are likewise based on those developed within our Saint-Amand sacramentaries.⁸⁹⁷

In the additions of prayers, **Fulda**'s relations with the Saint-Amand tradition are constant and conspicuous, consistently touching the most characteristic features of Saint-Amand, and far too numerous to suggest coincidence or independence. These often use not prominent or widespread texts. This includes, at Ful 70, the prayer “Fundamentum Fidei . . .” among the ALIA ORATIONES for Christmas, which had no obvious Gelasian or Gregorian origin, Ful 1301–5 with the same list of ALIAE ORATIONES after the Exaltation of the Cross in the same order, and the same sets of masses for the Ember Week after Pentecost, where Saint-Amand made some uncommon choices. **Fulda** probably additionally had access, indirectly or directly, to other Northern French sources, and some material from Tours.⁸⁹⁸ It inserted some extra Gelasian masses our books did not use (Mary and Martha at Ful 152–154, Sotheris at Ful 215–217, Juvenal at Ful 887–890) yet, on the other hand, a lost Saint-Amand manuscript or a copy available to compilers at Fulda might have already assimilated these, as the tendency of the sacramentaries was clearly towards incorporating more of the Gelasian. Palazzo's hypothesis, of a decorated Gelasian of the Eighth Century sent by Charles the Bald to Fulda from Saint-Amand, does not suit the character of the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand. We can instead say the manuscript was very like our book, **Saint-Germain**, although with, at least, one votive mass we find only in **San Marino**.⁸⁹⁹ Gelasian masses, and the “Gelasianisation” of individual mass sets, could be transmitted through such a “mixed” book. It is possible that the Saint-Amand book that **Fulda** received had indeed come through Paris, since St. Dionysius rather curiously appears in the Canon of the Mass in later Fulda books like Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 1, which demonstrably had built on **Fulda**.⁹⁰⁰ Dionysius was

⁸⁹⁷ At Ful 2415–2433 the Cambrai series of unctions against specific sins are performed; the *ordo* has the same antiphons (“Sana Domine infirmum istum” with Psalm 6, “Domine locutus est discipulis suis” with Psalm 49, “Cor contritum et humiliatum” with Psalm 50 and “Sucurre domine infirmo isti” with Psalm 119, all in the same order and alternating with the same prayers); the litany attached to it conspicuously includes many Northern French saints including Amandus and, for example, Eulalia, like our own. Also see Palazzo, *Les sacramentaire de Fulda*, p. 152.

⁸⁹⁸ For example the Thursday of Pentecost Week Ful 992–995 is the mass from our **Saint-Denis**, not the Gelasian mass we find in other Saint-Amand manuscripts.

⁸⁹⁹ Palazzo, *Les sacramentaire de Fulda*, p. 157.

⁹⁰⁰ Ful 4 “et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum Petri Pauli Iacobi . . . et Damiani Dionisii Bonifatii Martini Gregorii Augustini Hieronomi Benedicti.”

possibly therefore originally in the Canon also in the Göttingen manuscript, though the relevant folio is lost. Albiero also noted commonalities with **Fulda** in the fragmentary sacramentary from Saint-Denis she reconstructed.⁹⁰¹

More evidence for the monastery of Fulda's possession of a lost Saint-Amand sacramentary can be found in Mainz, Martinus-Bibliothek, Hs. 1 (**Mainz**).⁹⁰² We encountered this manuscript briefly on two accounts: firstly, it is the only other manuscript employed by Deshusses which shared certain masses of the Common of Saints added in our manuscripts, and second, it has the fifth of the votive masses of Mary and All Saints, which were extraordinarily peculiar to our Saint-Amand manuscripts. Deshusses gives the false impression that these are both part of the original Carolingian core of the manuscript, copied for Mainz probably towards the end of the ninth century.⁹⁰³ This original core is a lavish and richly decorated Gregorian book, generally a copy of *Hadrianum* (1r–129v), with a few festal masses added at the end for St. Alban, Sergius and Bacchus, All Saints and Augustine (fol. 130r–134r) which are clearly distinct from the true Gregorian. It thus follows a model of a previous generation of sacramentaries exported from West Francia (especially **Trent**), which forewent the addition of masses directly to the Gregorian, but kept additional festal masses in a clearly supplementary portion. This shows us how much East Francia, at least in its surviving deluxe books, stayed much more conservative than the West in keeping the Gregorian intact and recognisably distinct from additions. **Mainz** seems to have originally had nothing from the Supplement *Hucusque* except the episcopal blessings (fol. 136r–154r), and did not, for example, include the *Hucusque* preface.⁹⁰⁴

901 Albiero, "Reconstructing a Ninth-Century Sacramentary-Lectionary," pp. 24–25.

902 Updated bibliography and information: <https://www.hss-census-rlp.uni-mainz.de/mz-mb-hs-1/>; see also Winterer, *Das Fuldaer Sakramentar*, pp. 115–18

903 Deshusses *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, pp. 25–26; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, p. 167: "St. Galler Zweigschule, wahrscheinlich Mainz, IX Jh. 4. Viertel!"; Hartmut Hoffman, "Bernhard Bischoff und die Palaeographie des 9. Jahrhunderts," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 55 (1999), pp. 573–78, identified the school in question as Reichenau and suggests the manuscript was made for Hatto (archbishop 883–913), who was Abbot there and also Archbishop in Mainz.

904 The portion immediately following, where copyists no longer used gold headings and initials, added more from the Supplement including Sunday masses and proper prefaces (fol. 167–89r), as well as some additional votive masses. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, p. 159 suggests that this section was copied by a scribe of the same scribal school but in a different hand from the main text ("Hand B"). I would suggest this portion could be a slightly later enhancement of the manuscript at the same place, carried out before the Fulda portion. This would follow the logic of the compilation of the manuscript and is analogous to other books, in which ending with the episcopal blessings seemed normal (e.g. **Saint-Denis**).

The part we are interested in appears as a later supplement to the manuscript, clearly datable to the tenth century and begins on fol. 191r with an initial and the Mass of the Trinity. This was made by Fulda scribes on the basis of material from Fulda.⁹⁰⁵ The Common of Saints is found on fol. 193r–197r and our mass for Mary and All Saints directly after it (fol. 197r–v), just before and in the same style as the patronal mass of Fulda, that of Saint Boniface (fol. 195r). Other votive masses found in the same section (for example, the *MISSA PRO REGE CONIUGI ET PROLI POPULOQUE SIBI SUBIECTIS* on fol. 198v–199r, edited from it as De 2044–2046) are also then found in **Fulda** (Ful 1918–1920). This mass for a king and his family is the one found in **Sens** and in **Laon**, confirming the influence of both Saint-Amand and Saint-Denis upon **Fulda**, and Northern France's decisive contribution to the latter. This portion of Fulda additions in **Mainz** is thus closely related to the Göttingen manuscript, **Fulda**, including elements taken from Saint-Amand/Saint-Denis, yet it also contains additional material peculiar to Saint-Amand which the Göttingen Sacramentary did not include. The Göttingen book, rather unusually, has not much of a Common of Saints at all. **Mainz** offers additional convincing proof that a Saint-Amand model was, in fact, available at Fulda. It was not the only source for **Fulda**, but it strongly and conclusively marked it, especially in the Sanctorale, and the contribution of Carolingian Saint-Amand to this Ottonian monument of liturgical compilation should be properly acknowledged.

The following lavish sacramentaries of Fulda allow us to track how the special and rich tradition inherited from Saint-Amand was very rapidly consolidated.⁹⁰⁶ Analogous to Saint-Amand is the rapidity of their production of manuscripts, which has also been argued to have occurred over a decade. This again proves the capability of a monastic *scriptorium* to produce rapidly changing mass books in quick succession and in a flurry of creative re-ordering and re-composition, rendering Deshusses's long chronology for Saint-Amand's sacramentaries unnecessary. In the later manuscripts from Fulda, the Sanctorale and Temporale were distinct, while proper prefaces and ALIA prayers were suppressed, thus significantly reducing Gelasian texts. Even as Fulda also suppressed a number of Gelasian mass sets, and added some new feasts for local, German saints, nevertheless the West Frankish saints and masses from the Saint-Amand model were transmitted onward and still appear in, for example, Vatican City, BAV, lat. 3548, dated ca. 990, and in the last surviving Ottonian book of Fulda, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Lit. 1, dated ca.

⁹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁹⁰⁶ See Winterer, *Das Fuldaer Sakramentar*, pp. 269–82; for example, the Udine Sacramentary reduces masses to the most important feasts, but still has a mixed Sanctoral including individual Gelasian prayers and, for example, it still has the Hilary mass (*Ibid.*, at 271); see also Palazzo, *Les sacramentaires de Fulda*, pp. 125–37.

995.⁹⁰⁷ The Saint-Amand model left a lasting influence on Fulda's tenth-century books, but Fulda also shows us how the tradition of the mass book tended towards elimination of distinctive elements, especially the comprehensiveness in going beyond the three-prayer Gregorian format, and its extraordinarily rich provision of prefaces and episcopal blessings, as we come to the cusp of the eleventh century.

Winchcombe

These conclusions about Fulda alert us to the case of the earliest of the surviving English mass books, **Winchcombe** (Orleans, BM, Ms. 127).⁹⁰⁸ This was written probably at Ramsey in the tenth century for the monks of Winchcombe Abbey.⁹⁰⁹ It has some extra prayers for Benedict which our **Sens** had also adopted, and a mass for the Vigil of Gregory (making use of the Gelasian mass); for this reason, Orchard has suggested a Saint-Denis model, possibly a manuscript that resembled **Laon**, in which both traits are also found.⁹¹⁰ Another parallel with **Saint-Denis** is the mass for the third Thursday in Lent, where **Winchcombe** gives the mass found in **Trent** as an ALIA following the unsuitable *Hadrianum* one referring to Cosmas and Damian (Winch 246–254). **Winchcombe** displays a clear adaptation of a Franco-Saxon initial DS (Orleans, BM, Ms. 127, p. 8), including volutes, heads of animals, and interlace, and, on this ornamented page, also employed alternating red and green initials, a contrast deployed, but inconsistently, in the rest of the manuscript. **Winchcombe** is full of other Northern French saints we recognise, and consistently copied the mass sets we know from Saint-Amand for them: Hilary, Scholastica, Praiectus, Genevieve, Matthias, Symphorian, Maurice, Jerome, Germanus, Remigius, and Vedastus.⁹¹¹ In the case of Symphorian (Winch 1197–1200), Remigius, Germanus, and Vedastus (Winch 1300–1303) and the Conversion of Paul (Winch 881–885), the editor, Davril, misstated that these are

907 Winterer, *Das Fuldaer Sakramentar*, p. 274, 281, of Bamberg: “am Ende stark gregorianisch, doch besitzt sie auch einen gelasianischen und gallisch-west-fränkischen Einschlag” [trans. It is, in the end, strongly Gregorian, but possesses even so a Gelasian and West-Frankish-Gallican infiltration]; Vatican City, BAV, lat. 3548, at *Ibid.*, pp. 210–33, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. lit. 1, *Ibid.*, at pp. 235–41.

908 Hohler “Some Service Books,” p. 75; **Winchcombe** is digitized at: <https://mediatheques.orleans-metropole.fr/ark:/77916/FRCGMBPF-452346101-01A/D18010864/v0001.simple.selectedTab=record>.

909 Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 211–18; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, pp. 89–91, later at Mont Saint-Michel and Fleury; Davril, *The Winchcombe Sacramentary*, pp. 23–25.

910 Orchard, *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, pp. lxi–lxii.

911 Davril, *The Winchcombe Sacramentary*, p. 14: “Latin 2291 peut être une source au moins indirecte” [trans. Latin 2291 could perhaps be a source at least indirectly].

not present in Saint-Amand sacramentaries, when in fact they are.⁹¹² The Conversion of Paul is particularly pertinent, because Davril was convinced only **Fulda** on the Continent possessed the same mass as **Winchcombe**, when **Saint-Germain** actually has exactly the same formula too (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 31r–v), even including the final SUPER POPULUM “Praesta domine quaesumus populo tuo consolationis auxilium . . .”⁹¹³ In other cases, the choice of a single prayer can unite **Fulda** and **Winchcombe** against Saint-Amand, but **Winchcombe** also has a prayer for Saint Benedict’s March feast shared with **Sens** (Winch 953), that **Fulda** does not have.⁹¹⁴ Moreover, among the votive mass material, which is divided up into lists of distinct Collects, secrets, and post communion prayers rather than mass sets, we find our votive masses for Peter and Stephen (Winch 1510, 1513, 1539, 1541, 1569, and 1571), which are not found in **Fulda**.

Davril and Winterer seem to have relied principally on Deshusses’s edition and his characterisation of Saint-Amand books, but examinations of manuscripts of Saint-Amand, which has been lacking, makes it clear that **Winchcombe** and **Fulda** are both significantly closer to Saint-Amand than Deshusses’s edition presents. It is not unlikely that a common source from Saint-Amand, perhaps adapted in the meantime, underlay them both, given the links between **Winchcombe** and **Fulda** otherwise.⁹¹⁵ This common source may have something to do with Saint-Denis, as Orchard surmised, and Hohler before him, since Paris would

912 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

913 *Ibid.*, p. 22: “Les deux dernière, et surtout le formulaire complet, que dans le sacramentaire de Fulda et le missel de Robert de Jumièges . . . Fulda seul témoin continental d’un formulaire connu des livres anglais” [trans. The latter two, and above all the complete mass formulary, are only in the sacramentary of Fulda and the missal of Robert of Jumièges . . . Fulda being the only continental witness of a formula known from English books]. Likewise the preface for Epiphany (“UD qui notam fecisti in populis misericordiam tuam . . .”) (Winch 77) is the same as Saint-Amand as well (see Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 28v), with the same reading, and this is not unique to **Fulda**, as in Davril’s edition, *Ibid.*, p. 19. In fact, this is a *Hucusque preface* (De 1525).

914 The Invention of the Cross places the Gelasian Collect as an ALIA (Winch 984), as also in Ful 892, but this is available as a final prayer in Saint-Amand too (Paris, BnF, lat. 2291, fol. 70r–v); for the decollation of John, Ful 1265 shares a Collect with Winch 1217, not present at Saint-Amand; for Bartholomew, it is a secret (Winch 1202 and Ful 1245).

915 In the case of a Vigil for Benedict’s March feast (Winch 939–942), Benedict’s Winter Feast (Winch 1406–1410), and the use of the Gelasian mass for the Vigil of Gregory (Winch 235–238), parallels with Fulda (e.g., Ful 1472–1474) are obvious.

be an obvious location for a wider distribution of Saint-Amand material.⁹¹⁶ It is still possible that Fleury had a secondary role in this distribution, but focus on Benedict alone does not suffice to show this, since these were all Benedictine foundations.⁹¹⁷ Indeed, Bischoff identified one surviving Carolingian sacramentary manuscript potentially with Fleury, Albi, BM, Ms. 4, but this is nothing like our Saint-Amand books, instead representing a “fused” Gregorian with a reduced Sanctoral, with the same curious oblong format as **Saint-Vaast**.⁹¹⁸ The identification of **Winchcombe** with Fleury has consisted primarily of the presence of a Mass for the Translation of Benedict (Winch, at p. 197), and the later history of the manuscript which was in Fleury by the eleventh century.⁹¹⁹ The Translation mass could have been added at Winchcombe itself to a source manuscript, given the monastery’s pre-existing relations to Fleury. The particular cases of Jerome, Symphorian, and Hilary, as well as the votive masses of Peter and Stephen, show us that a Saint-Amand ancestor was clearly decisive in much of what makes **Winchcombe** distinctive. Nevertheless, **Winchcombe**, unlike **Fulda**, does not “Gelasianise” individual mass sets as Saint-Amand books did. When it can, it copies the Gregorian purely and simply.⁹²⁰ This manuscript shows again that it was possible to incorporate masses from a Saint-Amand model, while still comparing this carefully to the Gregorian and making sure to keep the latter intact, as was done, in a slightly different way, in **Reims**.

The nature of the links from the Saint-Amand tradition to other books in England remains difficult to conclude. Given that we can see that material from Saint-Amand was available there, other English books seem to have come across only certain elements of it, or incorporated Saint-Amand material in a secondary way. Some striking convergences appear at select times in the earliest complete manuscripts known to have been used or produced in England, most particularly

916 K. D. Hartzell, “An eleventh-century English missal fragment in the British Library,” *Anglo-Saxon England* 18 (1989) at pp. 56–57, 80, indicates further commonalities between our **Saint-Denis**, **Fulda**, and English manuscripts of around this time.

917 Possible knowledge of traditions similar to Saint-Amand at Fleury is shown in the copying of *Missa graeca* (only the *Gloria* and *Credo*, without the *Agnus Dei*, just as at Saint-Amand) at this monastery, in manuscript Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 215, fol. 130v, written around 877, see Atkinson and Sachs, “Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung,” p. 142.

918 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 1, p. 10: “Wohl Fleury-Auxerre-Kreis, IX. Jh., 2. Drittel”; CLLA 756; digitised at: <https://cecilia.mediatheques.grand-albigeois.fr/collection/item/105-le-livre-des-sacrements-a-l-usage-de-l-eglise-d-albi-liber-sacramentorum-ad-usum-ecclesiae-albiensis?offset=5#title>.

919 Also disputed by by Alicia Correa, “The Liturgical manuscripts of Oswald’s Houses,” in Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt, *St. Oswald of Worcester. Life and Influence* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996) at pp. 298–299

920 See the apparatus in Davril, *The Winchcombe Sacramentary*, pp. 283–397.

in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges (**Jumièges**) (Rouen, BM, Ms. 274 (Y 6)), probably from Peterborough in the early eleventh century. This has the same rare *Veronense* preface for Felix in Pincis and many Northern French mass sets (for example, Genevieve, Jum 149, Scholastica 162–63, Remigius, Germanus and Vedastus 216).⁹²¹ Both the mass of Hilary at 151–52 and that of Symphorian at 203–4 are the Saint-Amand/Paris forms. However, Jerome is not the same (Jum 215). Parallels in **Leofric** (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579) are generally among later additions made in England, but not the original, possibly continental, core “Leofric A.”⁹²² Clearly, by the time of the production of the first complete English books which now survive, the Anglo-Saxon Church had begun to follow the French in adapting the Gregorian book by adding other mass sets and proper prefaces, including such distinctive mass sets as Praeictus (Jum 156–157), from the Frankish Gelasian of the Eighth Century. Arras or Cambrai, rather than Saint-Amand itself, may have played a preponderant role in transmitting individual mass sets from Saint-Amand across the Channel.⁹²³ The English certainly had access to liturgical material that initially appeared in the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, but this included intermediary forms like **Winchcombe**. That would explain the resonances with the later missals of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, even into print, which were perhaps preserved in any number of lost archetypes, as can be seen in footnotes to chapters 3 and 4. In some cases, however, the relationship appears to be particularly direct e.g. one fragment of an eleventh-century English missal edited by Orchard (London, British Library, Harley MS 271, fol. 1* and 45*) has exactly the same mass prayers as the Saint-Amand books, in its representation of the Ember Friday and Saturday of September.⁹²⁴

921 *Ibid.*, p. 151; Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, vol. 1, p. 61 for the provenance

922 Only the same note about these saints by the mass of the Quattuor Coronati from the martyrology at Leof 1795.

923 Vedastus of Arras has a proper mass in Jum 161; **Leofric** is at least superficially connected to the diocese, see Orchard, *The Leofric Missal*, vol. 2, pp. 28–29; Orchard, “The Ninth and Tenth-Century Additions,” pp. 289–90.

924 Nicholas Orchard, ‘An eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon missal fragment’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 23 (1994), pp. 283–289. Orchard says explicitly, at p. 285, that the preface “UD Qui iusto pioque moderamine . . .” (De 1673) was applied “in its proper place” in the September Ember Friday, i.e. attached to the mass set itself, only in the tenth century, but the ninth-century **Saint-Germain** has this preface in the same place (Paris, BnF, lat.2291, fol. 93r), as it also replaces the secret with the same Gelasian prayer as the fragment in London. Interestingly, Orchard also notes that three fourteenth-century Paris missals in London agree most consistently with fragment, and also include the secret. A lasting influence of **Saint-Germain** might therefore help to explain the “obscure” origins of the Paris Missal (at p. 286, n. 9).

Hohler, Turner, and the “St. Amand Family”

Hohler published, in a short article, a crucial notice that a number of manuscripts shared some traits, that he characterised as a group by “the number of formulae it contains which are neither Hadrianic nor Gelasian and by the light-hearted way in which it assigns Hadriano-Gelasian prayers to days in which they do not belong.”⁹²⁵ These were differentiated clearly from “Hadriano-Gelasians,” by which he meant the normal “Gelasianised” Gregorians. Our **Saint-Germain** was the oldest book Hohler could assign to the family, hence he gave it the name “the St. Amand family.” **Reims** (which he correctly concluded was the result of collating a Saint-Amand sacramentary), **Saint Eloi** (which he believed to be possibly of Soissons), Paris, BnF, lat. 1238, which essentially copied **Saint Eloi**, and **Fulda** were all, likewise, assigned to the family.⁹²⁶

As we have seen, there are many crossovers in these cases. With the aid, in particular, of the two traits he identified as most characteristic—the secret of the second Sunday after Epiphany “Ut tibi grata” and the post communion “Sacris muneribus” of the third Sunday after Pentecost—Hohler also draws our attention to much later missals, British Library, Add. MS 24075 (Grammont, s.XV), Add. MS 18955 (of Utrecht, s.XV), Add. 30058 (of Sens, s.XIV). Given what we have just established about Pamelius’ sources, and the existence of the **San Marino** fragment (which was clearly in the Netherlands, and perhaps, at one point, Utrecht itself), the influence of Saint-Amand on Utrecht and the Netherlands is far from inexplicable, and Sens, of course, possessed another book in the family, which Hohler did not know (**Sens**). Hohler also indicated the eleventh-century sacramentary of Niederaltaich in the Vatican (Vatican City, BAV, Ross. lat. 204), and the modern missals

⁹²⁵ Hohler, “The type of Sacramentary,” pp. 90–91. Hohler was writing before most Gelasians of the Eighth Century were edited, thus his characterisation of most formulae as “neither Hadrianic nor Gelasian” is inaccurate, as most of these additional texts belong to the latter family.

⁹²⁶ One final sacramentary from Noyon, London, British Library, Add. MS 82956 proves the general affiliation of this type of mixed sacramentary to areas Saint-Amand would be expected to have influenced, see Turner, “A 10th–11th Noyon Sacramentary,” p. 151; also Hamilton, “Liturgy and Episcopal Authority.” The manuscript does not have the two Sunday prayers that especially mark out “the St. Amand family,” but thirty-four prayers of Hadrianum were replaced with alternatives, of which twenty-eight agree with **Saint Eloi**, and, thus, many with Saint-Amand as well. The presence of the Gelasian mass for the Octave of Pentecost here, which constitutes a key divergence from **Saint Eloi**, could unite this sacramentary to **Tournai**, in the same bishopric, which still has that same mass in preference to the Gregorian one, but not the Trinity Sunday mass of Alcuin, adopted by **Saint-Germain** or **Sens**.

of Regensburg (1518), Breslau (1505), and Esztergom (1501).⁹²⁷ In the footnotes in chapter 4 (especially nn. 526, 543) one can see various clues that some form of sacramentary closely related to **Saint Eloi** had considerable influence in Bavaria from the tenth century onwards, in line with Hohler's identification. This applies, in manuscripts not seen by Hohler, to the tenth-century sacramentary now in Trent, which was treated by Dell'Oro as the Sacramentarium *Ottonianum* (see n. 526), which is perhaps from Augsburg or Freising (Trent, Museo Diocesano, Cod. 43), to Regensburg's Sacramentary-Pontifical made for Bishop Wolfgang (bishop 972–994) (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXXVII), and its Rocca Sacramentary (Vatican City, BAV, lat. 3806), of the eleventh century.⁹²⁸ The many surviving sacramentaries made at Tegernsee in the eleventh century, most fragmentary, prove the total adoption of the French mixed form there too.⁹²⁹ Bavaria's almost complete adoption of a Carolingian type from Northern France still requires explanation, but would easily allow us to subsequently understand the spread of forms of these books to the metropolitans of Eastern Europe, who were christianised from Bavaria.

In England, Hohler points to both the edited Sarum Missal and to a Winchester Missal of the New Minster, Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 330, which was subsequently edited by Turner, a manuscript of the second half of the eleventh century (**Winchester**).⁹³⁰ Turner's edition very helpfully took in hand a more thorough treatment of the substitutions of mass prayers in the family, including **Winchester**, and he established forty-six divergences from the Gregorian,

927 Niederaltaich is edited *Sacramentarium Rossianum. Cod. Ross. lat. 204*, ed. Johannes Brinktrine (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1930); see CLLA 985.

928 The influence of Corbie's **Saint Eloi** in Bavaria was already noticed by Gamber and Müller-Rehle in their edition of *Das Sakramentar-Pontifikale des Bischofs Wolfgang von Regensburg*. Edited by Klaus Gamber and Sieghild Müller-Rehle. (Regensburg: Pustet, 1985), p. 11: "Als seine Hauptquelle hat (der Redaktor) ein Sacramentarium Gregorianum mixtum zugrundegelegt, wie es im Eligius-Sakramentar, das durch seine Edition in Migne weiteren Kreisen bekannt geworden ist, gegeben ercheint" [trans. As a main source the editor deployed a mixed Gregorian sacramentary, as it appears in the Eligius-Sacramentary, which has become widely known through its edition in Migne]; Nicholas Orchard "An eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon missal fragment," *Anglo-Saxon England*, 23 (1994), pp. 283–89 also noted in passing that Regensburg's Rocca Sacramentary and **Saint Eloi** were "near twins in their mixing of Gelasian and Gregorian Elements"; of course, Bavaria could also have been affected, secondarily, by the sacramentaries produced at Fulda (one of which came to Bamberg), but there are many commonalities of Bavaria with **Saint Eloi** that **Fulda** does not have, and **Wolfgang** and the Trent *Ottonianum*, at least, likely predate the Bamberg book.

929 As noted by Klaus Gamber, "Fragmenta Liturgica III," *Sacris Erudiri* 18 (1967–1968), pp. 306–14 in his examination of one example.

930 Sarum is *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. Dickinson.

as edited by Lietzmann, in the individual prayers of **Winchester**.⁹³¹ These he then compared with a table to other members of Hohler’s “St. Amand family,” including **Saint-Germain**, with which **Winchester** almost always agrees. Among the illuminating shared texts are the replacement of Gregory’s mass with the Gelasian equivalent (NewMin, pp. 79–80), the secret of the Great Litany “Sacrificium nostrae paenitudinis . . .” which has no Gregorian or Gelasian counterpart (NewMin, p. 7), and the mass of Cosmas and Damian (NewMin, pp. 167–68), but there are indeed forty individual prayer texts in common in total.

Four of the six cases in which **Saint-Germain** did *not* align with **Winchester** can, in fact, be found in the next Saint-Amand sacramentary, **Sens**, illustrated in Table 5.1.⁹³²

Table 5.1: Alignments of the Winchester Missal (Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 330) with the sacramentary of Sens (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136), beyond those noted by Turner.

Prayer in Winchester	Equivalent in Sens and other MSS
Secret of Felix in Pincis (NewMin, p. 58)	Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket A 136, fol. 112r (also in Saint Eloi and Regensburg Missal)
Secret of Agnes’s second mass (NewMin, p. 67)	Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket A 136, fol. 115r (also in Fulda and Sarum Missal)
Secret of Quattuor Coronatorum (NewMin, p. 180)	Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket A 136, fol. 147 (also in British Library manuscript from Utrecht, Fulda , and Regensburg Missal)
Post communion of Martin (NewMin, p. 181)	Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket A 136, fol. 148r (in Saint Eloi , Fulda , Regensburg Missal, Sens Missal in British Library).

