

## ALCUIN AND SOME FAVORED VOTIVE MASSES

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SUNDAY for Sunday, almost the whole year through, priests chant or recite the Preface of the Holy Trinity, which is, as it were, borrowed from the Feast of the Holy Trinity. That Mass for Trinity Sunday, the Preface included, was itself borrowed, it turns out historically, from where it occurs farther on in the missal, at the head of those favored Votive Masses, which may on ferial days be used as the conventual Mass in monastic and collegiate churches. The same collection of Votive Masses closes with that of the Blessed Virgin for Saturdays, and that circumstance has for centuries consecrated that day as belonging in a special way to Mary. The Votive Mass of the Holy Spirit is also found in the same grouping, that of the Holy Cross for Fridays, and that of the Holy Angels. Indeed, the Votive Mass of the Holy Eucharist excepted, one would recognize in the Masses mentioned the Votive Masses dearest to Catholic piety the world over for the last thousand years. Now, since none of these Masses is of Roman origin, or first saw the light in official service-books, whether at Rome or elsewhere, any knowledge of their beginnings, and the fortunes attending them until, by sheer attractiveness, they imposed themselves on Western Christendom, will serve to interpret to ourselves some most precious parts of our own piety.

Of course it has always been known in the schools that the Masses mentioned are found in a little Sacramentary (*Liber Sacramentorum*: P.L. 101, 416-66), in part compiled, in part composed, for his own and his friends' use, by Alcuin. It was Charlemagne's great aid in effecting the Carolingian Renaissance. We list at once the Votive Masses in Alcuin's booklet, and by use of italic type designate those that have found their way into our Roman Missal and have never been expunged therefrom:

ALCUIN'S SACRAMENTARY		ROMAN MISSAL
1, Die Dominica,	<i>Missa de Sancta Trinitate De Gratia Spiritus Sancti Postulanda Item, Missa S. Augustini</i>	Missa de Sanctissima Trinitate Missa de Spiritu Sancto
2, Feria II,	<i>Missa Pro Peccatis  Missa Pro Petitione Lacrymarum Item, Missa Sancti Augustini</i>	Missa Pro Remissione Peccatorum Missa Pro Petitione Lacrimarum
3, Feria III,	<i>Missa ad Postulanda Angelica Suffragia Missa Pro Tentationibus Cogitationum Item, Missa S. Augustini</i>	Missa de Angelis Missa Ad Repellendas Malas Cogitationes
4, Feria IV,	<i>Missa de Sancta Sapientia Missa ad Postulandam Humilitatem Item, Missa S. Augustini</i>	Ad Postulandam Humilitatem
5, Feria V,	<i>De Charitate Item Alia Contra Tentationes Carnis Item, Missa S. Augustini</i>	Ad Postulandam Caritatem Ad Postulandam Continentiam
6, Feria VI,	<i>Missa De Sancta Cruce Item Missa De Tribulatione et Necessitate Item, Missa Sancti Augustini</i>	Missa de Sancta Cruce
7, Sabbato,	<i>Missa de Sancta Maria Missa in Commemoratione Sanctae Mariae Missa Sancti Augustini</i>	De S. Maria in Sabbato
(There follow various Masses from a Commune Sanctorum)		
15,	<i>Missa Quotidiana Sanctorum</i>	
16,	<i>Missa Pro Inimicis</i>	Pro Inimicis
17,	<i>Missa Pro Confitente Peccata Sua</i>	
18,	<i>Missa Pro Salute Vivorum et Reque Mortuorum</i>	Pro Vivis et Defunctis