Sens, therefore, reveals more emphatically that **Winchester** is also based on something akin to a sacramentary of Saint-Amand. There are other illuminating parallels, including the absence of the Roman mass of Maria ad Martyres.⁹³³ Felix in Pincis, for example, also has the same martyrdom and papal preface from *Veronense* (NewMin, p. 59). Indeed, here we find the full masses of Hilary including

⁹³¹ *The Missal of the New Minster Winchester* (Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 330), ed. Derek H. Turner, HBS 93 (London: Faith Press, 1962), pp. xiv–xix.

⁹³² One instance which **Winchester** does not agree with Saint-Amand, the Collect for Silvester (NewMin, p. 56), seems to be a mistake on the part of compilers of **Winchester**, since it uses a plural text (“Sanctorum tuorum . . .”) for a singular saint. Mennas is the only mass of which both secret and post communion in **Winchester** diverge from Saint-Amand (NewMin, pp. 181–82), but **Winchester** is here not using Gelasian texts either (compare Sg 1316–1317).

⁹³³ Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster*, p. xiv.

the preface (NewMin, pp. 57–58), Matthias the Apostle (NewMin, p. 78–79), a prayer for Benedict “Intercessio nos quaesumus domine beati benedicti . . .” (NewMin, p. 124) attached to the same June mass as an ALIA (De 3544), Jerome (NewMin, p. 169), which uses the Collect (De 3606), and Remigius, Germanus, and Vedastus (NewMin, pp. 169–170). Mark the Evangelist (Winchester, pp. 88–89) uses a mixture of both masses found in the Saint-Amand tradition (Collect from Tours De 3493, but secret and post communion, and preface from Saint Amand). Likewise, the Common of **Winchester** (NewMin, pp. 200–205) transmits a series of masses that are found in Saint-Amand and the Fulda additions to **Mainz** (De 3209–3321), in one case including an AD UESPERAS prayer only our books transmit (De 3308) and **Mainz** does not. **Winchester**’s votive masses are unfortunately incomplete, but the other parallels are indeed sufficient to conclude the influence of a Saint-Amand model here as well. Furthermore, that the Saint-Amand tradition was known in the see of Winchester is demonstrated by the fragments of a missal likely also from there, which are found today in Stockholm.⁹³⁴

Hohler ventured the opinion that the “St. Amand family” could be connected to St. Boniface himself (ca. 675–754).⁹³⁵ Thus, Saint-Amand would have been merely copying a much older mixed Gregorian/Gelasian sacramentary with the given traits, a book that was already deeply rooted in England, and in areas evangelised by Boniface. Gamber also posed a much earlier source for the family, which he at one point called the “T-Typus,” except he thought the “Fulda” family stemmed from a *Roman* mixed sacramentary of the seventh century, especially preserved in **Saint Eloi**.⁹³⁶ Nevertheless, as is clear from the above, and as Hohler acknowledged, membership of the “St. Amand family” also went along with copy-

934 Discussed by K.D. Hartzell, “Some early English liturgical fragments in Sweden,” *Medieval Book Fragments in Sweden. An International Seminar in Stockholm, 13–16 November 2003* ed. Jan Brunius (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie Och Antikvitets Akademien, 2005), at pp. 92–97. He identifies the ALIA prayers found here partly with **Saint-Eloi**, but suggests all are only found in **Fulda**, as well as in the Pamelius edition, i.e. these are Saint-Amand traits. Hartzell fell prey to the misunderstanding that Pamelius’ edition reflects the Cologne sacramentaries in this respect, demonstrating the continued problems caused, even for experts, by the error in *Corpus orationum*.

935 Hohler, “The type of Sacramentary,” pp. 91–93.

936 Principally treated in Gamber, *Sakramentartypen*, pp. 144–53; this is impossible for many reasons. Notably, Gamber assumed the Roman origin of *Ordo Romanus* XXIV, which **Saint Eloi** incorporated, as Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani*, vol. 3, pp. 277–97 posed it. A Roman origin is questioned in Westwell, *Roman Liturgy and Frankish Creativity*, pp. 29–31, 61, 239–40; in CLLA, Gamber no longer refers to the “T-Typus,” but at pp. 422–427 groups the Fulda sacramentaries as “Sacramentaria Fuldensia” and includes the Bavarian Rossianum and Trent’s *Adalprethanum* among them. Here, again at p. 410, he argues for a Roman origin for **Saint Eloi**, but as the “Sakramentar der römischen Titelkirchen” [trans. a sacramentary of the Roman *tituli* churches].

ing the masses of the West Frankish, particularly Northern French and monastic, saints. Paris is persistently present, perhaps indicating models from Saint-Denis or Saint-Germain, transmitting original Saint-Amand material. No trace of such mixed sacramentaries conceived in this manner can be discovered in England or anywhere else, before the late ninth century, when they first appear in Saint-Amand and in Corbie's **Saint Eloi**, and all members descend from something like one of these manuscripts. Notable, too, is that the later Corbie missal, Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 155 is still clearly a member of this "family," and includes both of Hohler's diagnostic prayers.⁹³⁷ As should be clear from above, these books also rely on the availability of a complete Gelasian of the Eighth Century, which was created probably in the two decades before 800 in the Carolingian heartlands, and was not present in Rome or England in any extant witness.

That **Fulda** was clearly based on ninth-century books of Saint-Amand removes the keystone of a potential link of this material to Boniface.⁹³⁸ Other English books (like **Winchcombe**) were aware of the Northern French masses, but did not undertake the "Gelasianisation," so it was not a universal English trait. Such English books, the earliest surviving complete liturgical manuscripts made in England, make it plain that the Church there was overtaken by late Carolingian Northern French mass books in the tenth century, and not the other way around in the eighth century. Beyond that, parallels in Utrecht and Sens are exactly where we would expect to find them given the history of our manuscripts, and I will demonstrate below even more clearly that the lasting Sens tradition is directly founded in the manuscript produced in Saint-Amand which travelled to that diocese, today **Sens**. This family arises in northern French monasteries of the ninth century, and here I have begun to provide historical reasons why it might have done so then, which will be further developed in the Conclusion.

Catalonia

One can also clearly posit that some materials from Saint-Amand were available in Spain, but what exactly they were, is not clear. **Vic** was written in 1038, accord-

⁹³⁷ Amiens, Bibliothèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 155, fol. 24r secret "Ut tibi grata . . ." at the second Sunday after Epiphany and at fol. 66v the secret "Sacris muneribus . . ." at the third Sunday after Pentecost

⁹³⁸ The one fragmentary mass book sometimes linked to Boniface is not at all like the St. Amand family, in *Das Bonifatius-Sakramentar und weitere frühe Liturgiebücher aus Regensburg*, ed. Klaus Gamber (Regensburg: Pustet, 1975).

ing to the colophon, and on the occasion of the consecration of the newly rebuilt Cathedral of that town for Bishop Oliba (d. 1046).⁹³⁹ As has been noted, at this time the Gregorian and Gelasian traditions of mass book overtook Spain, especially early on in Catalonia.⁹⁴⁰ We should be clear that it was manuscripts of the same type as the Carolingian books we have surveyed which were used (that is, mixed and “fused” Gregorians with Gelasian mass sets), rather than, in particular, the separate Roman Gregorian and the set *Hucusque* Supplement, as is sometimes implied by treatments of the process of “Romanisation.”⁹⁴¹ This means that a pure “Roman” mass liturgy and set of unimpeachable Roman texts was not imposed in Spain, but rather a Carolingian hybridisation of mass traditions. **Vic** is unfortunately incomplete, and begins only midway through Holy Saturday, while occasional hints in related manuscript written at the same time in Ripoll fill in what were likely further crossovers; for example, the preface of our Mass of Jerome appears in Ripoll 1265, the mass taking exactly the same form as it does in the second mass at the end of **Saint-Germain**. Gelasian saints appear, along with a number of Spanish saints integrated (Eulalia, Pelagius, Cucuphas, etc.). The masses for the Ember Days of June (Vic 211–33) are certainly rather close to our Sens and Matthias appears at the end of the Sanctoral, with his mass just like the Saint-Amand books (Vic 756–759), while Benedict had certain individual prayers which appear in ours too (Vic 291, 292). **Vic** often combines Gelasian and Gregorian forms, as in the case of Annunciation (Vic 282–288), which alternates Gregorian or Gelasian forms, rather than actively replacing Gregorian prayers with the Gelasian.⁹⁴² The Common of Saints of **Vic**, to be clear, often appears most like that of Corbie, e.g. in **Rodrade**.⁹⁴³ **Vic** has a considerable collection of votive masses, including those some our manuscripts possess (for example, Vic 893–896, or Vic

939 Olivar, ed., *El sacramentario di Vich*, p. XXXVIII.

940 Susana Zapke, ed., *Hispania Vetus. Musical-Liturgical Manuscripts: from Visigothic Origins to the Franco-Roman transition: 9th–12th Centuries*, (Bilbao: Fundacion BBVA, 2007), especially in Ludwig Vones’s chapter, “The Substitution of the Hispanic Liturgy by the Roman Rite in the Kingdoms of the Hispanic Peninsula,” pp. 43–59; see also Roger Reynolds, “Baptismal Rite and Paschal Vigil in Transition in Medieval Spain: A New Text in Visigothic Script,” *Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1993), pp. 262–63.

941 For example Miquel S. Gros, “Sacramentary,” in *Hispania Vetus*, ed. Zapke, p. 326 describes the Sacramentary of Ripoll as: “mostly Gregorian but with Gelasian texts from the Anianian Supplement”, when many Gelasian texts it contained are not found in *Hucusque*; Gamber and Müller-Rehle, eds., *Das Sakramentar-Pontifikale des Bischofs Wolfgang von Regensburg*, p. 11, already also noted commonalities of **Vic** with **Saint Eloi** and **Wolfgang**, see above pp. 364–365.

942 Olivar, ed., *El sacramentario di Vich*, pp. LXIV–LXV.

943 For example, Vic 793 = De 3366, Vic 795 = De 3262, Vic 800 = De 3628, Vic 830 = De 3389 (**Saint-Denis**).

900–902), but also many others they do not. Most extraordinary, however, is the incorporation of all seven masses for Mary and All Saints from Saint-Amand (Vic 1048–1094).⁹⁴⁴ The prayer for entering the church is also the same as one found in **Sens** (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 225r).⁹⁴⁵ Rather than a full sacramentary of Saint-Amand, it is perhaps easiest to say that the copyist of **Vic** availed himself of a *libellus* like **Rouen**, or another sacramentary (of Corbie?) that had already integrated the same *libellus*. Nevertheless, the influence of late Carolingian Northern France on Spain is to be noted. It was in the composite form achieved there that the “Roman” or supposedly Gregorian liturgy, was first received and copied in Northern Spain, and not in a “pure” Roman form.⁹⁴⁶

Bobbio

Italy in the early Middle Ages remains unique in liturgical terms, to an extent that we are only beginning to grasp. There, sacramentaries or missals organised in quite similar ways certainly appeared in the ninth and tenth century, but remained distinctive in content and drew on distinctive sets of prayers.⁹⁴⁷ However, the evidence remains extremely fragmentary, and certainly Italians copied books from models coming out of France, which were much more like those being made elsewhere (like **Modena** or **Trent**), still adapting these to a certain degree, while, at the same time, they also copied more distinctive ones. The Ambrosiana Plenary Missal, an early complete Italian book, is a clear distillation of several Northern

944 The Sacramentary of Ripoll also uses De 1942, 1943, and 1948 from one of the Saint-Amand masses as ALIA texts for the Mass of All Saints at *Sacramentarium Rivipullense*, ed. Alexandre Olivari (Madrid-Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1954) 1311–1318.

945 CO 6075.

946 In any case, Spain itself continued to hybridise old and new forms, rather than adopting the Romano-Frankish forms wholesale, see Roger Reynolds, “The Ordination Rite in Medieval Spain. Hispanic, Roman and Hybrid,” in *Santiago, Saint-Denis and Saint Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080*, ed. Bernard Reilly (New York: Fordham University Press, 1985), pp. 131–56, repr. as XIII in *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages: Duties and Ordinations* (Farnham: Ashgate, 1999).

947 For example see the Missal of Lodi in Alban Dold, “Geschichte eines Karolingischen Plenarmissales,” *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 46 (1950), pp. 1–40; I explore this in Arthur Westwell, “Standards and Variance in the Early Medieval Mass Liturgy: Re-Making the Gregorian Sacramentary,” in *Standardization in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Line Cecile Engh and Kristin Aavitsland (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming).

French sources, including the original Saint-Amand manuscript, **Bobbio**, which supplied content from the *Hucusque* Supplement and the text of the Canon of the Mass.⁹⁴⁸ It adds to these a large array of local saints and patrons, some of whose masses are otherwise vanishingly rare.⁹⁴⁹ Bobbio, too, was compiling a “liturgical archive” at this time, and perhaps the endeavour was inspired by French models, as the art so clearly was by them. Northern French saints are certainly strongly present in the plenary missal, but rarely do they completely overlap in the mass texts with Saint-Amand.⁹⁵⁰ It could be that other monasteries in Northern France were also adulterating the Gregorian, but using different mass sets. Saint-Riquier, from whom no missals survive before the fifteenth century, could have been one. However, remains of these survive only in this secondary way, via Bobbio. It is likely at the time this plenary missal was being compiled, according to the dating by Crivello or Bischoff, the Hungarians were raiding Northern Italy: Berengar was defeated by them in 899 and they proceeded to raid the surrounding cities and destroy centres of production, such as the monastery of Nonantola in 900.⁹⁵¹ Bobbio thus may have experienced some of the same processes that spurred the

948 The two texts for the Canon are identical, except the addition of St. Columbanus to the *Libera Nos*. Along with him, Michael the archangel is the only additional saint commemorated in the Canon, also during the *Libera Nos* (Milan Biblioteca Ambrosiana D 84 inf, fol. 27r). Michael was also the only saint added which was directly interlinear and not a marginal gloss in **Bobbio**, appearing at the same place and in the same words in the Plenary Missal: “et electo archangelo tuo michaelo.”

949 For example Bassianus of Lodi, identical with the text of the above Missal of Lodi (Milan Biblioteca Ambrosiana D 84 inf, fol. 259v), Sabinus of Spoleto (260r), Baptism of Ambrose (337v), Dalmatius of Pavia (338r), etc. Also Brigid (265r) and Patrick (273v), from Bobbio’s Irish roots.

950 The opening apparatus of the plenary missal has some overlap with Northern French mass books, which is suggestive. It includes, like them, a calendar, a litany (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 84 inf, fol. 12r–13r) with a number of Northern French saints, then apologies (five of the six apologiae are common to our Saint-Amand books, while the *Memoria* for the incarnation, for a priest for himself, and that for the Emperor and the dead are all present, with additional *memoriae*), then a copy of the Gloria and Creed (16r–v), though without Greek translation. That the Sundays are ordered “POST PENTECOSTEN,” as in Frankish books, instead of the Italian designations (n. 104) is also worthy of note. Northern French masses included in the mass book are Hilary of Poitiers, of whom the Collect and post communion are from the Saint-Amand Mass (258v); Scholastica, with a different Collect (268v); Albinus of Angers (271v); Richarius of Centula – for which see Orchard n. 505 (277v); a separate mass for Germanus of Paris (282v–283r); Germanus of Auxerre, for whom it uses an entirely different mass than the one edited by Deshusses (303v); Maurice and friends, for which it uses the usual mass (323v); Remigius (326r); Denis and friends, with a different mass, assimilated to the local cephalophore Doninus of Piacenza (326v). Clear signs of a differing tradition from Saint-Amand in that Mark (277r–v) has an entirely different mass, not seen in Northern France. It also has the seven votive masses of Alcuin (365v–368v) arranged in days of the week.

951 Also to note Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 84 inf, fol. 322v “MISSA CONTRA PAGANOS.”

development of Saint-Amand's books, but created its own version of a response to them, that remains recognisably Italian, while still influenced by the models from France.⁹⁵²

Tracking Influence Further: France of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century

Saint-Amand in the Romanesque Golden Age

We are, in fact, fortunate to possess quite a large number of later mass books actually made at Saint-Amand itself, from the second golden age of the monastery, after the depredations of the tenth century. Among them are Paris, BnF, lat. 843 and Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 115 (both missals, the latter only comprising winter time) and Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 108 (a sacramentary, with notated Preface and Canon), all of which can be dated to the second half of the twelfth century.⁹⁵³ Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 121 is slightly later.⁹⁵⁴ Paris, BnF Latin 1101 and Latin 13249 are both missals of the thirteenth century.⁹⁵⁵

In these books, consequential reorganisations had taken place, and new feasts had entered the cycle. These mass books show a now universally accepted new form of French mass book, in which Temporal and Sanctoral are now entirely distinct, as had been achieved in **Sens**, precociously, in the ninth century. The Temporal begins with Advent, however, not with the Vigil of Christmas, and thus ends with the series of Sundays after Pentecost. Sunday masses appear in their place during the Temporal. The Sanctoral usually begins with Silvester (31st December). In fact, these books are sometimes even less rigorously organised than our **Sens**: for example, masses of Stephen, John the Evangelist, and Inno-

952 Bobbio's liturgical books, including a range of fragments are examined by Leandra Scappaticci, *Codici e Liturgica a Bobbio. Testi, musica e scrittura (secoli X-ex.XII)* (Vatican City: Libreria editrice vaticana, 2008), however she unfortunately excluded the Ambrosiana Plenary missal, due to her date range.

953 Paris, BnF, lat.843 in Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 1, pp. 258–60, digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90783779/f1.item>; Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 115, in Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 1, p. 272, images of decoration at : <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md687h14d40t>; Valenciennes BM, Ms. 108 in Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 1, pp. 269–72, digitised at: https://patrimoine-numerique.ville-valenciennes.fr/ark:/29755/B_596066101_MS_0108/v0174.simple.selectedTab=thumbnail;

954 Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 1, pp. 355–56, digitised at: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md23hx120d9c>

955 Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 2, p. 53, 143.

cents still appear among Christmas masses in the Temporal. The Canon might appear in the middle of the book (Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 108, fol. 51r) but the title (“INCIPIIT LIBER SACRAMENTORUM . . .”) and Gregorian *Ordo Missae* have vanished. Calendars precede these manuscripts, and prayers for the *Ordo Missae* taken from *apologiae* can be provided (two of our *memoriae* appear in Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 108, fol. 58r, as later additions), but little else of the Carolingian apparatus remains, such as the *Missa graeca*. The art is now firmly Romanesque. Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 108 in particular has lovely figural initials, including a full-page Crucifixion on fol. 58v and the death of Amandus represented on fol. 67v.⁹⁵⁶

Yet we are disappointed by the liturgical sparseness of these books, in comparison to what we have seen in the same monastery some centuries prior. By the twelfth and thirteenth century, the sacramentaries and the increasingly ubiquitous plenary missals had significantly reduced the exuberance of mass sets. Each mass set was written out with just three prayers, with ALIA alternatives almost never provided and proper prefaces became vanishingly rare. A handful of prefaces might be provided near the Canon (Paris, BnF, lat. 853, fol. 25v–26v: Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 108, fol. 52r–55r), but none could be said to be distinctive. This looked considerably more like the original Gregorian Sacramentary, but went beyond that by removing even the prefaces and ALIA texts it originally transmitted. This means the traces of our tradition found in the ALIA or AD UESPERAS additional prayers are no longer present. While keeping a small selection of votive masses, generally the same copied in each book, these manuscripts do not have anything like the collections we saw in the ninth century. While a mass for the saints whose relics Saint-Amand possessed appears, the votive masses we found in our Alcuin sections lack here, as do the seven special masses for Mary and All Saints.⁹⁵⁷ A MISSA GENERALIS (Paris, BnF, lat. 853, fol. 20v–22r; Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 108, fol. 48v–49r) takes the forms of a general Carolingian tradition, but not ones we recognise as distinctive.

In the Sanctoral, in particular, these manuscripts show that no Carolingian sacramentary of Saint-Amand was used directly for their confection, but instead the

956 For Romanesque art at Saint-Amand see, for example, Maria Grasso, *Illuminating Sanctity. The Body, Soul and Glorification of Saint Amand in the Miniature Cycle in Valenciennes*, *Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 500* (Leiden: Brill, 2019); Norbert Garborini, *Der Miniator Sawalo und seine Stellung innerhalb der Buchmalerei des Klosters Saint-Amand* (Cologne: König, 1978).

957 For example Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 108, fol. 42r (“per sanctorum tuorum Stephani prothomartyris atque Cyrici necnon et beati Amandi confessoris tui atque pontificis et sanctorum quorum reliquiæ in presenti continentur ecclesiae . . .”) [trans. Through your saints Stephen, the protomartyr, and Cyricus, and the blessed Amandus, confessor and bishop, and all the saints whose relics rest in this church].

“pure” Gregorian had been recovered in mass sets. Either those composite kinds of books no longer existed at Saint-Amand itself, which is not impossible, since no copy has survived which Saint-Amand itself possessed beyond even the tenth century, or the monks had now rejected them. Masses like Annunciation (Paris, BnF, Latin 853, fol. 116r–117r) or Vitale (fol. 118r–v), or Cosmas and Damian (fol. 152r–v) or Gregory (fol. 173r–v) are again in their unaltered and Gregorian forms.⁹⁵⁸ Ironically missals of Saint-Amand no longer belong to Hohler’s “family of St. Amand,” since even the special prayers in the Sunday masses he noted are no longer here.⁹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the “Gelasianisation” of the Sanctoral by the addition of new mass sets themselves was not or could not be reversed. Masses like Gorgonius (Paris, BnF, Latin 953, fol. 117v–118r) or the Invention of the Cross (fol. 119v–120v) appear in their place, which had never originally been in the Gregorian, and in Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 108, we also find, for example, Praeictus (fol. 65r). Carolingian masses like the feast for Dionysius and All Saints (Paris, BnF, Latin 953, fol. 180v–181r) were also kept. There are new saints’ feast too, like Rictrudis (Paris, BnF, lat. 853, fol. 131r–v) or Mary Magdalene (133r–v). Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 108 is especially well supplied, with, for example, John Chrysostom (fol. 65v), Aldegundis (66r), Brigid (66r–v), but even these mass sets take the Gregorian three prayer format and are rarely striking in vocabulary or personal nature, sticking to well-trodden Gregorian phrases and formulations. In Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 108 fol. 68v–69r, we find feasts for Matthias the Apostle and on fol. 70v–71r Mark the Evangelist, but, in each case, with a form we do not recognise nor find particularly distinguished. Even the mass for Jerome in Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 108, fol. 97v, is formulaic. Saint-Amand itself had entirely lost touch with the Carolingian tradition we found so remarkable. Perhaps Saint-Amand monastery had remained forward-looking in liturgical terms, so that the monks there now demonstrated the general trend of French missals by the twelfth and thirteenth century, taking on a more uniform character. But certainly, according to the study of the temporal of Saint-Amand by Platelle, it was not the ninth century and the Viking attacks that wrought the most devastation at Saint-Amand and broke the continuity of monastic life.⁹⁶⁰ As we have seen, the monks actually preserved their traditions astonishingly well in exile, helped by Gauzlin and Fulk of Reims. Rather it was in the tenth century that the real damage was done, when the monastery was repeatedly preyed upon by various magnates and had no strong

⁹⁵⁸ One exception in the Vigil of the Assumption (Paris, BnF, lat. 853, fol. 140r), the secret “*Munera nostra domine apud clementiam . . .*” is a Gelasian form, which our books also used.

⁹⁵⁹ Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 108, fol. 14v for the second Sunday after Epiphany the Hucusque’s: “*Oblata domine munera sanctifica*” and fol. 35v for the third Sunday after Pentecost: “*Munera domine oblata sanctifica . . .*”

⁹⁶⁰ Platelle, *Le Temporal*, pp. 123–50.

protector. This rupture is confirmed by the liturgical record. Saint-Amand's astonishing Carolingian compilations of liturgical books must have been lost to them during this time.

It was thus only in the thirteenth century that something like what scholars once attributed to Charlemagne—that is, the adoption of a Gregorian text—if in a reduced form and with some significant Gelasian insertions and Carolingian contribution in votive masses and Sunday masses, was visibly achieved in communities like Saint-Amand.⁹⁶¹ Yet we still cannot really point to legislation that enacted a “reform” to impose any such Gregorian anew in the twelfth or thirteenth century, nor which ruled the boundaries of what was included and what was excluded from the Carolingian adaptations. We would do better to consider the changes we see at Saint-Amand as the results of broader cultural shifts of *longue durée*, in which communities actively participated as agents.

Sens

Yet, even in this form of Gregorian, adoption of a single standard was not a universal fact, and, in some places, a characteristic Carolingian synthesis survived even this period. The picture is quite different, for example, in the high medieval liturgical books made for the archiepiscopal church of Sens. The Archbishops of Sens held and used the book, originally perhaps made for Gauzlin of Paris, today **Sens**, for several centuries. The ninth-century books actually made in Sens (the Sacramentary of Nevers and the late copy of a Gelasian of the Eighth Century, Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 567, edited by Nocent) are independent from, and likely precede, the influence of the model of Saint-Amand.⁹⁶² But, in order to evaluate whether Saint-Amand's compositions had more lasting influence in the centres to which they came, Sens is a good choice, because three missals made there in the thirteenth century survive to this day. The earliest is Provins, BM, Ms. 11, from the beginning of the century, which

⁹⁶¹ The same seems to have happened at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, whose only surviving medieval missal, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Latin 13248, made in the first half of the thirteenth century and containing only the most important feasts, replicates a Gregorian text with very few prefaces, no episcopal blessings and only the simple additions of some Gelasian and local mass sets (Benedict in the Tours version, as well as Germanus and Vincent etc.), plus additional votive and Sunday masses. See Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, vol. 2, p. 53.

⁹⁶² Nocent, “Un Fragment de sacramentaire de Sens” also lists liturgical books made in the diocese.

is abbreviated and comprises only the most important feasts, with a focus on Mary.⁹⁶³ More complete and more useful, are the others from the first half of the thirteenth century, Paris, BnF, lat. 10502 and Sens, BM, Ms. 15.⁹⁶⁴ Another Sens missal, British Library Add. MS 30058, is of the fourteenth century, and was already included in Hohler's "family of Saint-Amand".⁹⁶⁵

Even in the summaries of Leroquais (see n. 963 and n. 964), there are clues that something of interest might be here. At the least, two surviving thirteenth-century missals of Sens (Paris, BnF, lat. 10502, fol. 199r and Sens, BM, Ms. 15, 272–72) and the later fourteenth-century missal (London, British Library, Add. MS 30058, fol. 144r), contain the votive masses for Peter and Stephen (without prefaces or the SUPER POPULUM, the latter lacking in **Sens** already), and the missal still in Sens has the third mass too, that of John the Baptist. The book in Provins has only the Stephen mass, divided up among votive material (Provins, BM, Ms. 11, fol. 107r, 108r, 109v). In Sens, BM, Ms. 15, two of the familiar Memoriae ("Suscipe sancta trinitas hanc oblationem quam tibi offero in memoriam incarnationis natiuitatis passionis . . ." and " . . . pro anima famuli tui . . .") also appear on 142. The MISSA GENERALIS (Paris, BnF Latin 10502, fol. 201v) is a form our books also transmit (De 3130–3132). The earlier Provins, BM, Ms. 12, fol. 131r contains an ORDO AD UISITANDUM INFIRMUM, simplified considerably compared to ours, but in which unctions are accompanied by the same series of prayers our **Sens** gives them (Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136, fol. 98v–101v).

In the Paris, Sens, and London manuscripts, and, more occasionally, in the abbreviated text of the one in Provins, evidence can be found of the direct use in the confection of the book of the Sacramentary of Saint-Amand available in Sens, despite the same situation we faced in manuscripts made at Saint-Amand around this time, which is the complete reorganisation of the book structure, removal of ALIA prayers, proper prefaces and episcopal blessings. Like the missals of Saint-Amand, the books entirely accept the "Gelasianisation" of the Gregorian. The many masses added include Emmerentiana and Macharius (Sens, BM, Ms. 15,

⁹⁶³ Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 2, pp. 20–21; also Eugène Chartraire, "Un missel sénonais du XIII^e siècle à la bibliothèque de Provins," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Sens* 30 (1916), pp. 24–31; digitised at: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md676t054g1t>; generally this book focuses on masses for Mary that are composed from older texts.