While the entire list lies open to our glance this suggestion may be advanced, by running ahead of the story to be traced in part in the following paragraphs. Just as Alcuin assigned

three Masses to each day of the week in his scheme, so, historically, his Masses soon fell into three distinct groups, as measured by their popularity and appeal. Greatest appeal attached to the series: 1) *De Trinitate*; 2) *De Sapientia (quae Christus est)*;<sup>1</sup> 3) *De Gratia Spiritus Sancti*; 4) *De Angelicis Suffragiis*; 5) *De Charitate*; 6) *De Cruce*; 7) *De Sancta Maria*. Much less success, but enough to anchor them in our piety and our Missals, attended such Masses as *Pro Petitione Lacrymarum*, *Pro Peccatis*, *Pro Inimicis*, and the like. Least acceptance of all, and no place, permanent or passing, practically, was accorded that series entitled *Missae Sancti Augustini*. Nor is this last surprising; no one reading them now will regret their absence from our Missals. The first of these seven Masses embodies some sentences from the writings of the great Doctor of Hippo, and so may have given his name to the Mass, and by extension to the entire series. The Masses are not feast-day Masses, but are all of a deeply penitential character. A feature that strikes one at first glance is their unusual length; thus, the first of them in the Migne reprint occupies more than an entire column in print for Collect, Secret, Preface and Postcommunion. So entirely different are they from all Alcuin's other Masses that Gaskoin,<sup>2</sup> noticing that Alcuin himself makes no mention of them in letters to be cited below, questioned whether they are not a later interpolation into Alcuin's book. But their authenticity is now not questioned, and as long ago as 1906, Dom Marcel Havard, O. S. B., after studying them carefully, showed that they are very largely 're-writes' of Visigothic Mass prayers.<sup>3</sup>

It was no doubt the knowledge that Alcuin merely retouched and rearranged into parts serviceable in a Roman Mass these Visigothic (Spanish) materials, that has prompted the general inference that the bulk of the other matter in Alcuin's Sacramentary is similarly compiled. Thus, another biographer,

<sup>1</sup>This Mass, *De Sapientia*, won and for centuries maintained a place in our Mass-Books. Something will be said below as to when it lost such standing.

<sup>2</sup>C. J. B. Gaskoin, *Alcuin, His Life and His Work* (London: 1904), p. 232.

<sup>3</sup>*Les Messes de Saint Augustin*, reprinted as Appendix G to Cabrol's *Origines Liturgiques* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1906), pp. 243-280.

Wilmot-Buxton, states in general terms: "Less original, though even of greater value liturgically is his *Book of the Sacraments*, . . . rearranged and set in order from older liturgies."<sup>4</sup> Similarly, Monsignor Eisenhofer, whose *Handbuch der Liturgik* yields to none in its field, says out of hand that Alcuin simply took these Masses from the Mass-book then at Tours:

Er stellte auch eine Reihe von Votivmessen für die Mönche von Fulda und St. Vedastus in Arras zusammen, die er seinem Missale in Tours entnahm. Auf die einzelnen Wochentage verteilt, finden sich diese Messen im *Liber Sacramentorum*, welches—jedoch nicht ohne Widerspruch—gleichfalls Alcuin zugeschrieben wird.<sup>5</sup>

(Parenthetically, be it remarked that I have never elsewhere seen the Alcuinian authorship of the Sacramentary questioned). The late Abbot Cabrol, whose death is a sad loss to scholarship in this field, once consecrated a fairly extensive study to "Les Ecrits Liturgiques d'Alcuin," in the course of which he comes to this conclusion about Alcuin's Sacramentary:

C'est comme les autres oeuvres d'Alcuin de cette catégorie, une sorte de compilation ou mosaïque dans laquelle il a réuni des formules liturgiques tirées d'oeuvres plus anciennes. Et ce n'est le moindre mérite d'Alcuin de nous avoir conservé ces reliques de l'ancienne liturgie.

Cabrol goes on to add, however, and this has prompted most of what follows in this paper:

Il y aurait du reste profit à étudier en détail cette oeuvre d'Alcuin, comme ces autres oeuvres liturgiques, et à faire, le départ entre ce qui lui appartient en propre et ce qu'il a emprunté à d'autres liturgies.<sup>6</sup>

Now, it happens that Dom Jean de Puniet, O. S. B., has recently completed the serial publication in *Ephemerides Liturgicae*<sup>7</sup> of a prayer-by-prayer index and comparison of all the so-called

<sup>4</sup>E. M. Wilmot-Buxton, *Catholic Thought and Thinkers. Alcuin*. (London: Harding & More, 1922), p. 200.

<sup>5</sup>L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der Liturgik* (Freiburg: Herder, 1932), I, p. 121.