⁹⁶⁴ Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, vol. 1, p. 81, 82–83; Sens, BM, Ms. 15, digitised at <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md021c18fd45>: nb. Columba of Sens appears in the Canon on p. 166, also note that in the middle, some folios are in the wrong order; Paris, BnF, lat. 10502 digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100360589/f1.item>;

⁹⁶⁵ Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster*, p. xviii.

p. 159; Paris, BnF, lat. 10502, fol. 155r) and Italian Gelasian masses: Juliana (Sens, BM, Ms. p. 15, 179; Paris, BnF, lat. 10502, fol. 158r), Magnus (fol. 225), Rufus (fol. 228–29), which found a place in the Carolingian sacramentary, **Sens**. Unlike the missals made at Saint-Amand in the twelfth and thirteenth century, though, those made in Sens also show considerable divergence from the Gregorian text, in even originally Gregorian mass sets.

In appendix 5, I have laid out in tabular form the divergences from the text of the Gregorian in the Sens missals, which reveal particular and often striking agreement with the tradition of Saint-Amand, and, in particular, the manuscript that was actually available at Sens: Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 136. Notably, some of the Gelasian prayers and mass sets that appear in these thirteenth-century Sens missals can only otherwise be found in **Sens**, indicating the consultation of this very manuscript as the source. The agreements are considerable, and convincing. Paris, BnF, lat. 10502 seems to be closer in the Temporal, Sens, BM, Ms. 15 closer in the Sanctoral, while Provins BM, Ms. 11 has a handful of significant agreements in the Marian masses. This suggests **Sens** was repeatedly consulted in the thirteenth century, or had left significant and lasting impact on several strands of mass books used in the archdiocese. Otherwise, the Common Mass for Vigil of a Confessor, in the missal which is still in Sens (Sens, BM, Ms. 15, p. 262), takes a special form which mostly our Saint-Amand manuscripts transmit (De 3303, 3304, 3306), from **Tournai** to **Sens**. A votive mass for All Saints (Sens, BM, Ms. 15, 274; Paris, BnF, lat. 10502, fol. 199r) uses the post communion from one of our Saint-Amand mass sets for Mary and All Saints (De 1940: “Sumpsimus domine omnium sanctorum tuorum commemorationem facientes sacramenta . . .”). Unlike at Saint-Amand itself, in Sens the books made in the monastery had a considerable after-life, exercised lasting influence and contributed to giving books made in Sens a special character. It illustrates a fascinating paradox in the study of liturgical books that thirteenth and even fourteenth century Sens must have been considerably more conservative than other centres of France at the same time, since it was carefully preserving what were, in Carolingian Saint-Amand several centuries earlier, radical departures from the Gregorian text. Other centres, including that monastery itself, were now strictly returning to the text of the Gregorian, at least with regards to individual mass sets. But even these places still assumed the basic structure of the Carolingian Northern French mixed Gregorians, by preserving a mixed Sanctoral, and even enhancing it, while accepting the reorganisation of the sacramentary into discrete sections by their use (Temporal, Sanctoral, votive masses). Manuscripts from Sens prove how much impact a single exemplar could have, changing the liturgical course of a diocese. This makes it easier to imagine how compilations of this kind could have had such influence in Fulda, in Bavaria, in England, and throughout Europe.

Conclusion: Rewriting Latin Europe's Mass Books

Northern France in the late Carolingian era was experimenting with and pushing the boundaries of organisation of the sacramentary in a way other parts of the Carolingian realms do not seem to have done, a phenomenon that needs historical explanation. This was particularly true of the monasteries. The same dynamism is present in other kinds of liturgical books made in the same area as well, like the extraordinary liturgical compilation sometimes called a “pontifical,” Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Ms. 227, copied in a monastery near Paris, likely Saint-Maur-des-Fossés.⁹⁶⁶ Surviving fragments or manuscripts of mass books from Eastern Francia of the same time show very little of the same tendencies. It is striking to see, in fragments from Würzburg of the second half of the ninth century, that this Bavarian bishopric still copied the unaltered Gregorian *Hadrianum*, a deep respect for the “pure” Roman form compared to the West Frankish monasteries.⁹⁶⁷ The changes that have been grouped as “liturgical reform” therefore did not happen at the same pace in every centre, and depended largely upon historical circumstances that went beyond the decision of an Emperor or the import and availability of any “authoritative” model. Naturally, we must reckon with source survival. Beyond Cologne, and Sankt Gallen/Reichenau, manuscripts from the East are far from abundant in comparison to the West, and Northern France much better represented than the South.

Yet we have seen already how decisively influential the models from Northern France were on surviving manuscripts later across Europe. In the tenth century, it was these books that spread and were copied all over Western Europe, apparently displacing the alternative forms in a number of regions and centres. Such books were already found during the ninth century in Worms, Cologne, and Essen, and also in Echternach. It was the forms of the organisation of the book written in Northern France that brought the “Carolingian synthesis” of both Gregorian and Gelasian to England, to Spain, to Bavaria, and to certain centres of

966 *Il cosiddetto pontificale di Poitiers: (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, cod. 227)*, ed. Aldo Martin, (Rome: Herder, 1979); digitised at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55005681f>; on the extraordinary compilation of this manuscript see Arthur Westwell, “The Content and the Ideological Construction of the Early Pontifical Manuscripts,” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome – Moyen Âge* 132 (2020), pp. 233–51.

967 CLLA 732; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, pp. 515–16, n. 7451: “Würzburg selbst nicht ausgeschlossen. IX Jh. 2. Hälfte”; Bernhard Bischoff and Josef Hofmann, *Libri S. Kyliani. Die Würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg: Schöningh, 1952), 45, 71f, 137, 156; an examination of the fragments showed no divergences from *Hadrianum*. While we cannot absolutely rule out that the manuscript had some kind of Supplement, it has not survived in any of the many fragments.

Northern Italy.⁹⁶⁸ Fulda drew upon Saint-Amand as an essential source, and from Fulda it reached other parts of Germany and Italy as well.⁹⁶⁹ Even the earliest liturgical book used, and perhaps written, in Scandinavia, the “Skara Missal” in Skara, Stifts- och landsbiblioteket i Skara, has been recognised by its latest editors to belong to this family as well.⁹⁷⁰ Likewise, the Bavarian sacramentary that came to Poland in the Middle Ages, and which represents the earliest complete surviving mass book used in that country, Gniezno, Biblioteka katedralna, Ms. 149, which is likely originally from the monastery of Niederaltaich, was also influenced by the type.⁹⁷¹ Given the dominance of the “type” in Bavarian monasteries, and, indeed, another member of it possibly made at Niederaltaich in the “Sacramentarium Rossianum,” this Gniezno manuscript’s contacts with **Saint Eloi** and the Saint-Amand tradition are not surprising. A single leaf fragment of an even earlier mass book, perhaps tenth century, that is today Wrocław Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Akc.1955/4, and was likely also brought to Poland during the evangelisation probably also from Bavaria or Salzburg, seems to also reflect the influence of this “mixed” tradition in this process, by touching in its votive masses for the dead on a mixture of formulae that is also in **Fulda**.⁹⁷² Likewise, the influence of England on Scandinavia might be raised in the case of the Scandinavian mass

968 As Gamber repeatedly noted, Regensburg in the tenth century, especially the Sacramentary of Bishop Wolfgang (972–994) today in Verona, clearly drew on something very like **Saint Eloi** (Gamber, *Sakramentartypen*, p. 148; CLLA, pp. 417–19; Gamber and Müller-Rehle, *Das Sakramentar-Pontifikale*, pp. 11–12), also the *Ottonianum* in Trent, a sacramentary made possibly in Augsburg or Freising, see n. 526; Gamber also identified the eleventh-century “Sacramentary of Mazagata” in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, XCVII, with his “T-Typus,” and it certainly contains the same *ordines* for Holy Week as **Saint Eloi**, see CLLA 930, and Gamber, *Sakramentartypen*, pp. 145–147. In this case, the influence of a Bavarian manuscript in the diocese of Verona, as **Wolfgang** was there by the time Mazagata was written, is again likely.

969 See Palazzo, *Les sacramentaires de Fulda*, pp. 183–212 for their later provenance.

970 Christer Pahlmblad, ‘Skaramissalets liturgi’ in *Skaramissalet. Studier, Edition, Översättning och Faksimil av Handskriften i Skara Stifts- och Landsbibliotek*, ed. Crister Pahlmblad (Skara: Skara Stiftshistoriska Sällska, 2006), at pp. 129–131 or in the English summary pp. 210–211: “a latter-day descendent of the Saint-Amand group” or Elisabet Göransson, “Skaramissalets text i relation till andra liturgiska källor,” *Ibid.*, at p. 195, or the English summary p. 213.

971 *Missale Plenarium Bibl. Capit. Gnesnensis MS 149*, vol. 2: *Analyses*, eds Kryztof Biegański and Jerzy Woronczak (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt – Warsaw: PWN, 1972) at pp. 148–56, pp. 154–56: “Gn’s Proper of saints come closest to the Regensburg’s Sacramentary Ro[ssianum], belonging to T-Group manuscripts [i.e. Gamber’s “T-Typus”] . . . a number of prayers exclusively in T-type Sacramentaries . . . Both deserve to be granted at least the rank of sub-types within the group of T-Type sacramentaries,” and p. 305: “the mode of mixing Gregorian and Gelasian elements comes closest to the one in the Sacramentaries of the T-Type . . . especially the Bavarian branch.”

972 Gamber, “Fragmenta Liturgica II,” at pp. 254–255; digitized at <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/84014/edition/133365/content>.

book, if the Skara Missal did not, in fact, directly come from Northern France or was copied from an exemplar from there, as has also been mooted based on art and palaeography.⁹⁷³ We should note that the mass liturgy was clearly received in newly Christianised parts of Europe in this composite form established by the careful and meticulous efforts of Carolingian monastic compilers, not in the “pure” Roman strain, or even in the strictly divided form of the *Hucusque* Supplement. The devotions of these young churches, and their conception of an authoritative, Christian tradition, would have been profoundly and lastingly shaped by the Carolingian synthesis, even into modernity, as Hohler’s identification of the Missal of Breslau with his “family” would indicate.

Despite this occasional recognition by scholars of the impact of this kind of mixed sacramentaries in varied places across Europe, the establishment of the nature of the influence of the family recognised by Hohler and Gamber has been hampered by flawed theories about its origins, by the lack of any proper study of the Saint-Amand tradition, as well as the misunderstanding of what exactly **Saint Eloi** is. Any influence has also only been really established when missals of this kind were closely examined at all, and those in Skara and Gnesno gained attention principally because they are the earliest liturgical books used in their respective home nations. The vast majority of other medieval missals have never been so closely examined, and more work is certainly needed to see how the tradition spread and what forms it took in the places that adopted it.

The hypothesis of lost exemplars underlying these later books, whether used by Boniface or from Rome, is simply not necessary, since a span of a century or more is more than enough time for exemplars from West Francia to have spread sufficiently to underlie books made in Germany, and, in the eleventh century, in England and Spain, later Poland and Scandinavia too. We are always better served by starting with the manuscripts we actually have, the physical, tangible books, rather than posing lost exemplars of centuries distance from them, of which no evidence survives. These manuscripts prove that Northern France in the late Carolingian era was, in fact, extraordinarily creative, and very capable of writing new forms of book that wrought considerable transformations across the continent. This is in spite of the consistent neglect of this period by liturgical scholars.⁹⁷⁴

973 England clearly transmitted some books in this family into Scandinavia, as in the fragments in Stockholm (n. p. 366).

974 I am currently preparing several treatments of the “family of St. Amand” beyond the ninth century. A significant assessment will appear in the edited volume from our 2023 conference on mixed sacramentaries.

Now that this origin has been established, we can begin to form new conclusions about how it was that these books spread and why they were so enthusiastically received elsewhere in Europe. For example, the adoption of the type of sacramentary in the Bavarian monasteries, and the disappearance of the types of mass books used in Bavaria before this point (possibly Old Gelasian in character, see p. 64, n. 208), could be linked to the personal networks and exchanges underlying the “Gorze reforms”, active in the late tenth century in all the monasteries from which these books survive (Sankt Emmeram, Tegernsee and Niederaltaich).⁹⁷⁵ If Hersfeld in Hessen also adopted this Carolingian mixed tradition, as the fragment in Munich edited by Gamber and located to the monastery by Hoffmann (n. 543) might suggest, it may be that another key, German participant in the Gorze reforms likewise adopted the “Saint-Amand” form.

Across Europe, these late Carolingian books were valued and made a distinctive and lasting mark on the development of the liturgy. Their flexibility and openness to additional local masses, in contrast to the unwieldy Supplement structure and the inflexible Gregorian format, as well as useful new forms of organisation of material by theme, up to and including a fully separated Sanctoral and Temporal, with Sunday masses in clearly distinct blocks, probably aided their reception. However, the impulse to produce especially large and complete mass books attenuated in France itself in the eleventh century, as Saint-Amand witnessed. We can see the force towards this attenuation, for example, in the note added in the eleventh century to the front cover of **Reims**, which proscribes that proper prefaces should only be chanted on a select number of feasts.⁹⁷⁶ This meant that most of the proper prefaces contained in this very manuscript were no longer to be used, cutting the celebrant and community off from the previous Carolingian desire to multiply and diversify the proper prefaces and mass texts.

⁹⁷⁵ I thank Martin Berger, who knows Regensburg’s liturgy well, for raising this point. See Kasius Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny. Studien zu den monastischen Lebensreformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter* 2 vols (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo Sant’Anselmo, 1950–1951); Joachim Wollasch, “Totengedenken im Reformmönchtum,” in *Monastische Reformen im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, ed. Kottje and Maurer, pp. 147–166 identifies some of these networks.

⁹⁷⁶ Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213, inside back cover: “His quoque tantum diebus prefationem dicimus: vigilia Natalis Domini et ad tres missas ipsius diei, S. Stephani, Johannis evangeliste, Innocentium, Circumcisione Domini, Epiphania, Ypapanti Domini, wigilia (sic.) Pasche, in die sancto Pasche, et in reliquis VII diebus ad utramque missam, Ascensione Domini ad utramque missam, vigilia Pentecostis et in die et in reliquis VII diebus ad utramque missam, in sollemnitate sancte Trinitatis ad utranque missam, S. Johannis Baptiste, vigilia apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et in die S. Laurentii, Assumptione sancte Marie ad utramque missam, Nativitatis ejusdem, sollemnitate Omnium Sanctorum et S. Andree et in Dedicacione ecclesie” [trans. But only on the following days do we say a preface . . .].

The reduction of prefaces to an even more minimal nine, plus three common ones, had been expressly commanded by Burchard of Worms (965–1025) with the aid of a false decretal of Pope Pelagius (d. 590), but it certainly took centuries to be widely accepted.⁹⁷⁷

Likewise, the many ALIA prayers were also pruned in later copies of the mass book, and, for example, only one Collect was usually supplied, as was expressly recommended by Bernold of Constance (1050–1100), though he complained that few priests of his day held to this.

Hoc utique et institutio officiorum exigere videtur ut, sicut ad unam missam, unam tantum lectionem et evangelium legimus, Item unum introitum, imo unum officium cantamus, nihilominus et unam orationem dicamus. Sed hoc iam pauci observant: imo plures in tantum orationes multiplicant, ut auditores suos sibi ingratos efficiant, et populum Dei potius quam ad sacrificandum illiciant.⁹⁷⁸

[trans. This, of course, also seems to require the organization of the liturgy such that, just as, in one mass, we read only one reading and one gospel, then we sing one introit and one offertory, we should nonetheless say one Collect. But few now observe this, indeed many multiply their prayers to such an extent that they make their hearers displeased, and persecute the people of God, more than they attend to the sacrifices].

Despite Bernold's scepticism, the multiplication of prayers must have expressed something that priests in the early Middle Ages celebrating masses, and perhaps some of their audiences, if not all, found interesting and spiritually fulfilling. Bernold's idea of returning to a Roman tradition of a single Collect was, in the end, convincing, though it took at least a century to find purchase. This explains what happened in the mass books of Saint-Amand itself in the twelfth and thirteenth century.

The books that predominate in France in this period, and in other areas of Europe soon after, do not look like ours of Saint-Amand, or other "superabundant" sacramentaries, but rather came to rest on a form that was very much like an alternative Carolingian tradition (books like that of **Saint-Vaast** or **Saint-Denis**), in which prefaces were reduced to a simple list of a handful of alternatives, often on a single page, and the title and *Ordo Missae* were erased, but Gela-

⁹⁷⁷ Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, vol. 2, p. 151.

⁹⁷⁸ Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus*, ed. J.-P. Migne, in PL 151, col. 980.

sian and Carolingian complete masses were comfortably incorporated, and more local feasts or new devotions could always be added.⁹⁷⁹ Thus, the Carolingian period still laid the foundations of later developments of the mass book, including the loss of the complete and truly Roman Gregorian Sacramentary sent to Charlemagne, as this had once been copied and preserved in earlier Carolingian manuscripts. This original “authenticum” remained shrouded in mystery until the rediscovery of **Cambrai** in the twentieth century.

979 Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 103 represents **Saint-Vaast** as a “direct” ancestor of the later Roman missal.

Conclusion

This book has conclusively brought to light just how sophisticated and innovative the successive manuscripts of the sacramentary produced at Saint-Amand in the late ninth century were. We are uniquely fortunate in this one case to have so many surviving manuscripts from one monastery, and the manuscripts of, for example, Saint-Denis or Saint-Martin in Tours indicate that other institutions in the same area at the same time were likewise capable of being innovative, each in their own ways and with strikingly diverse results. Other lost manuscripts, for example those from Saint-Riquier, might have indicated even more diverse methods used to reorganise the mass book. Though books from all these places are also very large and comprehensive, and they also innovate in the organisation and structure of the sacramentary as well as breaking down the Roman Gregorian just as completely, Saint-Amand's books are still entirely unique in their accommodation of the Gelasian on the level of almost all individual mass sets, and in their assimilation of the traditions of other communities Saint-Amand encountered, especially those from Paris/Saint-Denis, and in the number of unique mass texts they incorporate, many of which are marked by an unusually sophisticated Latin vocabulary. As we have seen, these books had a lasting influence, changing how mass books were written and organised across Europe, and the number that have survived is suggestive that they were uniquely appreciated in their day, and long afterwards. This new evaluation of their content adds to the appreciation of their decoration and script, upon both of which this book has also shed new light.

Patronage of the liturgy by the king alone, as Deshusses had posed, does not explain the marvel of these manuscripts. The production of Saint-Amand went on, or even intensified, as several Carolingian kings died or abdicated in quick succession, nor did other centres like Saint-Vaast, which Charles the Bald also favoured, produce such amazing works of liturgical compilation. These books demonstrate the endurance in Carolingian liturgical vitality and innovation that was independent of the strength of the ruling family, or even spurred on by the uncertainty of a time without strong royal continuity. Gauzlin is likely to bear much of the responsibility for enabling this. He is shadowy in the history writing of his age, principally because of the enmity of our main record of the time and his rival, Hincmar of Reims.⁹⁸⁰ But he now steps forward as a premier, even singular, early medieval patron of manuscript art and liturgy, in addition to what we know of his likely involvement in poetry, hagiography, and vernacular literature. Another concrete historical circumstance of the monastery through which I explain

980 Werner, "Gauzlin von St-Denis," pp. 449–450.

these books was an uncommonly gifted leader of the *scriptorium*, Huchald of Saint-Amand, likely the greatest of the last generation of Carolingian scholars, whose poetic mastery of Latin enriched them and whose hagiography suggests he saw the ideological value of a book that praised all kinds of saints from all over the world and brought their blessings to Francia. Within these books, the use of Greek and the complex decorative schemes posed ambitions to a universal holiness, and to an ordered, divine creation, revealing the persistence of Carolingian ambitions in the Church, through times of crisis, or even the strengthening of that self-assertion by the monastery and the patron in response to crisis.

There is a longer history of mass books in this region at play, which helps to explain why it was above all monasteries of West Francia that created such books, and why they do not appear in other regions. In the case of what makes the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand stand out even among their peers, in the complexity and sophistication of the compilation of the mass sets, we can already point to antecedents in the Gelasians of the Eighth Century made in West Francia around the year 800 (Angoulême, Philipps, and Gellone), or the Old Gelasian, perhaps thirty or forty years earlier. As noted, the Gelasians of the Eighth Century from West Francia are already unique since they incorporate more prayers from more distinct sources than those made in Alemannia (the Remedius Sacramentary in Sankt Gallen) or North Italy (the Sacramentary of Monza, the Zadar fragment), which, it seems, are closer to a more sober archetype. The Gelasian, in general, shows that there was a deep thirst for variety in mass sets; for example, all Gelasians have multiple Collects to mass sets and most have proper prefaces, across Europe outside Rome, which the Gregorian would never have been able to satisfy. The Gelasian books made in West Francia, however, excel in this trait. These books provided proper prefaces, episcopal blessings, numerous ALIA prayers, many votive masses, *apologiae*, but also *ordines* and even Greek translations of Latin texts: the Creed in the baptismal rites of Gellone and Angoulême, the Lord's Prayer in the Old Gelasian.⁹⁸¹ In aesthetic terms, I have linked this to the idea of *varietas*, which our books express in their decoration, which, it seems, was a particularly desirable trait in the West. These Gelasian sources would have suggested clearly the same comprehensiveness to the Saint-Amand compilers. It was books like them that served directly as sources for the "Gelasianisation" of the books of Saint-Amand, which take on some prayers only found, for example, in the Sacramentary of Angoulême, many of which go back to the Old Gelasian,

981 On episcopal blessings in one example: Odilo Heiming, "Die Benedictiones episcopales des Sacramentarium Gelasianum Philipps (Handschrift Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Phillipps 1667, Nr. 1314–1341)," *AfL* 22 (1980), pp. 118–23.

and a handful are actually only found in the latter. West Francia had a generations-long tradition of unusually complete and complex mass books, which offered a foundation for the work done at Saint-Amand. Copies of the Gregorian with the Supplement, like *Le Mans*, may briefly disrupt this tendency, but it is only a temporary disruption, and far from a total one. The mixed Gregorians made at Saint-Amand soon went beyond even the earlier West Frankish Gelasian books in, for example, adding AD UESPERAS prayers through Lent, or SUPER POPULUM prayers to every single Sunday mass, or in their creative synthetic *ordines* for the dying and dead. It is clear that Saint-Amand excelled in this process above all, and that books from Saint-Amand were, and remain, extraordinary. It was the Saint-Amand books, above all, which contributed to the survival across Europe of non-Roman texts and the compositions of Merovingian and Carolingian times from the Gelasian, mass sets and prayers that were uniquely rich and diverse, in comparison to the Gregorian's austerity.

Other cultural roots across Latin Europe also fed into these books, however. One characterisation of many votive masses in the later ninth-century books of Saint-Amand, in comparison to those composed by Alcuin almost a century earlier for example, is the desire to intercede for more and more people at once, and recruit more and more saints to do so.⁹⁸² Priests felt the need to undertake more and more intercession within the monasteries, on their own behalf and on behalf of an ever growing circle of donors in ever more tortured ritualistic formulations, praying for all believers of every station in life, living and dead, as in some of the masses unique to our tradition:

De 2947, found in *Sens*: “Haec munera quaesumus domine quae oculis tuae maiestatis offerimus, animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum quorum quarumque commemorationem speciali deuotione agimus et quorum quarumque nomina a te inspicienda conscripsimus, et pro quibus exorare iussi uel debitores fuimus et omnium consanguineorum ac familiarum cunctorumque fidelium salutaria esse concede”

[trans. We ask, o Lord, that you allow these gifts which we offer to the sight of Your majesty to be salutary to the souls of Your servants, male and female, each of whom we commemorate with special devotion and those whose names we have written down for Your inspection and for those for whom I was asked to plead, or to whom we are indebted, and to all our kinsmen and all those who stand in relation to us, and to all the faithful].

⁹⁸² For example De 3103–3107, De 3130–3133, 3134–3136; see also Arnold Angenendt, “Pro uivis et defunctis. Geschichte und Wirkung einer Meßoration,” in *Liturgie im Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Thomas Flammer and Daniel Meyer (Münster: LIT, 2005), pp. 385–95.

De 3103 (a mass found in **Tours**, **Saint-Germain** and **Stockholm**, for a bishop or abbot): “pariterque ei familiaritate atque consanguinitate coniunctos, et omnem populum christianum ab omni prauitate defende, commissumque sibi gregem ad regendi custodi, et animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum cunctorumque fidelium defunctorum.”

[trans. and at the same time, those who are joined to him by kinship and familiar relations, and defend all Christian people from all wickedness, and guard the flock entrusted to him to govern, and the souls of Your servants, male and female, and all Your faithful departed].

Further, more and more monks were ordained to celebrate mass. At Saint-Germain, three quarters of the monks were ordained by the end of the ninth century and we cannot imagine the proportion at Saint-Amand being much less.⁹⁸³ Celebration of private Mass was a near-constant cycle in these monasteries.⁹⁸⁴ Every base had to be covered, as much spiritual power as possible harnessed. Clearly under pressure to celebrate mass often, monk-priests deeply felt the weight of their own sinfulness.⁹⁸⁵ One would, as in the *MISSA SPECIALIS SACERDOTIS* quoted above (p. 284), almost obsessively list one’s own sins, missing nothing. The considerable development of the rite for anointing the sick and death is an outgrowth of the same monastic spirituality, anointing to purify the sins of each part of the body, and developing a complex synthesis of practice, prayer, reading, and chant to ensure salvation. Likewise, the *apologiae* appended to our sacramentaries, precociously found before the Canon in our books, and thus looking forward to their later developments, were an expression of the same pressures, and point to elaborations of the spiritual preparation of the priest before and during mass to ever more extreme heights in later centuries.⁹⁸⁶

One might see these developments as harmful to the spirituality of the Middle Ages, as liturgists have tended to do, but it cannot be denied that they arise from a sincere desire to assist the kingdom, their friends, and their own community, as well as take care of their own spiritual life, in the only way monks were al-

983 Otto Gerard Oexle, *Forschungen zu monastischen und geistlichen Gemeinschaften im westfränkischen Bereich* (Munich: Lohrmann, 1978), p. 110.

984 Cyrille Vogel. “La vie quotidienne des moines-prêtres à l’époque de la floraison des messes privées.” In *Liturgie, spiritualité, culture*. Conférences Saint-Serge XXXe semaine d’études liturgiques (Rome: Edizioni liturgiche, 1983), pp. 341–360; Cyrille Vogel. “La multiplication des messes solitaires au Moyen Âge. Essai de statistique,” *Revue des sciences religieuses* 55 (1981), pp. 206–213.

985 Arnold Angenendt, “‘Mit reinen Händen’. Das Motiv der kultischen Reinheit in der abendländischen Askese,” in *Herrschaft, Kirche, Kultur. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Georg Jenal (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1931), 297–316, repr. in *Liturgie im Mittelalter*, ed. Flammer and Meyer, 245–67.

986 Pierce, “The Evolution of the ordo missae.”

lowed.⁹⁸⁷ This development spurred creativity in the transformation of the mass book and writing of new masses, particularly, it seems, from Hucbald's fertile pen, that gives our books from Saint-Amand a considerable individual stamp.⁹⁸⁸ Similar pressures were felt at Saint-Denis too. In our **Saint-Denis**, each day of the week has up to thirteen masses of varied themes assigned to it, in **Laon**, up to seventeen or more. One can imagine a wealth of *libelli* or booklets being passed around such monks, day to day, as they undertook this schedule, celebrating at various altars in the abbey church, and compiling and copying personal *libelli* with favourite masses.⁹⁸⁹ Expectations of donors for their *memoria* and that of their family to be maintained became a "primary social role" of monastic communities in the early Middle Ages, and this was, above all, undertaken through the masses of the dead and the recitation of their names.⁹⁹⁰ One can also understand that the Carolingian monks found the prayers of the Gregorian, from Rome and the spiritual world view of generations earlier, inadequate to express their own spiritual worries, and their wish to be of service to donors and to their own community. Thus, they might have come to their teachers and savants, especially in this case Hucbald of Saint-Amand, whose contribution to distinctively Carolingian shaping of the mass liturgy should be added to his prodigious accomplishments, to ask them to compose new ones. Hucbald used the somewhat artificial style of Latin of the late Antique prayers that made up the Gregorian, and an inheritance of vocabulary and forms from an earlier generation of Carolingian composers (Alcuin, Benedict, and Theodulf), but employed this inheritance to say new things and express the new spiritual and theological atmosphere. He also took the opportunity to add an individual stamp in some choices of vocabulary, and, above all, his penchant for poetic alliteration to the new prayers he composed. This added ornament and beauty to the mass prayers in exactly the ways Carolingian literati most appreciated.

This extensive literature was, then, incorporated into books which represented the continuity of the community, perhaps over a period of exile. Lost copies later in Ghent, Fulda, and Bethlehem Priory (**San Marino**), and the use of yet another copy in the creation of **Reims**, show that the monks likely also continued making books of this type, perhaps into the later 880s or even 890s. It can also be

987 Eligius Deckers, "Were the Early Monks Liturgical?," *Collectanea Cisterciana* 22 (1960), pp. 120–137, at p. 137 contrasts medieval "ritualistic mania" unfavourably with the liturgical reticence of the earliest monks.

988 Angenendt, "Missa specialis," pp. 180–90.

989 Merseburg, Domstiftsbibliothek, cod.136 is a collection of such *libelli*, see Winterer, *Das Fuldaer Sakramentar*, pp. 256–57.

990 Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, pp. 76–77; Choy, *Intercessory Prayer*, pp. 161–92.

demonstrated that books from Northern France were shared through monastic connections that have left no other trace, as in the strong, but unexpected, influence of the mixed Gregorians from France in Bavaria, possibly linked to the Gorze reforms, or the appearance of the Northern French book at Fulda in the famous Ottonian sacramentaries, probably via Paris. Notably, such books were not, as we can see later, the “use” of the monastery of Saint-Amand; that is, an established form of mass book that is consistently reproduced, but each one represented the result of ongoing experimentation by the monks, and they were porous to texts from outside, while still remaining recognisable and distinct from those made elsewhere. Such books certainly made gestures to the performance of private masses, by their incorporation, at certain points and unsystematically, of lections or chant texts, but their considerable length and weight make it unlikely they were normally used for individual celebrations in practice. These books, especially **Saint-Germain**, were likely intended to be resources available to those in the community who would require them, from which the priests and copyists might then extract and excerpt the masses they required, as in the case of the **Rouen libellus**, or the texts copied into **Cambrai**. Masses from other traditions (Paris in **Saint-Germain**, or especially from Saint-Denis in **Sens**) were integrated as they were found, showing that the books were intended to amalgamate the total liturgical knowledge of the community, offering a complete account of what they might find useful.

Essentially, we owe to this compilation process the preservation of the rich Gelasian euchological tradition, in a peculiarly Frankish abundance. Likewise, there was some inspiration of “Gallican” custom, the indigenous, non-Roman traditions, in the episcopal blessings, and, occasionally, recourse even to Rome’s antique prefaces found in *Veronese*, among the oldest surviving texts for mass at all. Where and how these were found by our compilers cannot be known, but their presence in our books demonstrates plainly the interaction of the archival function in our books with the impulse towards variety (*varietas*) inspired by Frankish aesthetic preference.

The impulse to collect, to preserve, and to organise, all kinds of prayers from what must have been dozens of mass books, suggests also desire to understand as comprehensively as possible the way Christian communities had worshipped in prior generations and the words they had used to do so, and putting the most ancient texts to new uses. The liturgical exposition of this age, like those of Amalarius or Walahfrid Strabo, are likewise historically minded, and mindful of historical diversity.⁹⁹¹ The sophisticated archiving and compiling activity in the last quarter of

991 Rose and Westwell, “Correcting the Liturgy and Sacred Language.”

the ninth century adds to the ongoing recovery of the dynamism of periods traditionally seen as a dark age during and after the decline of Carolingian power.⁹⁹²

These books were also memorials of the community. Indeed, **Sens** “remembers” the layout of the monastery of the Saint-Amand, perhaps while the monks were away from the site in exile, with its prayers for the oratories of St. Andrew and St. Peter and the Basilica of St. Amandus.⁹⁹³ As Roman stational notices in the Gregorian allowed Carolingian monks to walk a “paraphrase” of Rome in their mass liturgies and processions, following in the footsteps of the Pope, such prayers allowed monks in exile to remember their monastery.⁹⁹⁴ Just as Pohl describes Montecassino’s historical writings of this period, the Saint-Amand sacramentaries were gatherings of dislocated pieces, continually reworked and added to, never finished, but always open to new incorporation, and certainly conceived “as much to representation as to use.”⁹⁹⁵ We have no contemporary writer of history from Saint-Amand to chronicle this period, but we know that Saint-Amand, like other monasteries, also put together a polyptych, an inventory of their property, today surviving as a fragment in Valenciennes, BM, Ms. 392, which is dated to the end of the ninth century by Bischoff.⁹⁹⁶ Thus, they too were concerned about their monastery’s past at a time of dislocation, and they consciously engaged in creating a form of “institutional memory,” of which the sacramentaries remain the only complete surviving witness.⁹⁹⁷

Exclusively in East Francia, Carolingian monasteries and cathedrals had begun to create cartularies, reorganisations of their complete charter collections into organised volumes.⁹⁹⁸ Such projects clearly went together with reorganisations and improvements of the books for the liturgy, and are, indeed, inextricably

992 Addressed e.g. in several contributions in Sarah Greer, Alice Hicklin and Stefan Esders (eds), *Using and not using the past after the Carolingian Empire c.900–1050* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).

993 For the oratory of Andrew, the Collect of his feast (De 770) is used, for that of Peter a Vespers prayer for his feast (De 598). For the Basilica a Gelasian prayer (Ge 2860/Aug 1879), used also in **Modena** IN INTROITU ECCLESIAE (De 4285) is employed.

994 Angelus Häußling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeyer. Eine Studie über die Messe in der abendländischen Klosterliturgie des frühen Mittelalters und zur Geschichte der Meßhäufigkeit*, LQF 58 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1973), pp. 67–72, 181–212.

995 Walter Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung. Montecassino und die Gestaltung der langobardischen Vergangenheit* (Munich – Vienna: Böhlau, 2001), p. 179: “ebenso zur Repräsentation wie zum Gebrauch gedacht waren.”

996 Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, p. 399n6384: “[Saint-Amand, IX. Jh. Ende]”; Hägermann, and Hedwig, *Das Polyptychon und die Notitia*, pp. 103–5.

997 Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p. 86; Levi Roach, *Forgery and Memory at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: University Press, 2021), pp. 256–72.

998 Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, pp. 87–98.

linked to them, as the charters were primarily reorganised in order to record donors for liturgical memorial.⁹⁹⁹ Cartularies did not appear in West Francia in the ninth century, but our mixed, complex, and “superabundant” sacramentaries represent another kind of response to changing ideas of memorialisation, which did occur in the West, and seemingly did not in the East. As cartularies distilled the archives, our sacramentaries distilled the liturgical library.

More directly, the sacramentaries recall the past of a community in their extensive provision of intercession.¹⁰⁰⁰ The books continually recall the dead to mind, often interceding, in the especially comprehensive votive masses, for all living and dead as one Christian community, who might also include the saints given in great depth in the preceding Sanctoral.¹⁰⁰¹ Names of the dead and living, including donors, were added to such books. For the preservation of memory, we might note especially the lists of bishops near the canon in **Saint-Germain** or **Sens**, giving a history of the diocese which would be ritually intoned during the Canon, according to the notice added in **Saint-Denis**. In these ways, the sacramentaries of Saint-Amand partake in the broad transformations of memorialisation leading up to the millennium, cementing the role of Benedictine monks as the principal custodians and constructors of memory.¹⁰⁰²

At the last, we might return to ideas of liturgical “reform,” with new eyes. The Carolingian sacramentaries of Saint-Amand are not, and could not be, the result of any attempt to make a single, uniform sacramentary that offered the “authorised” form of worship for a polity. No monarch had attempted such a thing, not even Charlemagne, and no monastery or church aspired to a book that would serve such a role, but they only aimed to make a liturgy better in a way that made sense to them in their particular situation. In this aspiration, they were part of a continual process in Christian history, that has no single beginning and no single end. We see in the genre of Carolingian mass books, or indeed, medieval mass books in general, a very particular, but illustrative, instance of what Walsham, in her field-shifting discussion of religious change in Christianity, identifies as “coexistence of opposing and contradictory tendencies within religious cul-

999 *Ibid.*, p. 95, 99, 102.

1000 Otto Gerhard Oexle, “Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung im früheren Mittelalter,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976), pp. 70–95.

1001 De 3134: “et famulis ac famulabus tuis uiuis et defunctis quorum et quarum nomina tibi uiuunt” [trans. And Your servants, living and dead, of whom the names live by You].; Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints. Prayers for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), especially pp. 79–101.

1002 R. W. Southern “Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writings: 4. The Sense of the Past,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23 (1973), pp. 247–49.

tures.”¹⁰⁰³ In this particular case there was, on the one hand, the tendency towards more complex, more comprehensive mass books, with many alternatives for each mass prayer, many prefaces, episcopal blessings, many unique votive masses, and receptive to new compositions (the “superabundant” books). On the other hand, other mass books remained simpler, restrained, closer to the Gregorian, reducing prefaces to a minimum and sticking to three-prayer mass sets, following the Roman model (**Saint-Vaast** and other books identified as “direct” ancestors to the later Roman missal). These impulses are also visible in the Gelasians of the previous generation; the West Frankish ones had generally partaken of the impulse to variety and comprehensiveness, while others from Italy or Alemannia remained more sober. In the latter category, we could even include the Colbertine fragments of Saint-Amand, a previous product of our monastery, which are comparatively restrained and look more like a Gregorian, with just three prayers for each mass set, and the number of saints comparatively few. Thus, the balance of these tendencies even changed over time within a monastery, and I have offered some reasons why it happened at Saint-Amand when it did. These impulses interacted, coexisted, and shifted within the monastic communities of Western Francia, and had a different interaction in other regions. They might even coexist in a single manuscript, as in the striking case of **Reims**, whose rather bizarre construction can only be explained by a balance of seeming contradictions. This interaction is the “catalyst for transformation” discussed by Walsham, and we have seen it transform the mass books at Saint-Amand.

In general, a new vision of liturgical change in the Middle Ages might look to reconstruct these “antimonies and polarities” and chart their interaction in different *scriptoria* at different periods, and even within single manuscripts; for example, the dynamic between fidelity to tradition, which respected a deposit of authorised forms, and the desire for inventions and compositions with the intent to more directly address changing understandings of redemption, the demands of donors and the scruples of celebrants. These were the waves ebbing and flowing through each *scriptorium* and cloister as they took up their pens. Such movements have no single origin point, or single destination, but change happens by their workings and by the participation of hosts of unnamed scribes and compilers in them. Such change is sometimes only slow and barely perceptible, like erosion over generations, but sometimes, in a special moment, as clearly was the case at Saint-Amand in the later ninth century, it bursts forth in a sudden flood of transformation.

1003 Alexandra Walsham, “Migrations of the Holy. Explaining Religious Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 44 (2014), 242–80, especially 262–64.

Appendix 1: Manuscripts of the Sacramentary from Carolingian Saint-Amand, Corbie, and Saint-Denis

I Saint-Amand

1. Le Mans, Médiathèque Municipale Louis Aragon, Ms. 77.

Shorthand: **Le Mans**

Digitised: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/iiif/91554/canvas/canvas-736276/view>.

Length: 204 folios.

Dimensions: ca. 260 x 195mm.

Provenance: Decoration and palaeography are clearly of Saint-Amand. The manuscript may have lingered there longer than Deshusses assumed (the addition of the *apologiae* to the first pages in smaller script is later than the main text, but still clearly in the script of Saint-Amand), and it was thus not designed specifically to go to Le Mans by c.850, as he indicated. The presence of a patronal mass for Martin, and the Alcuin masses, both added at the end of the ninth century, suggest that the manuscript may have been brought to Tours before it came to Le Mans, which was under Tours's ecclesiastical jurisdiction.¹⁰⁰⁴ Perhaps two earlier Saint-Amand manuscripts, the gospel book Tours, BM, Ms. 23 and **Le Mans**, were sent to somewhere associated with Tours at the same time, since Tours, BM, Ms. 23 was itself later used as an exemplar in a further Gospel book associated with Tours, Paris, BnF, lat. 261, as discussed in my assessment of the Gospel Book's script (above pp. 136–137). It is interesting that this latter gospel book (Paris, BnF, lat. 261) made at least partly by Tours scribes, also came to Le Mans Cathedral by the eleventh century, where Bishop Gervasius (1036–1055) supplied it with a lost treasure binding, according to notes on fol. 19r and 53r. Tours clearly supplied books to Le Mans, and it seems likely that this was the route that the sacramentary, **Le Mans**, also followed, from Tours to Le Mans by the tenth century. In Le Mans, a mass for the patron, St. Julian, and some extra episcopal ceremonies were added to the ordinations, indicating it played a role in the bishop's rites there. In 1695, it was still found in the treasury of this cathedral (Delisle). It came

1004 This mass written, according to Bischoff in “westlicher schrift s.IX ex.,” is the festal mass for St. Martin's feast in July, a proper mass, attributed by Deshusses to Alcuin himself. The script and use of uncial resemble Tours books, and the readings are very close to the same mass in Paris, BnF, NAL 1589, the second Tours sacramentary.

into the Bibliothèque Municipale, today the Médiathèque Municipale Louis Aragon, during the French Revolution.

Scholarship: Delisle, *Memoire*, pp. 140–43; Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires*, pp. 30–32; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 37, vol. 3, 29: “J”; Bischoff, *Katalog*, n. 2287.

Content:

3r–6r: Ordinations of the Minor Orders (*Hucusque*).

6v–12v: Title, Preface, and Canon of the Mass (Gregorian).

12v–13r, 15r–16v: Ordinations of the Major Orders (Gregorian).

17r–104v: Gregorian Sacramentary *Hadrianum*.

105r–106r: *Hucusque* Preface.

106v–108v: Capitula.

109r–169r: The *Hucusque* Supplement.

171r–204v: Collection of 186 Prefaces (without the prologue Haec Studiose). Incomplete at the end.

Additions:

1v–2v: Apologia (Bischoff: “St-Amand Schrift der franko-sächsischen Blütezeit”).

1r: *Missa sancti Martini* and 169r (part)–170v, and Votive masses of Alcuin (Bischoff: “westlicher Schrift s.IX, ex”). Probably added in Tours.

9v: “et rege nostro” added to Canon, two distinct times.

14r, 14v: (“s.X, s.XI”) Additions to the Ordination of a Bishop, *missa pro congregatione*.

25r–v: with initial, the Mass of Julian of Le Mans (“s.X”).¹⁰⁰⁵

2. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. lat. 958.

Shorthand: **Bobbio**

Digitised: https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_9194356&order=1&view=SINGLE.

Folios: 8

Dimensions: 266/275 x 218mm

Provenance: The local saints of Lombardy and Tortona (Innocentius and Marcianus, as well as Sirus of Pavia and Ambrose of Milan) indicate it belonged to that bishopric briefly and soon after its creation. Most likely it arrived there at the time of the coronation of Richilde, wife of Charles the Bald in 877. The addition of

1005 The mass is transmitted to Norman England (and Sicily), and used for the same saint in, for example, in the Sarum Missal, 692–93 see CO 1548, 5103, 2555, Preface “UD, Qui inter primos sanctae tuae fide fundatores”, and episcopal blessing unedited “Benedict uos omnipotens deus magni pontificis iuliani . . .” It remained the proper mass for Julian in that diocese, according to a thirteenth-century missal, Le Mans, BM, Ms. 437, fol. 175r–v.

Lambertus of Liège twice to the Canon remains difficult to explain. If it precedes the Tortona additions (Bischoff places it after them, but such a small addition must be difficult to date with any such precision), it could possibly add to evidence the manuscript was in certain court circles. According to the Annals of Saint-Bertin, for example, Archbishop Franco of Liège was entrusted by Charles the Bald with escorting pregnant Queen Richildis to the royal residence of Herstal in Franco's own diocese in August or September 876, the year before her coronation in Tortona.¹⁰⁰⁶ It is possible she, rather than Charles, was the one who gave it to the Church of Tortona. Imitations of the art style at Bobbio indicate it was in this monastery by the end of the ninth century, where the glosses to the Canon were added. It remained in the library of Bobbio in the fifteenth century (an erased notice on fol. 3r reads: "Liber sancti Columbani de Bobbio") and was recorded in the 1461 Bobbio Catalogue, still more complete than it is today. In the eighteenth century, the now fragmentary quire was found in Vienna in the collection of Antonio Folch de Carodona, Archbishop of Valencia (1657–1724).¹⁰⁰⁷ After his death, it came to the Hofbibliothek, now the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Scholarship: Koehler/Mütherich, DfS, 242–45; Unterkircher *Karolingisches Sakramentar*; Unterkircher, "Interpretatio Canonis Missae"; Bischoff, Katalog 7181; Crivello, *La miniatura a Bobbio tra IX e X secolo*.

Decoration: Four pairs of frames fol. 2v–6r.

fol. 4r: V initial.

fol. 5v: TE monogram.

Content: fol. 1r–v: Ordination of the subdeacon (partial)

fol. 2v–8v: The title, preface and Canon of the Mass.

Additions: fol. 2r: Mass of the Assumption of Mary (Bischoff: "Ital. Saec X. med."). A mixed mass.¹⁰⁰⁸

fol. 3v–8v: Glosses containing an *Expositio Missae* ed. by Unterkircher. (Bischoff: "Ital. Saec. X (med.)" but Cipolla/Unterkircher place it in the time of Agilulf of Bobbio (883–896)).

1006 Nelson, *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, p. 196.

1007 Yolanda Gil Saura, "Antonia Folch de Cardona (1657–1724). Biografía cultural de un religioso y político, bibliófilo y coleccionista entra Valencia y Viena," *Ars Longa* 23 (2014), pp. 173–85; notably de Cardona patronised Lodovico Antonia Muratori (1672–1750), who, among his many endeavours, researched Roman liturgical books. Muratori was even at Bobbio in 1714, and could possibly have acquired **Bobbio** or alerted de Cardona of its existence, see M. Esposito, "The Ancient Bobbio Catalogue," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 32 (1931), pp. 337–44, at pp. 337–38.

1008 Unterkircher, *Karolingisches Sakramentar*, p. 24n50, 24n51; Collect is Gelasian (Sg 1092), other prayers from the Gregorian mass (De 662–664); the preface is Gelasian (Sg 681), but used more often for Annunciation (CP 1107).

fol. 6v: “et antistite nostro et omnibus orthodoxis catholice atque apostolice fidei cultoribus” to the Canon (Bischoff: “saec X med”).

fol. 3v, 7r: addition of St. Lambertus of Lièges (Bischoff: “s.IX–X”).

fol. 8r: *Memento mortuorum* (Bischoff: “s.X”).

fol. 8v: Addition of Lombard saints (Bischoff/Cipolla/Crivello “s.IX”).

3. New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS G.57.

Shorthand: **Chelles**

Folios: 170

Extent: 290 x 215mm

Provenance: Production at Saint-Amand is evident from decoration and palaeography, clearly of the Franco-Saxon “Hauptgruppe” and one of the finest examples. Although it is commonly asserted that the manuscript was made for Chelles (Bober, Deshusses), or arrived there soon after its creation, the additions indicating Chelles are, in fact, of later date. A mass against attackers that invokes the Virgin, George, and Bathildis, patrons of the Abbey Church on fol. 105v is clearly of the eleventh century (Bischoff), and the partially preserved mass on fol. 1r for St. Bertilla cannot be easily dated, but it is likely also significantly later than the manuscript itself. Byzantine silk fragments visible today in the binding may have come from the original binding. It was still at Chelles in 1736, when it was noted by the Archbishop of Paris De Luc’s new Breviary, as an “antiquis sacramentarium libris tempore Caroli Calvi” (de Montessus), indicating a long remembrance of a Carolingian past for the manuscript in the nunnery. Its provenance thereafter is obscure. It is possible, however, that it may be the same manuscript that Delisle reported was in the possession of the episcopal museum in Haarlem in the Netherlands in the late nineteenth century. Delisle was informed by Willem Nicolaas du Rieu (1829–1896), librarian at Leiden University, that a sacramentary there had similar decoration to **Sens**, but all other known Franco-Saxon sacramentaries are accounted for at this point, and no other sacramentary of this type can be identified, or remains in Haarlem today.¹⁰⁰⁹ Additionally, I wonder if some effort was made to disguise the provenance of the manuscript, since both the first folio which had the opening of the mass for St. Bertilla of Chelles, recorded by Mabillon in the eighteenth century, and which possibly had more information that linked it to Chelles and Charles the Bald, and also the folio with the *Libera Nos* prayer, where a patron saint might also have been named, are both lost, which is very neat, should one have wished to conceal the manuscript’s original home. In any case, it was acquired by H. P. Kraus (1907–1988) in 1958 from an

1009 Delisle, *L’Evangélaire de Saint-Vaast d’Arras*, p. 15.

unknown dealer in Europe, and sold by him for \$175,000 to William S. Glazier (1907–1962), whose collection was acquired by the Morgan Library after his death.

Scholarship: CLLA, 356; Bober, *The Sacramentary of Queen Hermentrude*; de Montessus, “Sacramentaires carolingiens à l’abbaye de Chelles”; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 38–39: “T1”; Koehler/Mütherich, *Dfs*, pp. 228–32.

Decoration: Canon of the Mass: 8 pages with decorated frames (1v–8v)

3r: Initial V (Full page).

5r: Initial TE (Full page).

9v: Initial Ds (Half page).

Contents:

fol. 1v–6v: Canon of the Mass.

fol. 7r–101r: Gregorian Sacramentary, “fused” with Prefaces from the *Hucusque* Supplement, also the *Exultet* and Baptismal Liturgy, as well as Pentecost readings from Supplement. Some Gelasian and Carolingian additions.

fol. 101v–105r: *Hucusque* preface and *Capitula*.

fol. 106r–118v: Dominical and quotidian masses.

fol. 118v–122v: Votive Masses of Alcuin.

fol. 122v–125r: Common of saints.

fol. 125r–126v: Votive masses. Three Saint-Amand masses “in honore dei genetricis et omnium sanctorum.”

fol. 126v–136r: Masses and blessings to do with people and places (*Hucusque* and additions).

fol. 136r–144v: Votive masses for war, natural disasters, and other intercessions (*Hucusque* and additions).

fol. 144v–145v: Clergy, monks, and nuns (*Hucusque* and additions).

fol. 146r–155v: Penance and visitation to the sick, and AGENDA MORTUORUM, votive masses for the dead (*Hucusque*).

fol. 155v–157v: Diverse blessings and prayers. Exorcisms (*Hucusque*).

fol. 164r–170r: Episcopal Blessings from *Hucusque* (Lacuna at the end).

Additions:

1r: End of a mass for St. Bertilla (Deshusses: “s.X”).¹⁰¹⁰

105r: Mass against invaders invoking Mary, George, and Bathildis with antiphons (Bischoff: “s.XI”).

Fol. 163v: Two prayers from a mass of Saint Christopher (same time/style as the Bertilla mass).

1010 The complete mass in Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, vol. 2, p. 691.

4. Saint Petersburg, Publichnaja Biblioteka, Ms. Q v. I. 41.

Shorthand: **Tournai**

Folios: 206

Dimensions: 270 x 205mm

Provenance: Although produced at Saint-Amand (according to the calendar and the *missa in ecclesia cuiuslibet martyris sive confessoris* and the *missa in monasterio pro ipsa familia*), it seems it was made for the Cathedral of Tournai, as St. Piatius of Tournai appears prominently in the Canon. We cannot say if it was ever actually at Tournai, however. The city was destroyed by the Vikings in 881, a most probable *terminus ante quem*. A note on fol. 4r “Ex monasterio s. Benedicti Patriaci,” indicates it was much later at the monastery of Perrecy-les-Forges in Southern Burgundy, dedicated to St. Benedict. The monastery was founded in 876 as a refuge for the monks from Fleury fleeing from the Vikings. It was closed in 1776. The manuscript was purchased by the Count Joseph-Andreas Zaluski in France in 1756 and entered his library in Warsaw, but this was destroyed by Russian soldiers, and the collection stolen and taken to Saint Petersburg.¹⁰¹¹ A facsimile is available in the London British Library, Microfilm 703/3.

Scholarship: Staerk, *Les Manuscrits Latins*, vol. 1, pp. 74ff; Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 396ff; CLLA 926; Bischoff, *Katalog*, n. 2328; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, pp. 43–45: “T5.”

Decoration: fol. 14v–16r framed.

fol. 15r: V initial.

fol. 16v TE monogram.

Content: fol. 4r–11v: Opening material (Calendar and Computus, *missa graeca*, litany).

fol. 12v–18v: Title, preface, and Canon of the Mass.

fol. 19r–113r: Gregorian Sacramentary, with prefaces “fused” to the masses, *Exultet*, readings and baptismal material also “fused,” and a number of Gelasian and Carolingian masses added.

fol. 113r–122v: Common of Saints (independent of Hucusque).

fol. 122v–124v: Sundays of Advent, plus the Gregorian’s Advent Prayers (De 778–813).

fol. 124v–141r: Gregorian Miscellaneous material and Quotidian Prayers (De 814–1018).

¹⁰¹¹ See Danuta M. Gorecki, “The Zaluski’s Library of the Republic in Poland,” *The Journal of Library History* 13 (1978), pp. 408–31, for this remarkable man and his library, which was sadly only in existence for a few decades before Russian and German invaders of Poland successively destroyed it.

fol. 141v–144v: *Capitula*.

fol. 144r–157r: The Sunday and daily masses from the *Hucusque* Supplement (V–XLVII).

fol. 157v–162v: Votive masses. “Alcuin.”

fol. 162v–164v: Common of Saints from the Supplement.

fol. 164v–168v: Votive Masses. Seven Saint-Amand masses “IN HONORE DEI GENERICIS ET OMNIUM SANCTORUM.”

fol. 168v–169r: Prayers for dedication (*Hucusque*).

fol. 169r–183r: Votive masses, beginning *MISSA PRO REGE* (*Hucusque* + additions).

fol. 183r–206r: Ordinations and monastic prayers, penance, visitation of the sick, death, and burial as in **Chelles**.

fol. 206r: Blessing of palms and flowers.

fol. 206v–207r: Votive masses (*MISSA GENERALIS* and *PRO INFIRMO IN EXTREMO AGONIS*).

Additions:

fol. 12r: Mass for Cathedra Sancti Petri (“s.X”)

fol. 204r: Preface (“S.IX–X”).¹⁰¹²

fol. 206r–207v: Unction of the sick and diverse prayers contra fulgora (“s.X”);

fol. 203r, 205r: French notices (s.XV).

5. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2290.

Shorthand: **Saint-Denis**

Digitised: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8423836x.r=latin%202290>.

Folios: 182

Dimensions: 282 x 224mm

Provenance: Indisputably created for Saint-Denis, though the decoration and palaeography indicate it was created by Saint-Amand scribes and artists of the Franco-Saxon “Hauptgruppe.” The congregation of Saint-Denis is mentioned in the litany (fol. 9r), while Saint-Denis saints are prominent in the Canon and elsewhere. It belonged to Lefevre De Thou (MS 537), Colbert (2585) and then the Royal Collection (Reg.3865, i). The current binding has the arms of Napoleon III (1808–1873).

Scholarship: Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 102–5, Netzer, *L'introduction de la messe romaine*, pp. 89–91; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, 19–21; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 40, vol. 3, pp. 34–35: “R”; Walters-Robertson, *Service Books of the Royal Abbey*, pp. 384–86.