<sup>6</sup>Prepared for the Fifth International History Congress, Brussels, 1923, the paper is printed in *Revue d'Hist. Eccles.* XIX (1923), pp. 507-521.

<sup>7</sup>The series began and ended, respectively, with the numbers XLIII (Jan.-Feb., 1934) and LII (Jan.-Mar., 1938)

Gelasian sacramentaries. This valuable table makes available in print the last group of Mass-books which ante-date Alcuin's Sacramentary. One can now confront Alcuin's Masses with every extant earlier Mass, and with a measure of certainty see how much he borrowed and from whom. Of course, there are always the 'lost sources' to be reckoned with, but provisionally disregarding them, this paper proposes to show, in connection with such of Alcuin's Masses as are found in the *Missale Romanum* of today, those parts taken from others. Pending the appeal to the 'lost sources,' we shall accept as of Alcuinian authorship what remains in the non-borrowed column.

Also, since Alcuin himself had nothing to do with putting these Masses into the official service-books, it will be of interest to trace certain chapters, as far as materials at hand permit, in the subsequent history of these Masses, until they found footing in the Mass-book of the Roman Church. But first it will be necessary to say a word about what has been termed the 'liturgical anarchy' of the eighth century, at the very end of which Alcuin 'wrote' his Sacramentary.

#### LITURGICAL ANARCHY OF EIGHTH CENTURY GAUL

So accustomed are we to the state of affairs where no addition is made to the official service-books before the testification, *concordat cum originali*, has been sworn to, that it requires no little effort to visualize a condition where no two Mass-books, say, would be exactly the same. Nor do we mean trivial differences, or copyists' variants, but deep-lying divergence of mentality and taste, traditions of differing types or patterns of Mass and Office.

But before providing details for eighth century Gaul let us begin by pointing out one indication of difference even at Rome itself. Gregory I (d. 604) 'reformed' the Mass-book. The Canon of the Mass he revised in small textual matters and made some few noteworthy changes, but for the rest, his work represented a shortening and simplification of the former ways.

Thus, a parish priest, provided he inserted the new Canon, could touch up his old book, and go on using it. Indeed, Andrieu has shown excellent reason for thinking that even at Rome the Gelasian Mass-book, supposedly superceded by Gregory's, existed side by side with that book even into the eighth century.<sup>8</sup>

But it is to Gaul in the middle of that century, when the Gallican Rite was fast yielding to the Roman, that we would direct attention. Between the Fall of 753 and that of 754 the reigning pontiff, Stephen III, made the epochal trip to France that resulted in the Frankish intervention in Lombard Italy and the foundation of the Papal States. Years ago Dom Suitbert Bäumer assembled the evidence that this trip, and all that it set on foot, was responsible for the introduction of the Roman psalmody and Divine Office into the Frankish kingdoms.<sup>9</sup> Adoption of the Roman Office naturally led to the introduction of the Roman Mass. Now that journey of Stephen's is so well known that it can be retraced by us now. We here propose, following Pope Saint Stephen in his travels, to see what kind of anarchy in the matter of Mass celebration came under, or could have come under, his eyes, as evidenced by the extant codices.

The first important halting place on that journey was at Pavia. In the nearby Abbey of Bobbio, perhaps, or somewhere in the general locality, there was written in the early eighth century the book known as the Bobbio Missal (MS. B. N. 13246).<sup>10</sup> If, while at Pavia, Stephen saw this, or a similar work, he would have noticed that its Masses began with a Gallican flight, then levelled off into the Gregorian Canon, and ended as Roman Masses!

Once safely over the Lombard frontier, via Ivrea and Aosta, Pope Stephen made a lengthy stay at the Abbey of St. Maurice, near Valais. In those Alpine fastnesses it is well possible that he saw such a Gallican book as the Mone Missal (MS *Karlsruhe*

<sup>8</sup>M. Andrieu, "Les Messes des Jéudis de Carême," *Rev. Sc. Relig.*, VIII (1928), pp. 342-375. That individual copies of a Mass-book were in use for over a century, even two centuries and more, is a commonplace in the history of the parchment volumes.