¹⁰¹² CP 932, used for various votive masses, for example, in Gel 1863.

Decoration: Fol. 17v–20r: six pages with borders.

Fol. 19r: Initial U, with ERE in spearhead script.

Fol. 20r: TE monogram.

Content: fol. 1r–6v: Calendar.

fol. 7, pp. r: Breviarium apostolorum (list of feasts of Apostles).

fol. 7v–8v: *Missa graeca* (Credo, Sanctus, Agnus dei).

fol. 8v–9r: Litany (LAETANIA PRO QUACUMQUE TRIBULATIONE).

fol. 9v–16v: Ordinations.

fol. 17v–90r: Gregorian Sacramentary (addition of Baptism, for which see Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, pp. 100–2).

fol. 90r–91v: Common of Saints.

fol. 92r–93r: Ten proper prefaces.

fol. 93v: Votive mass for Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius.

fol. 94r–104r: Sunday masses *Dominicale* (Supplement and Gregorian Advent).

fol. 104v–120v: Quotidian masses (Hadrianum and *Hucusque*), and the Gregorian's miscellaneous material. (but missing De 1018, for the Pope's ordination).

fol. 121r–139v: Votive masses. Arranged according to the days of the week, and including masses of Alcuin.

fol. 140r–151r: *Ordo* of Church Dedication.

fol. 151r–156r: Selection of votive masses and miscellaneous material from *Hucusque*, plus additions.

fol. 156r–157v: Penitence (*Hucusque*).

fol. 157v–160r: Visitation to the sick, mass material for the sick (see Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 3, pp. 146–147.)

fol. 160r–164v, 166r–v: Death and burial masses.

fol. 166v, 165r–v, 168r–v: Votive masses for the dead.

fol. 167r–v: Four prefaces for masses of the dead.

fol. 169r–181v: Episcopal blessings from the Supplement, with lacuna.

fol. 181v–182r: Blessings “SUPER INFIRMUM” (De 3994–3998).

Additions: fol. 8v: Various names.

fol. 16r (margin): Ring and staff for the bishop's ordination (s.X?).

fol. 20v: “et regibus nostris” added to the canon (probably at the time when Louis III and Carloman reigned jointly, thus 879–882).

fol. 93r: additional Marian preface (De 1664) (s.X?).

6. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 2291.

Shorthand: **Saint-Germain**

Digitised: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84274502>

Folios: 197

Dimensions. 292 x 214mm

Provenance: The creation of Saint-Amand is certain, as Amandus is mentioned in the *Libera Nos* of the Canon, and as patron in the mass PRO IPSA FAMILIA and that PRO FRATRIBUS DEFUNCTIS (fol. 22, 148 and 170). The Gradual added at the opening is also that of Saint-Amand (Leroquais). However, it was soon at the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, in which the monks of Saint-Amand took refuge in 883. On fol. 1v is an antiphon which mentions St. Germanus, already added before the end of the ninth century, and his own mass appears on fol. 5r, added in the tenth. Finally, a list of the bishops of Paris was added on fol. 6v, which ends with Gauzlin, Abbot of Saint-Amand and Saint-Germain. This was thus added before his death in 886, a certain *terminus ante quem* for the manuscript. It was probably therefore in Paris, and at Saint-Germain, prior to 886, if it was not written there by the exiled monks of Saint-Amand, who were given sanctuary by Gauzlin there from around 883. The list of bishops was continued up to Walter de Château-Thierry, who died in 1249. It later belonged to Le Febvre, de Thou, Colbert (MS 1927) and the French Royal Collection (Reg. 3865, 3, A). It entered the BnF in 1732.

Scholarship: Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 148–49; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels*, pp. 56–58; Netzer, *L'introduction de la messe romaine*, pp. 98–101; CLLA 925; Bischoff, *Katalog*, n. 4157.

Decoration: None.

Content: fol. 2v–3v, 8–8v: *Apologiae* (fol. 8 should follow 3).

fol. 6r–v: *Memoriae*.

fol. 7v: *Missa Specialis sacerdotis*, with readings.

fol. 9r–15r: *Antiphonale Missarum* (Gradual). Edited by Netzer, pp. 283–355.

fol. 15v–16v: Litany and *Missa Graeca* (Gloria, Creed).

fol. 19v–22v: Title, preface and Canon of the Mass.

fol. 22v–100v: Masses of the Year: Mixed Sanctoral and Temporal, most masses have prefaces.

fol. 101–6r: Common of Saints.

fol. 106v–113v: Miscellaneous, office and quotidian prayers (*Hucusque* and Gregorian).

fol. 113v (untitled) Mass for Octave of Christmas. (De 82–83, 1522, 84).

fol. 118r–133r: Sunday masses (Gregorian and *Hucusque*).

fol. 133v–157r: Votive masses.

fol. 157v–177r: Miscellaneous material.

fol. 163r–166v: Visiting the sick.

fol. 166v–177r: Masses for the dead.

fol. 177v–188v: Readings for the votive and common masses.

fol. 189r: Four prefaces missed in the main text.

fol. 189v–192v: Saints’ masses not present in the main text.

fol. 193r–195r: Some votive masses.

fol. 195v: Two masses for Rogations.

fol. 196r–v: MISSA GENERALIS OMNIMODA.

Additions: fol. 1v: List of faithful (s.IX–XII).¹⁰¹³ Two notated antiphons for St. Germanus (Wilmart: “s.IX/X and X”).

fol. 4r–6r: Chrism Mass.

fol. 5r–v: Mass for St. Germanus (Wilmart, “S.X de commencement”).¹⁰¹⁴

fol. 5v: Episcopal blessing for the end of Germanus’s mass (Wilmart “d’une autre main du X^e siècle”).¹⁰¹⁵ CBP 1961 (this is also used in Paris, BnF, lat. 2294, ed. Laporte).

fol. 6r–v: enhancements to the mass ordinary (HAEC ORATIO DEBET DICERE DUM CANTUR SANCTUS).

fol. 6v: List of Bishops of Paris (initially up to Gauzlin 884, then updated up to the thirteenth century).

fol. 7r: Preces (Wilmart) or supplicatio litaniae.¹⁰¹⁶ Oratio post missa.

fol. 17r–v: Mass of Christopher plus two prayers of Germain, then for Pietro ad Uincula (Gregorian Collect, different secret and post communion) and another mass of Germanus (Wilmart “X^e ou XI^e siècle”).¹⁰¹⁷

fol. 18r–v: Readings and chants for a MISSA SANCTA MARIA PRO ADUENTUM. Abbreviated Collect is De 140.

fol. 19r–v: Missa sancti sigismundi regis pro febribus (De 2799–2802).¹⁰¹⁸

fol. 20r–22v: Numerous marginal additions to the Canon, the name “Suggeri” is added next to the Communicantes, possibly indicating veneration of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis (Delisle, but against this, Wilmart), others dated s.XIII century including “et rege nostro” and various mementoes.

1013 Wilmart, “Un sacramentaire a l’usage de Saint-Germain de Près,” pp. 384–86; the first twenty-two names dated around 900, others up to the twelfth century.

1014 Wilmart, “Un sacramentaire a l’usage de Saint-Germain de Près,” p. 393; the individual forms are also unique and cannot be found in *Corpus orationum*, probably reflecting the paucity of surviving mass books from Saint-Germain; on the same folio is an untitled common mass “for many virgins,” found in Saint-Denis (De 3420–3423).

1015 Wilmart, “Un sacramentaire a l’usage de Saint-Germain de Près,” p. 393.

1016 *Ibid.*, pp. 382–83, 2n.

1017 Prayers for Germanus, *Ibid.*, p. 394 and mass, pp. 394–95; The Christopher mass used in England for Christopher and Cucuphas e.g., CO 1309 (Collect); the Germanus mass uses the Collect and preface for Germanus of Auxerre (CO 4447a; CP 288).

1018 On this mass, absent from the Saint-Amand tradition otherwise, but popular elsewhere, see Frederick S. Paxton, “Liturgy and Healing in an Early Medieval Saint’s Cult: The Mass in honore sancti Sigismundi for the Cure of Fevers,” *Traditio* 49 (1994), pp. 23–43.

fol. 188v–189r: HORTATIO A CUNCTIS FURTIS PROBANDIS (ordeal).

fol. 192v: Mass PRO UIUS ET DEFUNCTIS (De 3805–3807).

fol. 196v: Two monastic Collects for those taking on weekly duties in the monastery (elsewhere SUPER HEBDOMADARIOS) (De 4476 and 4477), found in **Cologne** (“Deus cui semper humilium sunt . . . super horum fratrum nostrorum obsequia . . .” and “Misericors et piissime deus qui ubique famulus tuos . . . horum seruorum tuorum . . .”). These are clearly in a Saint-Amand hand; for example, the ra ligature, and late s.IX.

fol. 196v–197v: Added names (s.IX/X).¹⁰¹⁹

7. Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A 136.

Shorthand: **Sens**

Digitised: <https://www.manuscripta.se/ms/101124>.

Folios: 237

Dimensions: 294 x 220mm

Provenance: The original calendar has four local feasts of St. Amandus, he appears in capitals in the litany, and two churches of St. Peter and St. Andrew, as well as a basilica dedicated to Amandus are mentioned which matched those in the monastery complex, making the creation of the sacramentary by monks of Saint-Amand indisputable. However, it was in Sens in the first years of the tenth century at the latest. Local saints Savinian and Potentian were added to the Canon of the Mass. The years of the consecrations of the Archbishops Walter I (887–923) and his nephew Walter II (924–927) are recorded by two distinct hands. The consecration of the first Walter is also added to the calendar (fol. 6v “IIII nonas aprilis. Consecratio Gaulterii archiepiscopi”), as is the death of his uncle Walter, Bishop of Orleans (869–ca. 892). The presence of the book in Sens under the first Walter of Sens, also Chancellor from 894 to 898 and anointer of three kings (Odo, Robert, and Rudolph) is a certainty, and his possession of it is likely, but the suggestion that Walter of Orleans had inherited it first (Delisle) is unnecessary. Several saints’ feasts from the city of Sens are added (see Delisle, p. 114), including two in majuscule, of the patrons of Sens, Savinian and Potentian and of Columba, patron of the famous monastery. Names appear at several places, including the name of a noble lady, Ildelinis, who is recalled in the Canon, and is the subject of the letter of Pope Sergius IV (1009–1012) appended on fol. 3v. According to the oaths added on the final folios, it was used at Sens through until the twelfth century for abbatial ordinations. In the seventeenth century it was ac-

¹⁰¹⁹ Wilmart, “Un sacramentaire,” pp. 385–86.

quired for the Royal library of Sweden, likely by Queen Christina; in the catalogue of her collection 1650 by Isaac Vossius it can be identified with the Missale, 24 (Koehler/Mütherich).

Scholarship: Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 106ff; Koehler-Mütherich, DfS, pp. 246–49; Tönnies Kleberg, “Erzbischof Stephen von Uppsala und Cod. Holm. A. 136 (Das Sakramentarium von Sens),” *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksvesen* 65 (1978), pp. 33–40.

Decoration: Six pages with borders (fol. 25v–28r).

Fol. 27r: U initial “ERE” in spearhead script.

Fol. 28r: TE monogram.

Content: fol. 1v–2r Table for Computus (855–930).

fol. 4v: *Cursus lunae*.

fol. 5r–10v: Calendar.

fol. 11r: Lunar

fol. 11v–14v: *Apologiae* and *Memoriae*.

fol. 14v–15v: Litany.

fol. 15v–16v: *Missa graeca* (Gloria and Creed).

fol. 18r–22r: Ordinations.

fol. 22r–23v: Ordo for church dedication.

fol. 25v–30r: Title, Ordo Missae, Preface, and Canon.

fol. 32–108r: Masses of the Year (Temporale).

fol. 109r–149r: Saints’ feasts for the year (Sanctorale).

fol. 152v–158r: Common of Saints.

fol. 159–161v: *Capitula*.

fol. 162r–165v: Votive masses (Alcuin).

fol. 165v–168v: Saint-Amand masses in Honour of Mary and All Saints.

fol. 168v–176v: Votive masses for priests, especially private masses.

fol. 176v–180v: Votive masses for Pope and Bishop, Kings, in times of war, and peace.

fol. 180v–184r: Votive masses for a friend, for the living, for the community, for relatives and donors.

fol. 184v–191v: Votive masses for tribulations, for those on journeys.

fol. 191v–196r: Masses and prayers for dedication of a church, for marriage, for consecration of virgins and clerics. Masses for monastic life.

fol. 196r–197r: Penance.

fol. 197r–212v: Ordo for sick, dying, and burial.

fol. 212v–220v: Masses for the dead.

fol. 220v–223r: Blessings and exorcisms of objects, materials, and foodstuffs.

fol. 223r–225v: Prayers for parts of Saint-Amand monastery (incomplete).

- Additions: fol. 1r–2r: Various Cures in cursive hand (Bischoff: “IX 4/4”).¹⁰²⁰
- fol. 1v: Consecration Note of Walter of Sens of 887 (Bischoff: “from the same hand.” Could this be Walter’s own hand?).
- fol. 2v–3r: Ordo of Holy Week “in cena domini, parasceve et sabbato sancto,” (Bischoff: cursive hand “ca.IX ex., IX–X”).
- fol. 3v–4r: Sens entries: List of bishops initially up to Archimbaldus (958–967),¹⁰²¹ list of churches of Sens, letter from Sergius IV (1009–1021).
- fol. 17r: Blessing IN NATALE PONTIFICIS. CBP 1640 (Gelasian).
- fol. 17r–v: Blessings.
- fol. 17v: Oratio dum sanctus a populo cantatur.
- fol. 20v: Additions to ordination for the archbishop of Sens; Cursive minuscule (Bischoff: “IX 4/4”).
- fol. 24r: Blessing IN DEDICATIONE ECCLESIAE (same hand? as 17r) CBP 123.
- fol. 24v: BENEDICTIO SPONSI ET SPONSAE (Bischoff: “raw, elderly hand IX–X”) “Omnipotens deus qui primos parentes nostros adam et euae . . .”
- fol. 24v: MISSA CONTRA INUASORES SANCTI DEI ECCLESIAE.¹⁰²²
- fol. 29r–31v: Additions to Ordinary of the mass Memento of the dead and prayers during eucharistic rites (s.X); including name of Hildelindis in letter above.
- fol. 31r: Mass of Sother (Sg 199–201), and Zoticus, Ireneus, and Iacinthus (Sg 202–204).
- fol. 31v: Untitled personal votive mass.¹⁰²³
- fol. 108v: MISSA SANCTI AGUSTINI COMMUNIS SCILICET UIUORUM ET MORTUORUM (De 3085–3087).
- fol. 146v, 147r: Additional blessings for All Saints (Bischoff: “Brittle cursive minuscule,” S.IX/X).
- fol. 150r: Mass of Christanthus, Maurus, and Dariae (De 1363–1365 and preface).
- fol. 158r: Mass of Saint Maurice, post communion is the same as the one found in **Tournai** but different Collect and secret (Bischoff: “s.IX, karolingisch”).
- fol. 226–237: Diverse masses (Masses pro sacerdote for seven days with extensive prefaces and infra actionem, a MISSA PRO TRIBULATIONIBUS UEL PRESSURIS De 2449–2451, a blessing of a lector, MISSA SANCTI AUGUSTINI COMMUNIS, MISSA PRO CONSERUANDIS FRUGIBUS, and finally two masses of St. Remigius of Reims (s.X).

1020 Commentary from the Nachlaß, Munich, BSB, ANA 553, A, I: STOCKHOLM.

1021 Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 371–72.

1022 CO 2996, 4621; principally otherwise in England.

1023 CO 2493, 259 in Vic 971–973.

fol. 237v: Oaths of Obedience to Archbishops of Sens Guillaume (1168–1176) and Hugh (1142–1168).

8. HM 41785, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Shorthand: **San Marino**

Digitised: <https://hdl.huntington.org/digital/collection/p15150coll7/id/52673/rec/2>.

Folios: 2

Dimensions: 170 x 225mm

Provenance: Palaeography and style indicates the original manuscript was written at Saint-Amand in the second half of the ninth century. It was used as paste-downs in the book San Marino Huntington Library HM 41761, which had once belonged to the Augustinian canons of the Abbey of Bethlehem near Louvain. This volume was in America by 1890 and was acquired by the Huntington Library in 1971, with the fragments removed in 1975.

Scholarship: Deshusses, “Encore les sacramentaires”; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, n. 5945.

Content: fol. 1–2v: Seven votive masses. Each mass has a numeral XX to XXII on the first folio, then XXVII to XXVIII on the second.

9. Rouen Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 275.

Shorthand: **Rouen**

Folios: 8

Dimensions: 170 x 30mm

Provenance: Palaeography indicates this original quire was created by Saint-Amand scribes. However, the extensive additions were clearly carried out at Saint-Denis, at least by the eleventh century, since the *Communicantes* of the Canon added then has twenty-seven names of saints venerated at Saint-Denis (Dionysius, Rusticus, Eleutherius, Cucuphas, Hippolytus, Eustachius . . .) the *Nobis quoque* has Genevieve (and Affra) and the *Libera nos* has Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius. It perhaps remained at Saint-Denis until 1567, when the library was dispersed. It belonged to Rene Marchel de Boismoreau in the seventeenth century then passed to the exegete Richard Simon (guard folio note “Vir erudius Richardus Simon legavit bibliothecae ecclesiae Rothomagensis”) and to the cathedral at Rouen, thence to the Bibliothèque Municipale in the Revolution (Palazzo).

Scholarship: Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 292–96; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaire et missels*, pp. 144–45; CLLA, 415; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, n. 5371; Palazzo, “Un libellus missae”; Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis*, p. 317; Walters-Robertson, *Service Books of the Royal Abbey*, pp. 405–6.

Content: fol. 1–8r: Seven of the Saint-Amand Masses “IN HONORE DEI GENETRICIS ET OMNIUM SANCTORUM,” with readings provided for each.

fol. 8r: OFFICIA AD PREDICTAM MISSAS. A series of incipits of antiphons provided for the same masses.

fol. 8v: Two Apologia (“Hanc beatus ambrosius composuit . . .”)

Additions: fol. 9r–12r: One quire from a rather roughly written tenth-century sacramentary beginning with the Quattuor Coronati (partial), to Thomas, largely Gregorian, though missing the feasts of Menna, Felicitas, and Saturninus, and with the last mass being not Gregorian. Cut to size.

fol. 12r–16r: The addition of a series of votive masses to the quire seems to be in the same hand as the later additions (Leroquais/Palazzo).

fol. 16r–21r: Preface and Canon of the Mass, written at Saint-Denis in the eleventh century (Leroquais). This includes an extended *Hanc Igitur* with a number of priests and laypeople directly named in the text.

fol. 21r–32r: Votive masses.

10. Reims, Bibliothèque Carnegie, Ms. 213.

Shorthand: **Noyon/Reims**

Digitised: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84489883>.

Folios: 241 (n.b. in the foliation two pages are marked twice 100bis and 169bis)

Dimensions: 340 x 260mm

Scholarship: Delisle, *Mémoire*, p. 116; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaire et missels*, pp. 21–25; CLLA 1385; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, pp. 41–42: “T2 . . . Sacramentaire de Noyon,” vol. 3, pp. 38–39; Koehler/Mütherich, *DfS*, pp. 233–37; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, n. 5721.

Provenance: The Canon names St. Amandus and the patrons and congregation of Noyon, including St. Nicasius, the Bishop of Reims, whose relics were at Noyon and Tournai. St. Amandus recurs in a mass PRO IPSA FAMILIA (fol. 137r). Delisle and Leroquais identified the manuscript as principally a single work, created at a single time, “either copied for Noyon or copied on the basis of a manuscript from Noyon.” Deshusses chose the latter option, arguing that it was created at Saint-Amand for Hincmar of Reims, given the manuscript’s documented presence at Saint-Thierry and the mention of Nicasius, and merely created on the basis of a model for Noyon. This was repeated by Koehler and Mütherich. Carey, however, dated it to 950–1000 and indicated Noyon. Bischoff recognised two distinct elements, created at distinct times. Only the Canon (fol. 9–16), could truly be identified as the work of the ninth-century monks of Saint-Amand, and is thus the only part noted in the *Katalog*. The rest of the manuscript, the quire preceding the Canon, as well as the entire body of the sacramentary following it, was copied

later, perhaps in the tenth century, but the context, including likely involvement of Hucbald of Saint-Amand, suggests around 893–900. The manuscript belonged to Saint-Thierry in Reims where it was MS 62. A mass for the patron, St. Theodericus, appears on fol. 7v with script that is comparable to many who work in the main body of the manuscript, as is the mass for St. Remigius on fol. 185r. Thus, the likeliest possibility is that the unfinished mass Canon originally intended for Noyon was provided with a complete sacramentary copied from Saint-Amand exemplars at the monastery in Reims. Notes indicate that it was still at Saint-Thierry in the seventeenth century, when it was supplied by Archbishop Charles-Maurice Le Tellier (1642–1710) to the Benedictines for their edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary (Delisle).¹⁰²⁴ At the time of the Revolution it came to the Bibliothèque Municipale of Reims.

Decoration:

I: Canon Quire:

fol. 9v–10r: Two identical arcades both empty.

fol. 10v to 14r: Framed pages.

fol. 12r: V initial.

fol. 13v: TE initial.

II: Sacramentary

fol. 17r: DEUS initial for the first prayer.

fol. 41r: DEUS initial for the first prayer of Easter.

fol. 48r: C for the first prayer of Ascension.

fol. 50r: D for the first prayer of Pentecost, drawn onto a purple square.

fol. 81r: D for the first prayer of Christmas in the second round of prayers is traced (in silverpoint), but never completed.

fol. 117r: Capital D for the first prayer of the first Sunday post natale domini.

fol. 126r: D initial for the first prayer of the votive mass DE SAPIENTIA.

Content 1 (Saint-Amand, s.IX, 3rd/4th quarter):

fol. 9–16: Title, preface, and Canon (partial and unfinished).

Content 2 (Reims, imitating Saint-Amand style, ca. 900):

fol. 1–7r (Leroquais: “s.IX 2/2 and end IX,” Bischoff: “s.X”): Apologies, List of votive masses, and the mass of St. Theodericus. On fol. 8r, plus three additional masses (In vig. Ascensione Domini, Dom.oct.Pentecosten. In Vig. SS Gervasii et Protasii.)

fol. 17r–80v: The Gregorian Sacramentary. The antiphons are provided in the margin.

¹⁰²⁴ *Sancti Gregorii Papae I Cognomento Magnia, Opera, Omnia: Ad Manuscriptos Codices Romanos, Gallicos, Anglicos Emendata, Aucta, Et Notis Illustrata* vol. 2 (Paris: Claudius Rigaud, 1705).

fol. 81–111: A new Cycle of the Sanctoral, with the pieces not provided in the Gregorian but which were added to that book in the Saint-Amand manuscript (closest parallels are to Paris, BnF, lat. 2291), including the individual prayers which replaced Gregorian prayers there, the full *Exultet* from the Supplement and many Gelasian and Carolingian masses for saints.

fol. 111–16: Common of Saints.

fol. 116r–117r: Quotidian prayers.

fol. 117–25: Sundays from the Gregorian and Supplement with antiphons in margin.

fol. 126–183v: Votive masses.

fol. 183v–184r: July Mass of St. Martin.

fol. 184r: Votive Mass.

fol. 184r–v: Blessings of candles, ashes, and palms.

fol. 185v–186r: Votive masses: St. Remigius (in a smaller script), for an oblate, for those in the church.

fol. 187–234v: Collection of 277 prefaces, incomplete at the end.

Additions: Back of the front cover: A list of days on which it is permitted to say the Creed, or the preface (s.XI).

fol. 91v: the *Exultet* was also notated later in Messine neumes, used in Reims and the area around it.¹⁰²⁵

fol. 235r: A reading.

fol. 236r–237r: Orationes ad benedicendum abbatum (Leroquais “s.XI,” Deshusses “s.IX”).

fol. 237r: Episcopal Blessing for Pentecost. CBP 948.

II Corbie

11. Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, Latin 12050.

Shorthand: **Rodrade**

Digitised: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8426782r/f1.item>

Folios: 248

Dimensions: 315 x 250mm

Scholarship: Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 122–26; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 41, vol. 3, pp. 33–34.

Provenance: Dated ca. 853, thanks to the dedicatory inscription indicating it was made for the occasion of the ordination of the priest Rodrade by the Bishop of

¹⁰²⁵ Rankin, *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe*, p. 103.

Amiens. Without any specific details in the content, palaeography and decoration nevertheless speak for the creation of the manuscript at Corbie. Possibly the Gradual was added elsewhere, since it does not align with Corbie (Leroquais). It was back in the collection of that monastery until 1638, then at Saint-Germain until 1795, where it had the shelfmark Ms. 592.

Decoration: Borders on fol. 18v–23 around the Canon. Large painted initials fol. 20v, 21v, 23, 29 and 105v), gold initials, on fol. 106 a great V.

Content:

fol. 18v–19r: Colophon “Ego Rodradus misericordia dei indigens . . .” (Deslisle, 123).

fol. 19v–25r: Canon of the Mass.

fol. 28v–101v: The Gregorian *Hadrianum*.

fol. 102r–105r: The preface *Hucusque* and *Capitula*.

fol. 105v–153v: The *Hucusque* Supplement (as in Le Mans 77).

fol. 153v: Additional preface *Haec Studiose*.

fol. 154r–200v: A series of 220 proper prefaces and fifty-two episcopal blessings.

fol. 201v–205r: Prayers for the ordination of minor orders.

fol. 205–216v: A series of votive masses (de sancta Trinitate, de Sapientia, ad postulandam gratiam spiritus sancti, etc.), along with certain extra masses for the Sanctoral and common (All Saints’ vigil and feast). A deposit of Alcuin’s masses.

fol. 216v–219r: Votive masses for the dead.

fol. 220r–234r: Additional masses for the Sanctoral and additional common masses. Including Benedict, Denis and companions and numerous Gelasian masses (Vigil and Octave of Epiphany, Cathedra of Peter, Pascha Annotina, etc.).

fol. 234v–242v: Additional votive masses.

fol. 243r–245v: Apologiae, including *Memoriae*.

fol. 246–248v: Visitation and Unction of the sick.

Additions:

fol. 1v–2r: the Carolingian masses of Matthias the Apostle (24th February) and Mark (25th April), latter in Tours form (De 3493–3495), not Saint-Amand, supplied with preface of Saturninus from Supplement (De 1696) (s.IX).

fol. 1r, 2v, 17r–18r: Selection of Gelasian masses, most of those not added already in the Supplement (Leo, Perpetua and Felicitatis, Magnus and Rufus) (Deshusses: “s.X”).

fol. 3–16v: Gradual (Deshusses: “IX–X”) (Leroquais: “Neither of Corbie nor Amiens”).¹⁰²⁶

¹⁰²⁶ *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, ed. René-Jean Hesbert (Brussels: Vromant 1935. Reprint Rome: Herder, 1967), “K. Antiphonaire de Corbie.”

fol. 245v: Benedictio Ignis (Deshusses: “s.X”).

Fol. 248v: Collect of the feast of Saint Philibert (Corbie) (Deshusses: “s.XI”).

12. Paris, Bibliothèque National de France, Latin 12051

Shorthand: **Saint Eloi**

Digitised: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8426288h>.

Folios: 273

Dimensions: 310 x 240mm

Scholarship: Delisle, *Mémoire*, p. 175; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaire et missels*, vol. 1, pp. 63–64; Ménard, *Divi Gregorii papae liber sacramentorum*.

Provenance: Decoration and palaeography speak for Corbie, and the addition in the tenth century of a mass for the translation of St Gentienuus (fol. 1v), which took place at Corbie in the ninth century, shows it was at Corbie, as does the additional Canon (fol. 3r–v), with the prayer for the “congregationis sancti Petri” (Bischoff: “s.X”). The original Carolingian binding was created at Corbie.¹⁰²⁷ From the canon the *Communicantes* has the usual French additions “hilarii martini agustini gregorii hieronimi benedicti,” while “beato Stephano protomartre tuo” appears in the *Libera nos* (as in **Noyon** or **Senlis**). Unlike **Rodrade** or our Saint-Amand books, the addition “et rege nostro” appears in the main text of the *Te Igitur* (fol. 9r). This begins to be added in sacramentaries close to Charles the Bald from the 870s, again a likely indication of a later date than Bischoff or Ganz supposed (see above pp. 337–338). The book was later at Saint-Germain from 1638, where it was catalogued as, first, MS 782 and 165. By the thirteenth century it was associated with St. Eligius of Noyon, since “Missale sancti Eligii” was written on the spine according to Delisle, though this is now invisible. Goldwork on the binding, of which some signs remain, may have explained the attribution to the artisan saint. Fatefully for early study of the Roman mass liturgy, the book served as the principal basis of the edition of the Gregorian Sacramentary in 1642 by Nicolas-Hugues Ménard (1585–1644), who had found it in Saint-Germain.

Decoration:

fol. 6v: Initial I for the IN NOMINE of the Sacramentary’s title.

fol. 7v: UE monogram for VERE DIGNUM, which distinguishes itself from the UD monogram of the Sacramentary of Rodrade.

fol. 8v: TE monogram for TE igitur.

fol. 12r: D of the DEUS of the first prayer of the Vigil of Christmas.

¹⁰²⁷ Jean Vezin, “Les plus anciennes reliures de cuir estampé dans le domaine latin,” in *Scire litteras. Forschungen zum mittelalterlichen Geistesleben*, eds. Sigrid Krämer and Michael Bernhard (München, 1988), pp. 393–408, at 404.

fol. 92v: D of the DEUS for the first prayer of Easter.
 fol. 117v: D of DEUS for the first prayer of Pentecost.
 fol. 192r: D for the DEUS for the first prayer of the Sunday after Pentecost.

Content:

fol. 6r–11v: Canon of the Mass
 fol. 12r–27v: Christmas (beginning with vigil), Saints between Christmas and Epiphany, Epiphany with Vigil and Octave.
 fol. 27v–41r: Sanctoral Felix to Annunciation, with Sundays after Epiphany.
 fol. 41r–101v: Lent (from Septuagesima) Holy Week, Easter time.
 fol. 101v–106v: Sanctoral from kalends of May to eighth Kalends of June (Urban).
 fol. 106v–108v: Sundays after Easter.
 fol. 109r–124r: Ascension and Pentecost.
 fol. 124r–162v: Sanctoral from the Kalends of June to the end of the Year.
 fol. 162v–176r: Church Dedication.
 fol. 176–189v: Common of Saints.
 fol. 192–217v: “Dominicale” with all the Sundays after Pentecost and in Advent.
 fol. 217v–227r: “Quotidian” and prayers for the Office.
 fol. 227v–246r: Votive masses.
 fol. 246r–258r: Ordinations.
 fol. 258r–264v: *Apologiae*.
 fol. 264v–273v: Blessings, visitation of the sick, some final votive masses.

III Saint-Denis

13. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 111.

Shorthand: **Senlis**

Folios: 185

Dimensions: 277 x 212mm

Scholarship: Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 143–46; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaire et missels*, 32–35; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 41, vol. 3, pp. 50–52: “X”; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 3, n. 5165.

Provenance: A production by monks of Saint-Denis is probable, given the liturgical indications (fol. 30v a votive mass: IN UENERATIONE PRETIOSISSIMORUM CHRISTI MARTYRUM DYONISII RUSTICI ET ELEUTHERII). Bischoff suggests some palaeographical indications support this (Bischoff, *Katalog*: “er kann die vermutete Herkunft aus Saint-Denis bestätigen” [trans. it can confirm the assumed provenance from Saint-Denis]). Nevertheless, the manuscript was written for the Cathedral of Senlis, since the litany on fol. 24v has the name “Hadebertum episco-

pum et cunctam congregationem sibi comissa” [trans. Hadebert the Bishop and the congregation committed to him], indicating Bishop Hadebert of Senlis (871–892). The litany also allows us to date this manuscript to 877–882, since it also mentions a King Louis, who would either be Louis the Stammerer (d. 879) or Louis III (d. 882).¹⁰²⁸ Indeed, at the end of the calendar a later added note on fol. 8v: “I id. decembris, regnante Karlomanno rege anno II, fuerunt XI anni ordinationis Hadeberti episcopi, indictione IIII” offers us a specific date of 12th December 880, by which we should assume the manuscript was finished and at Senlis. Continued presence at Senlis is shown in additions to the calendar, like the feast of St. Sainctin of Senlis, on fol. II a list of serfs (s.X) belonging to the church, on fol. 34v a list of bishops of Senlis up to Bishop Henry (d. ca. 1185), and on fol. III a possession note and anathema of the twelfth century. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, it came with Senlis’s cathedral collections to the Bibliotheque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris.

Content:

fol. 1r–8v: Calendar

fol. 9r–23r: Gradual.¹⁰²⁹

fol. 23v–24v: Litany (“LETANIA ROMANA”)

fol. 25r–28r: Ordo for the consecration of a church.

fol. 33r–35r: Title preface and Canon.

fol. 35v–95r: Gregorian sacramentary, with additions and fusion of elements of the Supplement (*Exultet* and catechuminate), plus penance.

fol. 95r–v: Masses for the Vigil of All Saints and added mass for a bishop.

fol. 96r: *Hucusque* preface. This ends abruptly at “quae a beato Gregorio, quaeve sint ab aliis édita patribus.”

fol. 96v: A list of forty-six titles, without capitula numbers and incomplete (Up until the first common mass).

fol. 97r–101v: Ordinary Sundays of the *Hucusque*, with nevertheless an additional twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth Sunday after Pentecost.

fol. 102v–105r: Common of Saints (*Hucusque*) with additions.

fol. 107v–109v: Seven masses of Alcuin for seven days of the week.

fol. 110r–111v: Ordination material (Gregorian and *Hucusque*).

fol. 111v–129v: Votive masses and reconciliation of penitents (*Hucusque*); Ordo and masses for the sick, for visitation of the dead, including antiphons and reading. Masses for the dead.

¹⁰²⁸ Krüger, *Litanei-Handschriften*, pp. 143–51.

¹⁰²⁹ ed. in Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*: “S. Antiphonaire de Senlis.”

fol. 129v–136v: Blessings of places and objects, matins prayers, exorcism of people and objects (*Hucusque*).

fol. 136r–137v: Votive masses, “pro amico specialis” and “contra infestione paganorum.”

fol. 138r–142v: Ordinations (with vesting prayers, and consecration of hands), Confirmation.

fol. 145r–170v, 184r: 215 Prefaces preceded by *Haec studiose*. Ordered differently from the Supplement.

fol. 176–183r: 52 Episcopal blessings, as in the Supplement.

Additions

Guard folio IIIr: end of a Mass of St. Remigius (Bischoff: “s.IX”).¹⁰³⁰ Two Prayers (“s.X”). Subscription (“s.XII”).

Guard folios IIIv: Alcuin’s votive mass for All Saints (De 1865–1868) (Bischoff: “s.IX”).

fol. 8r–v: Blessing of a Bell (Bischoff: “s.X”).

fol. 21v: Maurice and companions (De 3596–3600) (Bischoff: “s.X”).

fol. 28r–31v: Mass for Epiphany Octave, and a series of votive masses including Alcuin (Bischoff: “s.X”).

fol. 32r–v: Alcuin’s Mass for Mary with readings (De 1841–1844) (Bischoff: “s.IX”).

fol. 32v: Two Prefaces (Bischoff: “s.X”).

fol. 33v: Chrism Mass (Bischoff: “s.X”).

fol. 34v: List of Bishops of Senlis.¹⁰³¹ Initially up to Bernuinus (consecrated in 937), then gradually updated, ending at Bishop Henri (1168/9–1185).

fol. 137r–137v: Sunday masses (Bischoff: “s.X”).

fol. 142v–143v: Marriage, Episcopal blessings (Bischoff: “s.IX–X”).

fol. 171r–172r: Marriage, Episcopal blessings (Bischoff: “s.X in. oder IX. ex.”).

fol. 173r–175v: Episcopal Blessings (Bischoff: “s.IX 2/2”)

fol. 185r: Alcuin Mass for Mary and All Saints (De 1865–1868) (Bischoff: “s.X in.”)

14. Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale Suzanne Martinet, Ms. 118.

Shorthand: **Laon**

Digitised: <https://bibliotheque-numerique.ville-laon.fr/viewer/1459>

Folios: 249 folios

Dimensions: 225 x 230mm (198 x 174mm)

Scholarship: Leroquais, *Les sacramentaire et missels*, pp. 64–68; André Wilmart, “Les frères défunts de Saint-Denis au déclin du IX^e siècle,” *Revue Mabillon* 15

¹⁰³⁰ Additional information in Munich, BSB, ANA 553, A, I PARIS 22.

¹⁰³¹ Delisle, *Mémoire*, p. 370.

(1925): pp. 241–57; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, n. 2077; Walters-Robertson, *Service Books for the Royal Abbey*, pp. 359–66.

Provenance: Created by monks of Saint-Denis in the last third of the ninth century (Bischoff, *Katalog*: “IX Jh., 3. Drittel”).¹⁰³² Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius appear in the Canon of the Mass, in the *missa monachorum* and in the *missa specialium sanctorum*, which, as in Paris, BnF, lat. 2290, lists other saints whose relics were held at the monastery of Saint-Denis. The list of the dead on fol. 74v mentions Abbots Hilduin and Louis, of Saint-Denis and Pope Nicholas I, of whom the latter two died in 867, meaning this is likely a copy of an already existing earlier necrology (Wilmart). Although Leroquais suggested it was at Saint-Germain that the additions in the tenth century were undertaken, the presence of a vigil and feast for St. Germanus here is not sufficient evidence. The page in this portion which would have had St. Dionysius’s mass is missing, while marginal notices add Christopher and Cucuphat, both of whose relics were at Saint-Denis. The feast of St. Dionysius is present in the enhancement of the Antiphoner, on fol. 11r. It is possible the manuscript was brought to somewhere near Laon or Reims by monks of Saint-Denis fleeing the Vikings, or was created there.¹⁰³³ By 1718 the manuscript was at the Cistercian monastery of Vauclair, where it was seen by Martène.¹⁰³⁴ The abbey was destroyed in 1798 during the Revolution, upon which its manuscripts came to Laon.

Unfortunately, the manuscript is in a great state of disorder, and has lost significant portions. Leroquais reconstructed the original state of the manuscript. He indicated that one hand wrote the Gradual, and one the sacramentary and lectionary, while fol. 165–68v and 224–49 are by a third hand, writing later. He missed, as Bischoff indicated, that certain parts of the Gradual (fol. 13, 11, 14, 222–23) covering the feasts after Easter, are also later additions, which only imitate the original layout.

In fact, all appearances suggest that the combined Gradual/sacramentary/lectionary was entirely conceived to give mass material only for the period from the Christmas vigil to the vigil of Easter. The lectionary probably ended in a similar place, since no material survives for after Easter from this at all. In this, a lacuna follows Good Friday, then we have only common material. The Gradual seems also to have originally ended around Easter (there is a lacuna after Maundy Thursday), since the portions with later parts of the year (fol. 11r–v with Easter week and 14r–v with saints’ feasts from May onwards) have now also been identi-

¹⁰³² In Munich, BSB, ANA 553, A, I, LAON: “s.IX, 3(-4)/4”).

¹⁰³³ Walters-Robertson, *Service-Books of the Royal Abbey*, p. 42, 359–60.

¹⁰³⁴ Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, *Voyages littéraires de deux religieux Benedictins de la congregation de S. Maur*, vol. 2 (Paris; Montalant, 1724), p. 40.

fied by Bischoff as additions of the tenth century, and, while imitating the previous ninth-century portions, appear visibly distinct from them. We should add to Bischoff's explicitly noted parts fol. 212r–v and 225r–v with the chants for Sundays after Pentecost which have the same script, style, and colouring as the other late additions. Suggestions that the Gradual was added to the manuscript only after the sacramentary, or that Gradual is earlier than the sacramentary, have most likely stemmed from the ongoing confusion around what was original and what was an addition to this complex manuscript.¹⁰³⁵ In fact, as Bischoff's *Katalog* indicates by offering no distinction between Gradual and the rest of the manuscript, the original ninth-century manuscript which survives only in portions was planned and written by the monks of Saint-Denis at one stroke. Our manuscript of Laon was thus almost certainly planned to be one of two volumes, each containing half of all the liturgical material known about and used at Saint-Denis, in a divided Gradual/sacramentary/lectionary. One concerned winter months, the other summer months, but no trace of the latter survives. Such a division became more widespread later in the Middle Ages, but was, in Carolingian Northern France, yet another example of a strikingly innovative format.

Content:

Gradual: fol. 1r–v, 12r–v, 2r–10 v; 15r–15v; 13r–13v: Beginning with verse “Gregorius Praesul,” covering Advent, Christmas, Sanctoral of January, February, March, then Lent.

Sacramentary:

fol. 151–53v: Mass for dedication (partial) and anniversary, plus the blessings of church objects.

fol. 153v–156v: Material for ordination (hair cutting and tonsuring), then Ordinations of Minor Orders (*Hucusque*).

fol. 156v, 16r: *Missa graeca* (Gloria), Sanctus, Gloria patri.

fol. 16r: Apologia “Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Archiepiscopi.”

fol. 16v–19r: Title, preface, and Canon of the Mass.

fol. 19r–21r: Ordinations of Major orders (Gregorian).

fol. 21v–23v, 185r–186v, 189–190v: Gregorian Sacramentary. Vigil of Christmas to Epiphany with saints' feasts, Sundays post teophaniam (grouped together), Candlemas, Septuagesima to Quinquagesima.

fol. 190v, 157r: Ordo of Public penance (Ash Wednesday).

fol. 157r–164v, 169r–183v: Gregorian Lent (extra mass for third Thursday), Holy Week (blessing of palms and *Exultet*, baptismal material).

¹⁰³⁵ Walters-Robertson, *Service Books of the Royal Abbey*, pp. 360–61.

fol. 183v–184v: Exorcism material (*Hucusque*). By chapter number (CXXXIII), the arrangement is original to the manuscript. Though the Exorcisms came at the end of the Supplement, they were placed in **Laon** directly after baptism, probably due to a thematic arrangement.

fol. 214r–219v: Sanctoral January to March (Agnes 21st January to Mark 25th April). Gregorian with Gelasian and Carolingian additions (Conversion of Paul, Praeictus, Scholastica, Cathedra of Peter, Matthias the Apostle, Vigil of Gregory, Vigil and feast of Benedict, Eufemia and Mark). Begins with chapter number CLVI–CLXXIV. Masses for Silvester to Fabian thus originally opened this section, but the gap is not large enough to allow all the Temporal feasts of, for example, Easter to Pentecost, to have originally been here as well.

fol. 219v–221v, 191r–192r: Common of Saints. This begins with chapter number CLXXV, indicating there was no loss of folios, and the Common of Saints directly followed the mass of St. Mark, showing that the Sacramentary originally only covered the “winter” Saints up to April, surviving from Agnes to St. Mark.

fol. 192r–206v, 24r–47v: 118 votive masses divided among seven days of the week (Title: *MISSAE SPECIALES SINGULARUM FERIARUM DECANTANDAE CUI LIBET UEL LICET. AUT DIEBUS SINGULIS EXASSE UEL EX HIS QUAE LIBET ET PLACET ELIGENDAE*). Several masses also have readings.

Feria I: fol. 192r–199r.

Feria II: fol. 199r–206r.

Feria III: fol. 206r–v, 24r–28v.

Feria IIII: fol. 28v–34v.

Feria V: fol. 34v–42r.

Feria VI: fol. 42r–47v, 207r–v.

Feria VII: fol. 207v–213v.

fol. 213v: *Orationes ad sponsas benedicendas* (Gregorian) (incomplete).

fol. 48r–49v: Masses for consecration and ordinations.

fol. 49v–57r: Votive masses (generally *Hucusque*).

fol. 57r–61v: Prayers for areas in a monastery, blessings, and exorcisms.

fol. 61v–63v: Prayers for visiting monasteries and nunneries, ordination of monks, monastic meals.

fol. 63v–66v: Reconciliation of penitents, visitation of the sick.

fol. 66v–74v: *Orationes in agenda mortuorum*, for funerals, plus readings in *agenda defunctorum*, and a series of additional Super oblata prayers, prefaces, *infra actionem* prayers, and post communion prayers for various masses for the dead.

fol. 74v: List of names of the dead (“*Nomina defunctorum fratrum nostrorum*”) from ca. 874.

fol. 75r–77v, 187r–v: Episcopal blessings up to Holy Saturday, lacuna again until the Common of Saints (as preserved, as in *Hucusque*).

Lectionary: Fol. 188r–v; 78–135v; 136–143; 144v–150 v: Epistle and Gospel Readings from Christmas to Good Friday. Then Common of Saints fol. 136v–143v, and readings for dedication and ordinations fol. 143v–145r, and then votive masses fol. 145r–150v. Some of the final ones also have responsaries and verses attached.

Additions:

fol. 13r–v, 11r–v, 14r–v, 222r–223v (Expansion of Gradual. The addition of Easter Sunday and Dom. I post oct. Paschae) (Deshusses: “s.IX/X”); 11r–v, 14r–v (Gradual additions of saints’ feast of September, October, December, and Sundays after Pentecost) (Leroquais: “s.X”).

fol. 16v (margin): Mass of Saint Maurice and companions (Bischoff: “s.XI”).¹⁰³⁶

fol. 17r: Preface erased and rewritten (Bischoff: “s.XIII” erased).

fol. 19r: Immixtion formulae (s.XI/s.XII?).

fol. 21r: Oratio ante altare (Bischoff: “s.XII”).

fol. 47r: Collect (margin).

fol. 192r: Mass of Saint Maurus with antiphons (Bischoff: “s.XI”).

fol. 165–68, 224–49: Expansion of the Sacramentary (Leroquais: “ca. s.X,” Bischoff: “s.X, in.”) masses from Easter to Luke the Evangelist (incomplete).

fol. 237v–238r: Mass for translation of Martin and for Christopher and Cucuphas (11th July).

fol. 248r: Mass of St. Maurice.

¹⁰³⁶ Datings from Munich, BSB, ANA 553, A, I, LAON.

Appendix 2: The Sacramentary of Berengar in Monza: An Unruoching Family Mass Book and its Ivory Binding

Monza, Tesoro del Duomo, Ms. 89.

Shorthand: **Berengar**

Folios: 125

Dimensions: 265 x 140mm

Scholarship: Frisi, *Memorie storiche di Monza e sua corta*, vol. 3, pp. 66–75; Delisle, *Mémoire*, 198; CLLA 728; Bischoff, *Katalog*, vol. 2, n. 2898; Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, vol. 1, p. 38, vol. 3, p. 53: “Z4”; Ferdinando dell’Oro, “Due significative apografi del sette e dell’ottocento del cosiddetto sacramentario di Berengario,” *Aevum* 79 (2005): pp. 531–51.

Palaeography: Display scripts include gold rustic capitals (1v), alternating red and green rustic capitals for preface (2v, 3r), square capitals (2r, 3r), alternating red and silver outlined in red for the words of the preface directly near the initials. Uncial is used for the titles of masses and generally for the individual mass prayers (though sometimes rustic capitals are used for the latter as well). For longer rubrics (fol. 40r), these begin in uncial and continue in rustic capitals.

Decoration:

fol. 2r: UD initial. The monogram, in silver, outlined in red. Volutes at terminus points, but otherwise simple, crowned with a cross.

fol. 3r: T initial. Likewise in silver, outlined in red. Crowned with a cross, and has volutes.

Initials are in silver throughout. These are initially outlined in green ink, but the outline shifts to red ink fol. 37v–38r (at the end of quire 5). Some initials are drawn entirely in red, seemingly purely by caprice. Accents in red or green sometimes enliven them.

Content: fol. 1v–5v: Preface and Canon of the Mass (no title or *ordo missae*).

fol. 5v–115v: Gregorian Sacramentary. It lacks any ordinations. A number of prefaces from the Supplement were inserted to their Gregorian masses, plus the *Exultet* on Holy Saturday (fol. 46v–49r). Baptismal material is also inserted, but this comes from a Gelasian of the Eighth Century, not from *Hucusque*.

fol. 115v: Missa in anniversario defuncto. This is the single addition of a complete mass found in the Supplement (De 1429-1431), but also a Gelasian mass. (Ge 2967, 3006-3009)

Additions: fol. 1r: Prayer for Coronation (s.X/XI?).

fol. 48r: Names of Berengar as King and Bertilla added to the *Exultet*, dated before 915.

fol. 116v: Inventory of Monza (s.X).

fol. 117r: Opening page from a Gospel Book (CLA Supplement 1736 dates this to the eighth century “manifestly a centre of low standards, probably in North Italy”). Possibly formerly a guard folio.

fol. 122v–124r: Prayers for Ordeals (Bischoff: “Saint-Amand-Minuskel, s.IX, ca.3. Viertel”).

fol. 124v Inventory of the Monza Palace Chapel (s.X).

fol. 125v Prayer for the Agnus Dei (s.X).

Description

The sacramentary in Monza Tesoro dell’Duomo is another sacramentary created in North-eastern France, which, like **Bobbio**, came into Northern Italy. In fact, it is very likely it came to the royal chapel of Berengar in Monza from his father, Eberhard of Friuli (d. 867).¹⁰³⁷ Eberhard took up residence at Cysoing, which is in north-eastern France, and possessed a wealth of books. His famous will bequeathed to his son Berengar “an ivory Gospel book, a lectionary that is similarly outfitted, a similar missal . . .”¹⁰³⁸ It seems very likely that the “ivory . . . missal” is the Monza manuscript.

It seems that the Sacramentary of Berengar was in the hands of a Saint-Amand scribe at one point in its history, before it came to Italy (that is, before the end of the ninth century). Eberhard’s brother, Adalhard, was lay Abbot of Saint-Amand (852–864), and Saint-Bertin, and he was buried at Saint-Amand after his death.¹⁰³⁹ The family’s strong ties to Saint-Amand allow a plausible connection to the monastery for this manuscript.¹⁰⁴⁰ Indeed, Huchald of Saint-Amand could also

1037 On the Unruoching family, see Karl Ferdinand Werner, “Bedeutende Adelsfamilien im Reich Karls des Großen,” in *Karl der Große: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, vol. 1: *Persönlichkeit und Geschichte*, ed. Helmut Beumann (Dusseldorf: Schwann, 1965), at pp. 133–37.

1038 *Cartulaire de l’Abbaye de Cysoing*, ed. Ignace de Coussemaker (Lille: Société de Saint-Augustin, 1885), pp. 1–5, at p. 3: “Evangelium eburneum I, Lectionarium simile paratum, missale simile”; Cristina la Rocca and Luigi Provero, “The Dead and their Gifts: The will of Eberhard, count of Friuli, and his wife Gisela, daughter of Louis the Pious (863–864),” in *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Frans Theuvs and Janet Nelson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 225–80.

1039 Platelle “Une chronique inconnu,” p. 225: “Adalhardus. Hic religiosus fuit, ut testatur epitaphia sepulturae eius” [trans. He was a pious man, as the epitaph on his tomb attests].

1040 McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians*, p. 253.

have been related to them.¹⁰⁴¹ However, my examination of the complete sacramentary suggests that, as a whole, it was not written at Saint-Amand. The first striking feature is the format of the book. It is long and thin (265 x 140mm), in contrast to the almost square sacramentaries of Saint-Amand. This alternative format for the sacramentary was employed by other centres near Saint-Amand (for example, **Saint-Vaast** and **Cambrai**). In this case, and perhaps in the other cases as well, it is likely intended to accommodate the book in original ivory covers. In addition to this, **Berengar** is written primarily on ternions (quires of six), completely different from Saint-Amand books, which are written on quaternions. In **Berengar**, only the first quire was a quaternion (fol. 1r–7v), but is today missing a folio. What is now the final quire (fol. 115–25) was added subsequently, originally a quinion, but now with additional folios.

As for the text, **Berengar** has no title or *ordo missae*, but begins with the first words of the preface dialogue: GRATIAS AGAMUS (fol. 1v), like, for example, **Saint-Vaast**. Unfortunately, today the script is badly damaged throughout, with some pages scarcely legible. Dell'Oro identified two complete copies of the sacramentary, one by the Oratorian Ferdinando Bianchini (d. 1764) in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana (MS T 58) and another by the Monza priest Achille Varisco (1840–1909) in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Fondo Varisco, N.I.6 inf., inserto 43), which aid in its reconstruction.¹⁰⁴² The script of these opening portions is different from what we see at Saint-Amand. Initially, golden rustic capitals are employed. Under the VD initial, accomplished silver square capitals alternate between lines outlined in red or entirely red (fol. 2r), and the next page (2v) has rustic capitals alternating red and green, similarly employed on 3r (see Figure A2.1). The mass titles, as well as the titles of mass prayers, are generally in uncial, but rustic capitals can be used. The initials are either silver outlined in red, or purely drawn in red. Employment of these forms is irregular, sometimes alternating, or sometimes exclusively one or the other. Rubrics begin in uncial and continue in rustic capitals. In the minuscule, lower-case *ih*/*ihm*/*ihu* is universal (fol. 8r). These peculiarities suggest another *scriptorium*, close to Saint-Amand, yet with its own distinctive practices. It could have been the *scriptorium* of Eberhard's own monastery, Cysoing, otherwise almost unknown in this period.

A final portion (fol. 122v–124r), with texts for ordeals (ORATIONES AD FURTUM INUENENDUM – in rustic capitals), was probably added to the manuscript by a scribe from Saint-Amand (Bischoff: “ca. 3. Viertel”), in which resemblances to

¹⁰⁴¹ Chartier, *L'oeuvre musicale* pp. 2–4 speculates he was a grandson of Evrard by a daughter, Heloise (d. ca. 895).

¹⁰⁴² Dell'Oro, “Due significative apografi.”

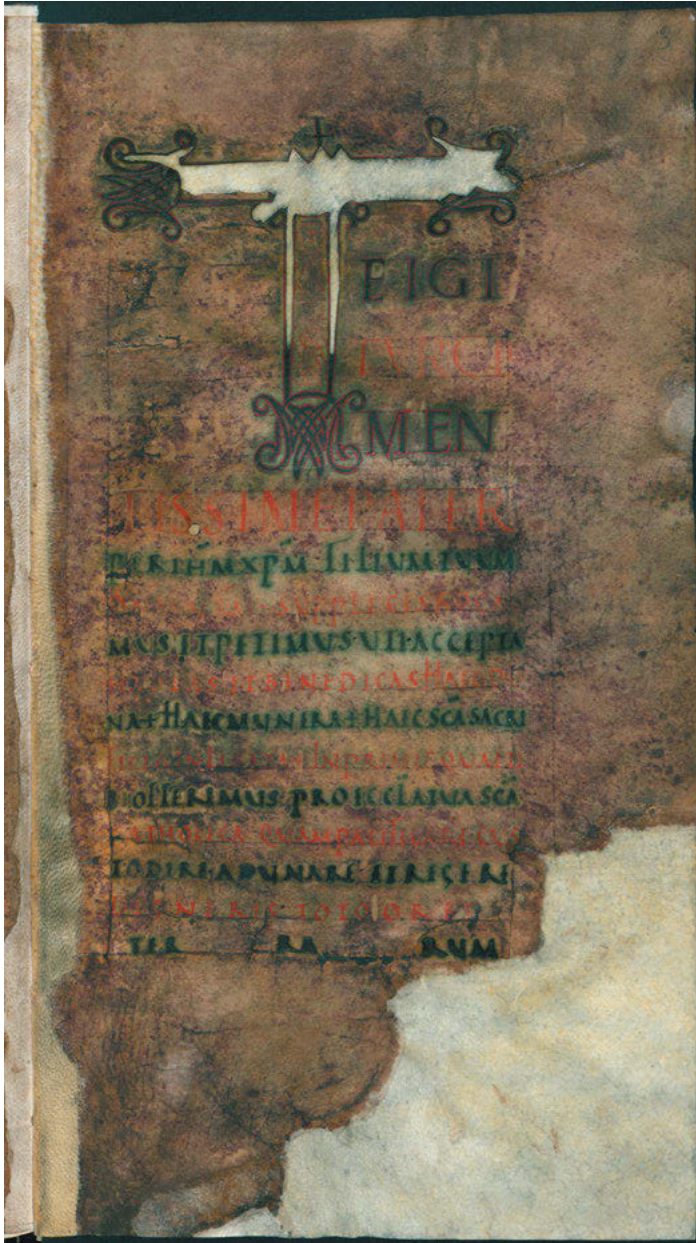


Figure A2.1: Opening of the Te igitur prayer with T initial in a sacramentary written in North-Eastern France (Cysoing?) in the third quarter of the ninth century. Monza, Tesoro del Duomo, Ms. 89, fol. 3r. © Museo e Tesoro del Duomo di Monza/Biblioteca Capitolare.

the other sacramentaries' script are much clearer (capital N in "domine," "nec," etc.). This would be while the manuscript was still in Northern France. An obvious time for an Unruoching family sacramentary to have Saint-Amand additions was during the time Adalhard was abbot (852–864). Such a supposition, and the probable mention of the book itself in the will of Eberhard from 867, makes it plain that these additions by Saint-Amand scribe would pre-date where I have placed the writing of the later sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, which are in the 870s and 880s. It is therefore notable that the lower-case form of the name of Jesus (fol. 122v) is used exclusively in the Saint-Amand added portion, along with some ligatures that do not appear later in our other books (**ec**), adding another piece of evidence to my dating via palaeographical analysis above. The prayers written here have no presence in the later sacramentaries of Saint-Amand, which do not have an especial focus on ordeals at all, so remain difficult to interpret, except, perhaps, as a special interest of one of the noble patrons or monks involved.¹⁰⁴³

The original binding, of ivory and silver, bound onto wood, is today on display separately in the Monza Tesoro del Duomo.¹⁰⁴⁴ The ivory centrepieces are of extraordinary quality, and can be located with certainty to Northern Italy.¹⁰⁴⁵ They show scrolls inhabited by birds carrying snakes and lions, probably based on antique models, and extremely intricate and deeply carved floral, leaf, and interlace patterns. The back cover is purely ornamental, with a central cross shape branching out into innumerable vines that wind around each other in an efflorescence of interlace.¹⁰⁴⁶ Silver and pearls in the wooden frame form crosses on the back, and repeating teardrop shapes on the front. A restoration of the covers discovered that they additionally also had silk, like our **Chelles** (perhaps over the inside of the covers?), of which three fragments survive.¹⁰⁴⁷ Although the ivories are traditionally interpreted as a work of tenth century Northern Italy at the court of Berengar himself, the will of Eberhard of Friuli indicates that the missal he

1043 The last, for the blessing of boiling water for ordeals, is De 4499, up to line 9 (also **Mainz**, Verona); texts edited by dell'Oro, "Due significative apografi," p. 551.

1044 On the ivories, see Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra 800–1200* (Yale: University Press, 1994), pp. 42–50; Margaret Frazer, "Oreficiere altomedievali," in *Il Tesoro, Museo del Duomo di Monza*, ed. Roberto Conti (Monza: Museo del Duomo di Monza, 1983), p. 45; Steenbock, *Die kirchliche Prachteinband*, pp. 101–2.

1045 Hermann Fillitz, "Die Spätphase des 'langobardischen' Stiles. Studien zum oberitalienischen Relief des 10. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 54 (1958), pp. 7–72.

1046 Lamberto Vitali, *Il Tesoro del Duomo di Monza* (Monza: Pizzi, 1966), p. 50.

1047 The analysis done by Constanza Perrone da Zara and Isetta Tossini in Loretta Dolcini and Giovanni Burgalassi, "Un Restauro Polimaterico: La Legatura Del Sacramentario Di Berengario Del Duomo Di Monza," *OPD Restauro* 9 (1997), pp. 91–108.

gave his son Berengar already had an ivory cover, as did other books he gave to his sons.¹⁰⁴⁸ Most likely, in fact, the Monza manuscript was manufactured and fitted to pre-existing ivories already in the possession of Eberhard, given its dimensions. As Ganz showed, **Berengar's** ivory is extraordinarily similar to the ivory on the cover of Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 60, which is dated to the early ninth century, showing the Monza ivories were extant before the sacramentary was made, and they were likely was brought by the Unruoching family from Northern Italy to their new power base in Northern France.¹⁰⁴⁹ The elegant frames of the ivory cover, however, were probably supplied in Northern France in the process of manufacturing **Berengar** itself, since the metalwork is strikingly close to that used in the frame for another ivory on the back cover of the Psalter of Charles the Bald, Paris, BnF, lat. 1152 (dated prior to 869, since Queen Ermengard, who died in that year, is mentioned in it).¹⁰⁵⁰ Artists responsible for these frames probably worked simultaneously for the King and for the powerful aristocrat, Eberhard in the late 860s. Thus, **Berengar** is another example of a “networked collaboration,” over space and time. The motifs of the **Berengar** ivory itself are still entirely distinct from the Psalter of Charles the Bald's two ivories which display figural representations of Christ, angels, and David. The Psalter's ivories were manufactured in a known workshop supplying ivories for the Court School, probably one based in France. **Berengar's** ivory was something distinct, earlier, foreign, and, in the Northern French context, undeniably striking.

Even compared to Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 60, with which it shares the absence of any figural or narrative element apart from the beasts and a purely ornamental back cover, **Berengar's** cover is unique in the incorporation of quite such a plenitude and complexity of interlace motifs into ivory. It also adapts the motifs of the Sankt Gallen ivory, which is strikingly lacking any explicit Christian symbolism, by centring all this interlace on the shape of a cross.¹⁰⁵¹ The complexity of the interlace patterns is perhaps the most distinguishing feature of “Hauptgruppe” manuscripts, even among other manuscripts described as “Franco-Saxon,” whose interlace is comparatively less profuse, intricate, or varied. Indeed, Hender-

1048 Augusto Merati, *Il Duomo di Monza e il suo tesoro* (Monza: Comune di Monza, 1963), p. 50.

1049 David Ganz, *Buch-Gewände. Prachteinbände im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 2015), 267–70: “ist die Übereinstimmung so stark wie bei keiner anderen Elfenbearbeit der Karolingerzeit . . . Codex 60 in Oberitalien gefertigt wurden . . . eher im frühen als in späten 9. Jahrhundert” [trans. The resemblance is stronger than any other ivory work of the Carolingian era . . . Codex 60 was made in North Italy . . . more likely in the early than in the late ninth century].

1050 Steenbock, *Die kirchliche Prachteinband*, p. 102; on the Psalter, pp. 88–89; Koehler and Mütherich, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. 5, pp. 132–43.

1051 Ganz, *Buch-Gewände*, p. 270.

son highlighted the technique of creating this interlace as a distinct trait of these books, which comprises bare parchment painted around in order to create interlace shapes, meaning a plain parchment colour which could be said to be analogous, perhaps, to ivory.¹⁰⁵² The ivory patterns of the **Berengar's** cover have strong commonalities with the interlace and corner compartments of our sacramentaries; for example, the patterns of crosses in the corners of **Saint-Denis** (four pairs of identical forms at the corners of Paris, BnF, lat. 2290, fol. 18v–19r) with the central motif of the back cover. Other crosses are commonly hidden in the interlace of the other manuscripts of the “Hauptgruppe”, allowing a viewer to uncover them by contemplation. Some of the earliest Franco-Saxon initials (from the apparent “Nebenschule” at Saint-Bertin) have already been connected with the abbacy of Berengar's uncle, Adalhard, at both Saint-Bertin and Saint-Amand, particularly when Saint-Amand scribes were also involved in the same manuscripts.¹⁰⁵³ Though the commonalities of ornamental vocabulary render a question of direct influence very difficult, it is striking how much **Berengar's** ivories anticipate the Franco-Saxon ornament of our books in the very traits that most clearly distinguish them from other contemporary ivories. This indicates how the conspicuous traits of the “Hauptgruppe” were not “purely” Anglo-Saxon in origin, but synthesised a much broader range of influences, from varied materials. The “Hauptgruppe” style is also likely to be closely tied to the connections and networks which successive abbots of Saint-Amand, among the nobility, enabled and patronised.

1052 Henderson, *Franco-Saxon Illumination*, p. 95.

1053 Koehler/Mütherich, *DfS*, p. 50, n. 67, 122–23.

Appendix 3: Edition of Eight Masses Characteristic of the Sacramentaries of Saint-Amand

*In the following, comparison is made to Deshusses's edition of the masses from **Saint-Germain** (because occasionally that edition departs from the manuscript), but also to the equivalent mass prayers he identified from the Gregorian or Supplement that the prayers adapt, revealing the working processes that created these prayers.*

I. Edition of Seven Votive Masses for Mary and All Saints Composed at Saint-Amand

1) MISSA IN HONORE DEI GENETRICIS ET OMNIUM SANCTORUM

- a) Deus qui in sanctis tuis uehementer glorificaris, quorum apud te semper manet noua ac perpetua festiuitas . supplicationes nostras et hostias quas in honore et ueneratione dei genetricis mariae, sanctorumque apostolorum martyrum confessorum ac uirginum . omniumque electorum tuorum . tuae deuoto obsequio deferimus pietati . clemens ac benignus suscipe . et concede propitius . ut qui eorum merita recolimus . interuentu quoque illorum . et absolutionem omnium peccatorum . et beatitudinem percipere mereamur aeternorum gaudiorum. Per.
- b) *ALIA* Deus qui nos concedis dei genetricis mariae et omnium sanctorum tuorum ueneranda commemoratione laetari . da nobis in aeterna laetitia de eorum societate gaudere. Per.
- c) *SUPER OBLATA* Accepta sit in conspectu tuo domine nostra deuotio . et omnium sanctorum tuorum nobis fiat supplicatione salutaris . pro quorum ueneratione defertur . per dominum nostrum.
- d) *ALIA*. Hostia haec quaesumus domine quam in honore et ueneratione omnium sanctorum tuorum maiestati tuae humiliter offerimus . et uincula nostrae prauitatis absoluat . et tuae nobis misericordiae dona conciliet. Per.
- e) *PRAEFATIO*. UD aeterne deus. Et te in omnium sanctorum tuorum commemoratione laudare . quibus pro meritis suis beatitudinis praemia contulisti . Quoniam in manu tua sunt et non tanget illos tormentum mortis . quos te custodiende beatitudinis sinus intercludit . ubi perpetua semper exultatione laetantur. Petimus ergo ut memores sint miseriarum nostrarum . et de tua misericordia nobis impetrent beatitudinis suae consortium. Per christum.

- f) *AD COMPLETA*. Auxilientur nobis domine sumpta mysteria, et intercedentibus omnibus sanctis tuis, sempiterna protectione confirmet. Per.
- g) *ALIA*. Omnium quaesumus domine sanctorum tuorum supplicatione placatus . et ueniam nobis tribue . et remedia sempiterna concede. Per.

1) *Ed. De 1906–1912*

tit. DEI] Saint-Thierry: om;

DEI GENETRICIS ET] om. Vic:

a. *apud] aput, corr. apud Vic.*

supplicationes nostras] supplicationem nostram De 1907.

tuae] om. Vic.

deferimus] tuae add Vic:

confessorum ac] confessorum et De 1907.

clemens et] clemens ac. Vic.

ac concede] ac concede Vic.

b. *ALIA] ITEM ALIA Reims,*

dei genetricis mariae et] om. De 1894

ueneranda] om. De 1894

laetari] agere De 1894

da nobis . . . laetitiam] De 1894 da nobis famulis tuis in aeternam laetitiam

per] dominum nostrum iesum christum add Chelles; dominum add. Reims:

c. *SUPER OBLATA] SECRETA. Vic.*

deuotio] uel oblatio add, supra. Saint-Thierry.

tuorum nobis] om. De 1898

fiat] fidutia Vic.

supplicatione] supplitatione Vic:

ueneratione] commemoratione pie De 1978

d. *ALIA] SECRETA Vic.*

Hostia haec]: Haec hostia Saint-Thierry; Reims

quam . . . humiliter] quam in sanctorum tuorum natalicia recensentes offerimus De 106, 461, 560, 620.

per] dominum nostrum add Reims.

e. *PRAEFATIO] PRAEFACIO Vic.*

omnium] om. De 1715

commemoratione] virtute De 1715.

Quoniam] semper add. Vic; De 1715.

quos te custodiente] om. add. supra. eos add Vic.

intercludit] interclusit. De 1911.

perpetua] perpetue **Vic.**
 memores sint] memor sit **De 1715.**
 impetrent] impetret **De 1715.**

- f. sumpta] sup̄ta **Vic**
 mysteria] misteria **Reims.**
 omnibus sanctis] beato stephano martyre **De 64;** beati agathe martyre **De 130.**

2) ALIA MISSA

- a. Deus inenarrabilis gloriae et pietatis immensae . qui sanctos tuos ante mundi constitutionem in aeternam tibi gloriam praeparasti . suscipe propitius preces et munera quae in honore et ueneratione dei genetricis mariae . sanctorumque apostolorum . martyrum . confessorum ac uirginum . omniumque electorum tuorum . in conspectu pietatis tuae humiliter deferimus . et praesta ut apud maiestatem tuam, et remissionem peccatorum . et beatitudinis suae nobis impetrent consortium. Per dominum nostrum.
- b. *ALIA* Maiestatem tuam domine supplices deprecamur . ut sicut nos iugiter sanctorum tuorum commemoratione laetificas . ita semper supplicatione defendas . per dominum nostrum.
- c. *SUPER OBLATA* Munera domine quae pro omnium sanctorum tuorum ueneratione tibi deuote deferimus propitius suscipe . et illorum suffragantibus meritis . nos per haec a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda. per.
- d. *ALIA* Sacrificiis praesentibus domine quaesumus intende placatus . et intercedentibus omnibus sanctis tuis . deuotioni nostrae proficiant ad salutem. Per.
- e. *PRAEFATIO UD* aeterne deus . Te in omnium sanctorum tuorum glorificantes honore . qui et illis tribuisti beatitudinem sempiternam . et infirmitati nostrae talia praestitisti suffragia . per quae tua possimus adipisci subsidia . et peruenire ad praemia repromissa . Unde clementiam tuam petimus . ut eorum exemplis ad bene agendum informemur . meritis muniamur, intercessionibus adiuuemur . qualiter ad caeleste regnum illis interuenientibus te opitulante peruenire mereamur. Per christum dominum nostrum
- f. *AD COMPLETA* Sacro munere satiati supplices te domine deprecamur, ut quod debitae seruitutis celebramus officio . intercedentibus omnibus sanctis tuis saluationis tuae sentiamus augmentum. Per.
- g. *ALIA* Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris, ut qui ex iniquitate nostra reos nos esse cognoscimus, omnium sanctorum tuorum intercessionibus libereamur. per.

2) *Ed.* De 1913–1919. *om.* Reims; Saint-Thierry.

tit. ALIA MISSA] MISSA IN COMEMORACIONE OMNIUM SANCTORUM. *add.* FERIA II **Vic**; MISSA IN LAUDE SANCTORUM OMNIUM **Leofric**:

a) honore et] honore ac **Vic**.

sanctorumque] et beatorum **Leofric**.

confessorum ac] atque **Vic**:

apud] aput, *corr.* apud **Vic**.

maiestatem] magestatem. **Leofric**.

b) *om.* **Leofric**.

iugiter] omnium *add.* **De 1903**.

d) *om* **Leofric**.

ALIA] SUPER OBLATA *add.* **Rouen**:

omnibus] *om.* **De 614**]

et . . . sanctis tuis] ut et **De 159, 257, 629, 721, 803, 806**

Sacrificiis] Sacrificiis **Vic**.

e) *om.* **Leofric**.

glorificantes] glorificare, *corr.* glorificantes. **Vic**.

prestiti suffragia] praestitisuffragia **De 1917**.

f) satiati] satiati **Rouen; Leofric; Vic**.

officio] offitio **Vic**.

intercedentibus omnibus sanctis] intercedente beato sebastiano **De 113**; inter-

cedente beato laurentio **De 647**; *om.* **De 462, 561**.

g) *om.* **Leofric**.

Adesto] quaesumus *add.* **Vic**.

iniquitate nos] *om. add. supra. ras* **Vic**.

reos nos] nos reos **Rouen**.

omnium sanctorum] beati uincentii martyris **De 117**; beati chrisogoni mar-
tyris **De 760**.

intercessionibus] intercessione **Vic**.

3) ALIA MISSA

a. Miserere quaesumus domine nobis indignis famulis tuis suffragia sanctorum tuorum humiliter implorantibus . ut quia fragili mortalique carne circumdati cotidianis peccatorum remissionibus indigemus . gloriosae semper uirginis dei genetricis mariae . sanctorumque apostolorum . martyrum confessorum . ac uirginum . omniumque electorum tuorum assiduis apud pietatem tuam precibus adiuuemur . ut quod possibilitas nostra non obtinet . eorum nobis intercessione donetur. Per

- b. *ALIA* Infirmittatem nostram quaesumus domine propitius respice et mala omnia quae meremur . dei genetricis mariae et omnium sanctorum tuorum intercessione auerte. Per.
- c. *SUPER OBLATA* Sacrificium nostrum tibi domine quaesumus omnium sanctorum tuorum precatio sancta conciliet . ut quorum honore sollemniter exhibetur . meritis efficiatur acceptum. Per dominum nostrum.
- d. *ALIA* Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris quas in omnium sanctorum tuorum commemoratione deferimus . ut qui nostrae iustitiae fiduciam non habemus . sanctorum qui tibi placuerunt meritis adiuuemur. Per.
- e. *PRAEFATIO* UD aeternae deus . Et te in omnium sanctorum tuorum meritis gloriosis collaudare benedicere et praedicare . Qui eos dimicantes contra antiqui hostis machinamenta et proprii corporis blandimenta . inexpugnabili uirtute rex gloriae roborasti . Unde petimus domine immensam pietatem tuam . ut qui illos tot meritorum donasti praerogatiuis . eorum nos et informes exemplis, et adiuues meritis. per christum.
- f. *AD COMPLETA* Quaesumus domine deus noster ut sacrosancta mysteria quae pro reparationis nostrae munimine contulisti . intercedentibus omnibus sanctis tuis . et praesens nobis remedium esse facias et futurum. Per.
- g. *ALIA* Deus qui sanctis tuis aeternae beatitudinis praemia contulisti . concede propitius ut qui peccatorum nostrorum pondere premimur . eorum apud te precibus adiuuemur. Per.

3) Ed. De 1920–1927.

tit. *ALIA* MISSA] MISSA IN UENERATIONE OMNIUM SANCTORUM **Mainz**; ITEM *ALIA* *add.* FERIA III **Vic.**

- a. ut quia] et quia **Mainz.**
circumdanti] circundati **Vic.**
sanctorumque] et sancti micahelis archangeli omniumque caelestium uirtutum et sanctorum patriarcharum prophetarum **Mainz.**
pietatem tuam] tuam clementiam.**Vic:**
obtinet] optinet **Vic.**
- b. *ALIA*] ORATIO **Rouen** *add.*
meremur]: beatae *add.* **Mainz**; iuste *add. supra* **Saint-Thierry**:.
mariae] *om. add. corr.* **Saint-Thierry.**
dei genetricis mariae et omnium] *om.* **De 687.**
- c. *SUPER OBLATA*] SECRETA **Vic**
omnium sanctorum tuorum] beati laurentii **De 643**; beati andreae **De 771**
sollemniter] solempniter **Vic.**
efficiatur] effitiatur **Vic.**

- d. ALIA] SUPER OBLATA *add.* **Rouen.**
 omnium] *om.* **De 688**
 fiduciam] fidutiam **Vic.**
 sanctorum] eorum *add. supra* **Saint-Thierry; add. De 688**
- e. Et] **Vic.**
 omnium] *om.* **De 1681.**
 collaudare] conlaudare **De 1681; Rouen; Vic; Saint-Thierry.**
 gloriosis] *om* **Vic.**
 blandimenta] bladimenta **Vic.**
 roborasti] Ex quibus beatu lucas euuangelista . . . fluenta manauit *add* **De 1681.**
 immensam pietatem tuam] clementiam tuam **Vic.**
 informes exemplis] informes meritis **Vic**
 adiuues meritis] adiuues exemplis **Vic.**
 christum] dominum nostrum *add.* **Saint-Thierry**
- f. *om.* **Mainz**
 mysteria] misteria **Vic.**
 munimine] *om. add. supr. ras* **Vic.**
 omnibus sanctis tuis] beata semper uirgine maria **De 126**
 intercedentibus . . . tuis] *om.* **De 437, 804**
 propitius] ut qui peccatorum nostrorum pondere premimur *add. (homeoteleuton).***Vic.**
 facias] fatias **Vic.**
- g. *om.* **Mainz**
 premimur] praemimur **Reims.**
 adiuuemur] sublimemur **Vic.**
 precibus] praecibus **Reims.**

4) ALIA MISSA

- a) Adesto quaesumus domine precibus nostris quas in honore et commemoratione dei genetricis mariae . sanctorumque apostolorum . martyrum et confessorum . ac uirginum, atque omnium electorum tuorum, tuae maiestati humiliter deferimus . et tribue ut qui eorum merita uenerando recolimus . in aeterna laetitia de eorum societate gaudeamus. Per.
- b) ALIA Da nobis quaesumus domine omnium sanctorum tuorum semper ueneratione laetari . et eorum perpetua supplicatione muniri. Per.
- c) SUPER OBLATA Sanctorum tuorum nobis domine pia non desit oratio . quae et munera nostra tibi conciliet . et tuam nobis indulgentiam semper obtineat . per.
- d) ALIA Praesta quaesumus domine deus . ut sicut in conspectu tuo mors est pretiosa sanctorum ita eorum merita uenerantium accepta tibi reddatur oblatio . per.

- e) *PRAEFATIO* UD aeterne deus . Et in ueneranda omnium sanctorum tuorum commemoratione tibi confitendo laudis hostias immolare . tuamque immensam pietatem implorare . ut sicut illis caelestis palmam dedisti triumphi . sic eis suffragantibus nobis emundationem ac ueniam concedas peccati . ut in te exultemus in misericordia . in quo illi laetantur in gloria. Per christum dominum nostrum.
- f) *AD COMPLETA* Haec nos communio domine purget a crimine . et intercedentibus omnibus sanctis tuis . caelestis remedii faciat esse consortes. Per.
- g) *ALIA* Quaesumus domine deus noster, ut sicut in omnium sanctorum tuorum temporali gratulamur officio . ita perpetuo laetemur aspectu. Per.

4) Ed. De 1928–1934

tit. *ALIA MISSA*] *MISSA IN HONORE OMNIUM SANCTORUM* **Vic**; *ITEM ALIA MISSA* **Saint-Thierry**.

- a. quaesumus] *om* De 1928.
 precibus nostris] supplicationibus nostris **Vic**.
 martyrum] martirum **Vic**:
 et] *om.* **Vic**.
 atque] et **Vic**.
 humiliter] *om.***Vic**.
 per] dominum nostrum *add.* **Reims**
- b. *ALIA*] *ORATIO* *add* **Vic**; **Rouen**; *AD COMPLENDUM* **De 3655**.
 nobis] *om.* **De 3655**
 domine] fidelibus populis *add.* **De 3655**.
 et eorum] semper *add.* **Vic**.
- c. *SUPER OBLATA*] *SECRETA* **Vic**.
 obtineat] optineat **Vic**.
- d. *ALIA*] *SECRETA* *add.* **Vic**.
 deus] noster *add.* **De 697**.
 reddatur] reddat **De 697**.
- e. *om.* **Vic**.
 in ueneranda . . . commemoratione] in praesenti festiuitate martyris tui ill.
De 1711.
 ut] et **De 1711**.
 illis] illi **De 1711**.
 caelestis . . . triumphi] dedidisti celestis palmam triumphum **De 1711**
 dedisti] *om.* *add. marg.* **Saint-Germain**
 eis suffragantibus] eo suffragante **De 1711**
 illi] *om* **De 1932**; ille **De 1711**.

- f. **COMPLETA] COMPLENDUM Vic.**
intercedentibus . . . tuis] om. **De 84, 207, 555**; intercedente beato stephano
martyre tuo atque pontifice **De 627**.
omnibus] om. **De 567**.
caelestis remedii] caelestibus remedii **De 84, 207, 555, 567, 627**.
faciat] facias. **Vic.**
- g. **ALIA] ITEM ALIA Vic.**
Quaesumus] Da quaesumus **De 747**.
in] *om.* **Vic.**
in omnium sanctorum tuorum] tuorum commemoratione sanctorum **De 747**.
gratulamur] gratulamus **Vic.**
officio] offitio **Vic.**

5) **ALIA MISSA**

- a) Omnipotens sempiterne deus apud quem semper est praeclara uita sanctorum . et in cuius conspectu maiestatis permanet mors tuorum pretiosa iustorum . clementiam tuam suppliciter imploramus . ut preces nostras et hostias quas in honore et ueneratione dei genetricis mariae . sanctorumque apostolorum . martyrum . confessorum . ac uirginum, omniumque electorum tuorum tuae miserationi humiliter offerimus pius ac propitius suscipias . et praesta ut qui illorum deuotis mentibus in terra ueneramur triumphum . eorum quoque in caelo mereamur te miserante habere consortium. Per dominum nostrum.
- b) **ALIA** Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut intercessio nos dei genetricis mariae et omnium sanctorum tuorum ubique laetificet . ut dum eorum merita recolimus . patrocinia sentiamus. Per dominum.
- c) **SUPER OBLATA** Munera tibi domine nostrae deuotionis offerimus . quae et pro tuorum tibi grata sint honore iustorum . et nobis salutaria te miserante reddantur . per.
- d) **ALIA** Suscipe domine fidelium preces cum oblationibus hostiarum . et intercedentibus omnibus sanctis tuis . per haec piae deuotionis officia . ad caelestem gloriam transeamus. Per.
- e) **PRAEFATIO** UD aeternae deus . Et clementiam tuam suppliciter obsecrare . ut cum exultantibus sanctis tuis in caelestis regni cubilibus gaudia nostra subiungas . Et quos uirtutis imitatione non possumus sequi . debitae uenerationis contingamus affectu . per christum.
- f) **AD COMPLETA** Sumpsimus domine omnium sanctorum tuorum merita uenerantes caelestia sacramenta . praesta quaesumus ut quod temporaliter gerimus . aeternis gaudiis consequamur. Per dominum.

- g) *ALIA* Preces nostras domine quaesumus omnium sanctorum tuorum tuae pietati commendet oratio . ut quod pro illorum gloria celebramus . nobis prosit ad ueniam. Per.

5) *Ed.* De 1935–1941

tit. ALIA MISSA] ITEM ALIA MISSA. **Vic**; ITEM ALIA **Rouen**.

- a. iustorum] **Vic**: sanctorum.
 martyrum] **Vic**: martirum.
 deferimus] **Vic**: offerimus.
 suscipias] **Vic**: suscipe.
 te miserante] *om.* **Vic**.
 dominum nostrum] eundem **Rouen**; iesum christum *add* **Reims**.
- b. ALIA] SECRETA **Vic**; ORATIO *add.* **Rouen**:
 nos] sanctae *add.* **Vic**, **De** 1243.
 et omnium sanctorum tuorum] sanctorumque omnium apostolorum martyrum et confessorum et omnium electorum tuorum **De** 1243.
 laetificet] letificet **Vic**.
 dominum] eundem **Rouen**
- c. SUPER OBLATA] ALIA **Vic**.
 iustorum] sanctorum **Vic**.
- d. ALIA] ITEM ALIA SUPER OBLATA **Rouen**.
 ut] et **De** 402, 743.
 intercedentibus omnibus sanctis tuis] *om.* **De** 402; intercedente beato theodoro martyre **De** 743.
 deuotionis] deuocionis **Vic**.
 officia] offitia **Vic**.
- e. Et] *om.* **Vic**.
 obsecrare] implorare **Vic**.
 tuis] *om* **De** 1676.
 cubilibus] cubiculis **Vic**.
 imitatione] imitationibus **Vic**.
- f. AD COMPLETA) POST COMMUNIONEM **Vic**.
 omnium] *om.* **De** 585.
 omnium sanctorum . . . uenerantes] sollemnia caelebrantes **De** 585; sancti ill. martyris sollemnitate **De** 3221
 praesta quaesumus] cuius suffragiis quaesumus largiaris **De** 3221.
 per dominum] *om* **Rouen**.

6) ALIA MISSA

- a) Omnipotens sempiternus deus qui semper es mirabilis in tuorum commemoratione sanctorum . pietatem tuam humiliter imploramus ut preces nostras et hostias quas in honore et ueneratione dei genetricis mariae . sanctorumque apostolorum . martyrum . confessorum ac uirginum . atque omnium electorum tuorum tuae pietati deuote offerimus . placide ac benigne suscipias . concedasque nobis obtentu illorum . ut et peccatorum remissionem . et supernorum ciuium mereamur adipisci consortium. Per dominum nostrum.
- b) *ALIA* Auxilium tuum nobis domine quaesumus impende placatus . et intercedentibus omnibus sanctis tuis . dexteram super nos tuae propitiationis extende. Per.
- c) *SUPER OBLATA* Hostias tibi domine laudis offerimus suppliciter deprecantes . ut easdem sanctorum tuorum interueniente suffragio placatus accipias. Per.
- d) *ALIA* Benedictio tua domine larga descendat . quae et munera nostra . deprecantibus omnibus sanctis tuis tibi reddat accepta . et nobis sacramentum redemptionis efficiat. Per.
- e) *PRAEFATIO* UD aeternus deus . Qui sic tribuis ecclesiam tuam sanctorum commemoratione proficere . ut eam semper illorum et festiuitate laetifices . et exemplo pie conuersationis exerceas . grataque tibi supplicatione tuearis. Quaesumus ergo clementiam tuam ut et in praesenti saeculo sua nos intercessionem foueant et ad misericordiam sempiternam pii interuentores perducant. Per christum dominum.
- f) *AD COMPLETA* Perceptis domine sacramentis omnibus sanctis tuis interuenientibus deprecamur . ut quae pro illorum celebrata sunt gloria . nobis proficiant ad medelam. Per dominum.
- g) *ALIA* Omnium nos domine sanctorum tuorum foueant continuata praesidia . quia non desinis propitius tueri . quos talibus auxiliis concesseris adiuuari. Per dominum.

6) *Ed.* De 1942–1948

tit. ALIA MISSA] ITEM ALIA **Vic.**

- a) martyrurum] martirum **Vic.**
 obtentu] optentu **Vic.**
 dominum nostrum] **Rouen:** eundem.
- b) ALIA] ORATIO *add* **Rouen.**
 impende placatus] placatus impende **De 668**; placatus impende **Vic**; impende placatus **Rouen**; intende placatus *corr. supra* impende placatus **Saint-Thierry.**
 intercedentibus omnibus sanctis tuis] intercedente beato timotheo martyre tuo **De 668.**
 omnibus] *om.* **Vic.**

- c) SUPER OBLATA] ITEM ALIA .SECRETA **Vic.**
 easdem sanctorum tuorum] eadem angelico pro nobis **De 727.**
 suffragio] et *add.* **Vic.**
 accipias] et ad salutem nobis peruenire concedas. **add.** **Vic;** et ad salutem nos-
 tram prouenire concedas *add.* **De 727.**
 per] Rouen *om.*
- d) ALIA] SUPER OBLATA **Rouen add.**
 omnibus] *om.* **De 740.**
 efficiat] effitiat **Vic.**
- e) supplicatione] **Rouen:** subplicatione
 Quaesumus . . . perducant] *om.* **De 1662.**
- f) AD COMPLETA] AD COMUNIONEM **Vic.**
 omnibus sanctis tuis] beatis apostolis **De 606**
 interuenientibus] **Saint-Thierry** interuenentibus *corr. supra.*
 deprecamur] **Saint-Thierry:** depraecamur.
 quae] quod **Vic.**
 medelam] medellam **De 606**
- g) ALIA] POST COMPLETA *add.* **Rouen.**

7) ALIA MISSA

- a) Deus qui sanctorum tuorum splendor es mirabilis . maiestatem tuam suppli-
 citer exoramus ut supplicationes nostras et hostias quas in honore et uenera-
 tione dei genetricis mariae . sanctorumque apostolorum . martyrum .
 confessorum ac uirginum . atque omnium electorum tuorum tuae pietati
 deuote offerimus clemens ac benignus suscipias . et tribue ut qui eorum mer-
 ita recolendo ueneramur . eorum intercessione protectionis tuae semper aux-
 ilio muniamur . Per dominum nostrum.
- b) *ALIA* Exaudi nos deus salutaris noster . et concede propitius ut sanctorum
 tuorum meritis et precibus . aeternitatis gloriam consequamur. Per.
- c) *SUPER OBLATA* Suscipe domine munera quae in omnium sanctorum tuorum
 tibi ueneranda commemoratione deferimus . quorum nos confidimus patroci-
 nio liberari. Per dominum nostrum.
- d) *ALIA* Oblatis domine placare muneribus . et intercedentibus omnibus sanctis
 tuis . ab omnibus nos exue peccatis . et a cunctis defende periculis. Per.
- e) *PRAEFATIO UD* aeterne deus . Donari nobis suppliciter exorantes . ut sicut
 sancti tui mundum in tua uirtute uicerunt . ita nos a mundanis erroribus
 postulent expediri . Et qui eorum sumus merita uenerantes . beatitudinis
 mereamur esse consortes. Per christum.

- f) *AD COMPLETA* Refecti cibo potuque caelesti deus noster te supplices exoramus . ut in quorum haec commemoratione percepimus . eorum muniamur et precibus. Per.
- g) *ALIA* Deus qui nos omnium sanctorum tuorum ueneranda commemoratione laetificas . da nobis et eorum imitatione proficere et intercessione gaudere. Per.

7) *Ed.* De 1949–1955

tit. ALIA MISSA] MISSA IN COMMEMORATIONE SANCTORUM **Vic**; ITEM ALIA MISSA **Rouen**.

- a) dominum nostrum] om. **Saint-Thierry**; eundem **Rouen**.
- b) ALIA] ITEM ALIA **Vic**; ORATIO add. **Rouen**.
- c) SUPER OBLATA] ALIA **Vic**.
 omnium sanctorum tuorum . . . commemoratione] in eius sollemnitate **De 666**; in eius tibi sollemnitate **De 69**; beatae agathe maytris sollemnitate **De 129**; beatae illius martyris tuae sollemnitate **De 1241**.
 ueneranda] uenerabili **De 1956**.
 quorum] cuius **De 69, 129, 666, 1241**
 confidimus] scimus **De 69, 129, 1241**.
 commemoratione] commemoracione **Vic**.
- d) ALIA] **Vic**: SUPER OBLATA; SUPER OBLATA *add.* **Rouen**
 ab omnibus exue peccatis . et] om. **De 1244**.
 cunctis] nos *add.* **De 1244**.
 christum) dominum nostrum *add* **Rouen**.
- e) *om Vic*;
 PRAEFATIO] ALIA PRAEFATIO **Saint-Thierry**
 et qui . . . consortes *om.* **De 1635**.
- f) *AD COMPLETA*] ALIA **Vic**.
 exoramus] deprecamur **De 69**.
 quorum] cuius **De 69, 116, 657**.
 eorum] *om.* **Vic**; eius **De 69, 116, 657**.
 per] dominum nostrum *add* **Reims**.
- g) ALIA] POST COMMUNIONEM **Vic**; *AD COMPLETA* ALIA **Rouen**.
 imitatione] imitatione **Vic**.

Commentary

- 1) Mass 26 in vol. 2 of *Le sacramentaire grégorien* (De 1906–1912)
 - a) Collect has no Gregorian/Gelasian equivalent (CO 1745).
 - b) *Alia* is a reworking of a prayer De 1894 (CO 1874C) from a MISSA COMMUNIS SANCTORUM found in **Saint-Denis** (De 1894–1896). This mass is found in **Fulda** too.¹⁰⁵⁴
 - c) SUPER OBLATA is equivalent to another prayer (De 1898) from another MISSA COMMUNIS SANCTORUM of **Saint-Denis** (CO 28a).
 - d) ALIA equivalent of a text used in the Gregorian. Closest equivalences are for Prisca De 106 (curiously in plural in the Gregorian), Tibertius and Valerianus De 461, Marcellinus and Petrus De 560, and Abdon and Sennes De 620 (CO 28).
 - e) Preface is a version of Hucusque’s preface De 1715, the common preface for a Confessor, thus made plural here.
 - f) AD COMPLETA version of Gregorian prayer De 64, 130, with the named saints (Stephen, Agatha), replaced by “omnibus sanctis tuis” (CO 374).
 - g) No equivalent, CO 5308.
- 2) Mass 27 in vol. 2 of *Le sacramentaire grégorien* (De 1913–1919).
 - a) Collect has no Gregorian/Gelasian equivalent CO 1255.
 - b) ALIA is De 1903. This was used for a votive mass “MISSA IN UENERATIONE OMNIUM SANCTORUM” in **Saint-Denis** CO 3284.
 - c) Secret has no Gregorian equivalent (CO 3419).
 - d) ALIA is a Gregorian prayer, closest to De 614, where it is used for the Seven Brothers CO 5205.
 - e) Preface has no equivalent: CP 1499. Individual words or phrases have some resonances with other prefaces, but no parallels are extraordinary.
 - f) AD COMPLETA is the Gregorian prayer used for Sebastian (De 113) or Laurence (De 647) CO 5251.
 - g) ALIA has Gregorian equivalents in two Collects (De 117, 760), with “omnium sanctorum tuorum” instead of the named saint (Chrysogonus or Vincent). CO 176.
- 3) Mass 28 in vol. 2 of *Le sacramentaire grégorien* (De 1920–1927). This is also found in **Mainz** (Mainz, Seminarbibliothek, Hs. 1).
 - a) Collect has no Gregorian/Gelasian equivalent CO 3368. **Mainz** compounds the list of saints with “et sancti michahelis archangeli omniumque caelestium uirtutum et sanctorum patriacharum prophetarum.”

1054 Ful 1895 in MISSA IN UENERATIONE OMNIUM SANCTORUM.

- b) ALIA equivalent to De 687 for Cornelius and Cyprian CO 3134.
 - c) Secret equivalent in Gregorian 643, 771 (Laurence, Andrew), with named saints replaced by “omnium sanctorum tuorum” CO 5224.
 - d) ALIA equivalent to De 688, from the Gregorian mass of Cornelius and Cyprian.
 - e) Preface is a copy of De 1681, from the Supplement’s mass for Luke, except the middle portion referring to the saint is specifically removed.
 - f) AD COMPLETA equivalent to a prayer in the Gregorian *Hadrianum* De 126 for the Annunciation with “omnibus sanctis tuis” instead of Mary. This was also used (De 1849) in a votive mass for Mary in **Saint-Denis** (Paris, BnF, lat. 2290, fol. 121v–122r). CO 4831.
 - g) ALIA has no Gregorian/Gelasian equivalent (CO 2075).
- 4) Mass 29 in vol. 2 of *Le sacramentaire grégorien* (De 1928–1934).
- a) Collect in CO 117. No Gregorian/Gelasian equivalent.
 - b) ALIA is the post communion prayer of Alcuin’s mass for All Saints’ Vigil (De 3655). CO 975.
 - c) Secret is a copy of De 76, for the Holy Innocents. CO 5436a.
 - d) ALIA is equivalent to De 697, for Eufemia. CO 4390.
 - e) Preface is CP 292. This is reworked version of the preface for the common mass of a martyr in the *Hucusque* (De 1711) where the “veneranda omnium sanctorum commemoratione” replaces “in praesenti festivitate sancti martyris tui illius.”
 - f) Post communion is equivalent to a prayer used repeatedly in the Gregorian, but closest to the form used for Pope Stephen (De 627). CO 5251.
 - g) ALIA is equivalent to De 747, for Mennas, using “omnium sanctorum” in place of “tuorum commemoratione sanctorum.” CO 969a.
- 5) Mass 30 in vol. 2 of *Le sacramentaire grégorien* (De 1935–1941).
- a) Collect has no Gregorian/Gelasian equivalent. CO 3792.
 - b) ALIA a reworking of the Collect of mass of Alcuin found in the Supplement AD POSCENDA SUFFRAGIA SANCTORUM (De 1243). CO 752a. Used in Alcuin’s votive mass for suffrage of saints (De 1882).
 - c) Secret is a simple copy of Gregorian prayer for Felicissimus and Agapetus (De 634). CO 3496a. Used in Alcuin’s votive mass for all Saints (De 1866).
 - d) ALIA is a reworking of De 743, for Theodore. CO 5276a.
 - e) Preface is a copy of the Supplement Preface (De 1676), which is given to Cosmas and Damian there, but does not specifically name them. CP 1240.
 - f) Post communion is reworking of De 585, used for John and Paul. The same prayer was also deployed in the Gelasian common masses our manuscripts transmit (De 3221), but independently reworked. CO 5585.
 - g) ALIA has no Gregorian/Gelasian equivalent (CO 4612).

- 6) Mass 31 in vol. 2 of *Le sacramentaire grégorien* (De 1942–1948).
- a) Collect has no Gregorian/Gelasian. CO 4049.
 - b) ALIA has Gregorian equivalent (De 668), with Timothy replaced by “intercendentibus omnibus sanctis tuis.” CO 382.
 - c) SUPER OBLATA equivalent in De 727, where the archangel Michael is replaced by “easdem sanctorum tuorum.” CO 2995. That prayer was also used in Alcuin’s mass for angelic aid (De 1857).
 - d) ALIA equivalent is De 740, for the Quattuor Coronatorum, with the addition of “omnibus” to “sanctis.” CO 497a. We might note that the *Missale Francorum* (BAV, Reg.lat.257), from the early eighth century, previously used the same text for a votive mass IN NATALE SANCTORUM (*Missale Francorum: (Cod. Vat. Reg.lat.257)*, eds Leo Eizenhöfer, Leo Cunibert Mohlberg and Petrus Siffrin, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta: Series Maior 2* (Rome: Herder, 1957), 117b), a possible inspiration.¹⁰⁵⁵
 - e) Preface has the first half identical to Supplement preface De 1662, used for Priscus “Qui sic tribuas . . . supplicatione tuearis”. But our text adds a new ending clause “Quaesumus ergo clementiam tuam . . . interuetores perducant,” of which the last part is taken from De 1669, for Cyprian.
 - f) AD COMPLETA has Gregorian equivalent De 606, replacing the Apostles with “omnibus sanctis.” CO 4200d. Also in Saint-Amand’s Common for many apostles (De 3183).
 - g) ALIA has no equivalent (CO 4612).
- 7) Mass 32 in vol. 2 of *Le sacramentaire grégorien* (De 1949–1955).
- a) Collect has no Gregorian/Gelasian equivalent. CO 2093.
 - b) ALIA has no Gregorian/Gelasian equivalent. CO 2499.
 - c) Secret has a closest Gregorian equivalent in De 666, for Agapetus. Close as well is De 129, for Agatha, which was deployed in the Supplement’s common for a Virgin (De 1241). CO 5797.
 - d) ALIA is equivalent to Alcuin mass in the Supplement AD POSCENDA SUFRAGIA SANCTORUM (De 1244), with the words “ab omnibus exue peccatis” inserted. CO 3642a.
 - e) The preface has the first half in Supplement (De 1635) for the Septem Fratrum “Vere dignum. Donari nobis suppliciter . . . postulant expediri” or in Sg. 988. It adds the closing clause “Et qui eorum sumus merita uenerantes, beatitudinis mereamur esse consortes,” which is adapted from De 1622, the Supplement preface for Marcellinus and Petrus.

1055 On this manuscript, which certainly belonged to Saint-Denis later, see CLLA 410; CLA I, 103.

- f) Post communion uses the prayer De 116 for Agnes or De 657 for Eusebius, also recurring other times in the Gregorian (De 69). CO 4992. Also used (De 1896) in **Saint-Denis's** votive mass COMMUNIS SANCTORUM (Paris, BnF, lat. 2290, fol. 126v).
- g) ALIA has no Gregorian/Gelasian equivalent. CO 1901.

II. Edition of the Saint-Amand Votive Mass PRO AMICO

8) ALIA MISSA UNDE SUPRA

- a. Preces nostras quaesumus domine memor fragilitatis humanae placatus admitte . et quia infirmitatis nostrae conscii, ad impetranda quae poscimus de meritorum qualitate diffidimus . pietatem tuam humiliter imploramus . ut intercessione sanctae dei genetricis mariae. sanctorumque omnium apostolorum, martyrum et confessorum ac uirginum . omniumque electorum tuorum famulo tuo ill. propitius indulgentiam culparum . et plenitudinem aeternorum largiaris gaudiorum. Per dominum nostrum.
- b. *SUPER OBLATA* Hanc igitur domine oblationem quam pro famulo tuo ill. tuae pietati offerimus pius ac propitius suscipe . et omnium peccatorum suorum uincula quibus propria accusante conscientia miserabiliter constringitur . intercessione dei genetricis propitiatus absolue . et pro his ueram puramque coram te confessionem et dignam fructuosamque agere paenitentiam . et plenissimam illi gratuito dono tribue indulgentiam.
- c. *PRAEFATIO UD* Implorantes tuae maiestatis misericordiam . ut famulo tuo ill. ueniam suorum largiri digneris peccatorum . Quatinus ab omnibus inimici uinculis liberatus . tuis toto corde inhaereat mandatis . et te solum semper tota uirtute diligat . et ad tuae quandoque beatitudinis uisionem peruenire mereatur . per christum dominum nostrum.
- d. *AD COMPLENDUM* Sacrosancti corporis et sanguinis domini nostri iesu christi refectione uegetati . supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus . ut haec salutaria sacramenta famulum tuum ill. precibus sanctae dei genetricis mariae ab omni uinculo iniquitatis absoluant . et quicquid in eius mente uitiosum est . eorum medicationis dono curetur . fidei quoque spei caritatisque gemmis ornatum . aeternae felicitatis participem efficiant. Per dominum nostrum.

8) *Ed.* De 2405–2408.

tit. ALIA . . . SUPRA] MISSA PRO PENITENTIBUS **Leofric**; MISSA PRO PLURIBUS AMICIS **Jumièges**.

- a) fragilitatis humanae] humanae fragilitatis. **Jumièges**; **Leofric**:
ut] et **De 2405**.

- mariae] et beatarum omnium (cele)stium uirtutum *add. San Marino.*
omnium] *om.*; **San Marino; Saint-Germain;** patriarcharum . prophetarum
add. San Marino.
ad] *om.***Leofric.**
- b) SUPER OBLATA] SECRETA **Jumièges.**
famulo tuo] famulis tuis **Jumièges; Leofric.**
ill] *om.* **Reims; Saint-Thierry;** ac famulabus *add. Jumièges; Leofric:*
famulo tuo] famulis tuis **Jumièges; Leofric.**
ill]. *om.* **Reims; Saint-Thierry;** ac famulabus *add. Jumièges; Leofric:*
constringuntur]: instringuntur. **Jumièges; Leofric.**
intercessione] intercessio **De 2406:**
propitius absolue et] propitius absolue ut **Jumièges; Leofric;** propitius ab-
solue . ut *add. Leofric*
coram te] *om. add. marg. Sens.*
agere] ualeant *add. Leofric.*
illi] illis **Jumièges; Leofric.**
tribue] *om. add. marg. Leofric:*
ill]. *om.* **Saint-Thierry; Reims:**
- c) *om. add. PRAEFATIO. UD aeterne deus . Et pietatem tuam supplici deuotione*
exposcere . . . (De 1723) Jumièges; Leofric.
Quatinus] Ut **De 1724, except MSS T.**
- d) famulo tuo] famulos tuos et famulas. **Jumièges; Leofric:**
ill]. *om.* **Reims; Saint-Thierry.**
eius] eorum. **Jumièges; Leofric.**
medicationis] medicatione **Sens.**
ornatum] ornatos. **Jumièges; Leofric.**

Commentary

- 8) 124 in vol. 2 of *Le sacramentaire grégorien* (De 2405–2408)
- a) Collect has no Gregorian/Gelasian equivalent. CO 4620.
 - b) Secret has no Gregorian/Gelasian equivalent. CO 2406.
 - c) Preface is taken from the Supplement's series of MISSA UOTIUA (De 1724).
 - d) Post communion has no Gregorian/Gelasian equivalent. CO 5256a.

Appendix 4: Agreements of the Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Missals from Sens with the Ninth-Century Sacramentaries of Saint-Amand

Table A4.1: Comparison of Four Sens Missals with Saint-Amand manuscripts.

Agreement with Saint-Amand tradition	Foliation in Paris, BnF, lat. 10502 (“Paris”); Provins, BM, MS 11 (“Provins”); London, British Library, Add. MS 30058 (“London”); pagination in Sens, BM, MS 15 (“Sens”).
Christmas Vigil – AD UESPERAS (“Praesta misericors deus ut ad suscipiendum filii tui . . .”).	Paris, fol. 22r; Provins, fol. 40r.
First Monday of Lent – secret (“Accepta tibi sint domine . . .”), only used in Sens	Paris, fol. 45v; London, fol. 27v.
Ember Saturday in Lent – SUPER POPULUM	Paris, fol. 50v; London, fol. 31v. This was a discrete selection from among the Gregorian’s many ORATIONES PRO PECCATIS (De 846), and that the same choice was made in the later Sens manuscripts cannot be coincidence.
Second Sunday in Lent – secret	Paris, fol. 51r; Sens, p. 50; London, fol. 32r.
Third Sunday in Lent – secret	Paris, fol. 56v; Sens, p. 56; London, fol. 37v.
The mass for the third Thursday in Lent, except SUPER POPULUM	Sens, p. 59; Paris, fol. 59r–v; London, fol. 39v–40r.
Fourth Sunday in Lent – secret	Paris, fol. 62v; Sens, p. 61; London, fol. 43r.
Wednesday of the fourth week – Collect added only in Sens .	Paris, fol. 64v; London, fol. 44v.
Thursday of the fifth week – post communion (“Vegetet nos domine semper et innouet . . .”) added in Sens .	Paris, fol. 72v; Sens, p. 71; London, fol. 48v.
Tuesday of Holy Week – Post communion	Paris, fol. 89r; Sens p. 77; London, fol. 56r.
Wednesday of Holy Week – secret	Paris, fol. 89v; Sens, p. 78; London, fol. 58v.
Monday of Easter Week – secret	Paris, fol. 102r.

Table A4.1 (continued)

AD UESPERAS of Ascension; appeared in the same position in our books, as an ALIA prayer.	Paris, fol. 112v; Sens, p. 102; London, fol. 75r.
Silvester – post communion	Paris, fol. 153v; Sens, p. 150; London, fol. 100v.
Same mass of Genevieve	Sens, p. 151; Paris, fol. 153v.
Hilary (same mass as Sens)	Sens, pp. 151–52.
Felix in Pincis (same mass – except without ALIA or preface)	Sens, pp. 152–53; Paris, fol. 153v; London, fol. 100v.
Agnes – post communion	Sens, p. 158; Paris fol. 154v.
Vincent – Collect	Sens, p. 152; Paris, fol. 155r.
Candlemas AD UESPERAS added, in same position in Saint-Amand books as SUPER POPULUM	Sens, p. 175.
Scholastica	Sens, pp. 176–177; Paris, fol. 157v; London, fol. 103v–104r.
Matthias the Apostle	Sens, pp. 180–81; Paris, fol. 158v–159r; London, fol. 104v–105r.
Benedict (March Mass), Collect of our books as ALIA – especially same post communion, unusual for the March feast (goes back to Gellone), but new secret	Sens, pp. 182–83.
George – post communion	Sens, p. 186; Paris, fol. 160v; London, fol. 106v.
Mark the Evangelist, all prayers appear in composite mass in Sens , especially post communion	Sens, p. 186; Paris, fol. 160v–161r.
Collect of Vitalis, post communion is also SUPER POPULUM in our books	Sens, p. 186; Paris, fol. 161r; London, fol. 107r.
Gelasian mass for Pancratius, Nereus, and Achilleus, not just Pancratius	Sens, p. 190; Paris, fol. 163r; London, fol. 109r.
Marcus and Marcellinus – Collect (“Sanctorum tuorum nos domine . . .”) and secret (“Suscipe domine munera tuorum . . .”)	Sens, p. 196; Paris, fol. 164r; London, fol. 110r.

Table A4.1 (continued)

Gervasius and Protasius – secret	Sens, p. 197; Paris, fol. 164r; London, fol. 110v.
AD UESPERAS added to Vigil of John the Baptist, in same position in our MSS as ALIA	Sens, p. 198; Paris, fol. 168v
For the Vigil of Apostles, both Collects our manuscript uses appear as ALIA alternatives in the missal that remains in Sens . An ALIA (Apostolicis nos quaesumus domine . . .) and AD UESPERAS (Deus qui ecclesiam tuam apostoli tui . . .”) prayer appear at the end of the mass, both in our manuscripts. The latter also found in the missal in Paris	Sens, p. 201; Paris, fol. 166r.
Abdon and Sennen – post communion is ALIA in our MSS	Sens, p. 214; Paris, fol. 169r; London, fol. 117r.
Germanus of Auxerre	Sens, pp. 214–15, 216bis. The Collect originally diverged, but the same Collect found in Sens appears on a second, added piece of parchment (p. 216bis). London, fol. 117r–v has both secret and post communion. In Paris, fol. 169r a different mass used, much simpler and less singular.
Peter in Vincula – secret	Sens, p. 214; Paris, fol. 169v; London, fol. 117v.
Sixtus – secret and post communion	Sens, p. 217; Paris, fol. 170r; London, fol. 118r–v.
Cyriacus – secret and post communion	Sens, p. 219; Paris, fol. 170v; London, fol. 118v.
Eusebius – post communion	Sens, p. 222; Paris, fol. 171v; London, fol. 119r–v.
Vigil of Assumption – secret	Provins, fol. 62r.
Assumption – secret	Sens, p. 224; Paris, fol. 173r; Provins, fol. 96v; London, fol. 120r.
Agapetus – Collect and secret	Sens, p. 225; Paris, fol. 173v; London, fol. 122r.
Symphorian	Sens, pp. 226–227; Paris, fol. 174r; London, fol. 122v–123r.
Hermes – secret	Sens, p. 230; Paris, fol. 174v; London, fol. 123v.

Table A4.1 (continued)

Nativity of Mary – AD UESPERAS in same position as ALIA in our MSS.	Sens, p. 236; Provins, fol. 102v.
Adrian	Sens, pp. 236–37; Paris, fol. 176v.
Cornelius and Cyprian – secret	Sens, p. 239; Paris, fol. 177r.
Cosmas and Damian – entirely same mass. Thus entirely Gelasian	Sens, p. 242–43; Paris, fol. 178r; London, fol. 126v–127r.
Jerome – all prayers from Sens	Sens, p. 244–45; Paris, fol. 179r. From the mass of Jerome, which is composite in the Sens . They take the Collect and secret from the special Saint-Amand mass (“Deus qui nobis per beatum iheronimum . . .”) and “Hostias tibi domine beati ieronomi confessoris . . .”), but chose another post communion (De 3615), which is found as part of the same mass in Sens .
Mark the Pope – secret and post communion	Sens, p. 246.
Mennas – secret and post communion	Sens, pp. 254–55; London, fol. 130v–131r.
Clement – secret and post communion	Sens, p. 257; Paris, fol. 182r; London, fol. 131r.

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