<sup>9</sup>S. Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers*, (Freiburg: Herder, 1895), pp. 229 sqq.

<sup>10</sup>E. A. Lowe, A. Wilmart, H. A. Wilson, *The Bobbio Missal*, III; Bradshaw, vol. LXI (London: 1924), pp. 105-06.

CCLIII). Written about 650, in the Abbey of Reichenau, on an island of the Lake of Constance, it provided for the priest's use for the entire year only eleven Masses, one of them in labored hexameters.<sup>11</sup> But just about the date of Stephen's visit or a little later, it was regarded as obsolete, and its parchment was scraped and again written over. If Stephen saw the book he would not have recognized a single prayer as being of *his* Mass; the book has lost its Canon.

After Stephen's magnificent receptions, and the historic episode in the church at Ponthion (near Troyes), he was escorted with all honors to his 'Frankish Vatican,' the Abbey of St-Denys, Paris. During the several months the Pontiff was in the Paris region he saw, or could have seen, such a Mass-book as is now preserved to us in MS Reg 316, the only extant copy of the Gelasian, old recension.<sup>12</sup> Scholars agree that the book was written about 750 in the area roughly designated as the triangle marked by Paris-Soissons-Amiens. Stephen would see there the old familiar Gelasian he might have known at Rome, but here embodying a good many items picked up since coming into the lands of the Franks.

The great Marchfield assembly of the Franks was held that year at Berny, near Soissons, and Easter was kept by Pope and king together at Quierzy. On both these trips Stephen was traversing the earliest recorded homeland of the famous Frankish 'sensation' in Mass-books, the Gelasian, new recension, a fusion of Gelasian, Gregorian and Frankish materials into what was by previous standards a mammoth collection. True, the oldest extant copy, the Sacramentary of Gellone (MS B. N. 12048), dates a little later, say 770, but the type is thought to go back to about 750.<sup>13</sup>

One of Stephen's escort of honor on this entire trip was Abbot Droctegang of Jumièges, originally an Irish foundation

<sup>11</sup>A. Wilmant, "L'Age et l'Ordre des Messes de Mone," *Rev. Bén.*, XXVII (1911), pp. 337 sqq.

<sup>12</sup>E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, I. *The Vatican City* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1934), p. 31.

<sup>13</sup>E. Bishop (jointly with A. Gasquet), *The Bosworth Psalter* (London, 1908), p. 154, note: "I am disposed to place the origin . . . at about 750-760."

near the mouth of the Seine. One may be sure that from Jumièges or elsewhere Irish pilgrim monks came to pay their homage to the Vicar of Christ, and it is not beyond the probabilities that one or other of them would have been carrying in his book-sack such a strange Mass-book in the Irish manner as is preserved to us in the Stowe Missal (MS D II 3, Royal Irish Academy). That copy was made as late as the period 792-812,<sup>14</sup> and another copy of the same type was found later on at Fulda.<sup>15</sup>

The mention of Fulda recalls that in the final hurry of preparations for the Italian expedition in mid-July, a solemn hush would attend the audience of the monk-courier from Fulda, bringing word that the great Papal-Legate and Archbishop, Boniface, and fifty-two companions, had just fallen under the hands of pagans, near Dockum, on June 5. The Fulda monk would like as not be carrying the Mass-book which Gregory, "our Gregory," as they claimed him with filial pride, had revised and sent into England.<sup>16</sup>

There is fascination in the conjecture that when Stephen solemnly crowned Pepin and Bertrade, and the princes, Charles and Carloman, at St-Denys, July 28, 754, he may have used the *Mass For Kings* from the very book we call *Missale Francorum* (MS Reg 257), which, written originally, it seems, for Poitiers, early passed into the possession of the abbey in which the pope was then a guest.<sup>17</sup> In that eventuality Stephen saw a book of Gallican concept and structure, but very definitely 'Romanized,' and embodying the Canon of St. Gregory.

The return journey lay over Lyons and Vienne, and so, it is very likely that Stephen stopped at both Auxerre and Autun,

<sup>14</sup>G. J. Warner, *The Stowe Missal*, II, Bradshaw, Vol. xxxi (London: 1915), p. xxxiv.

<sup>15</sup>E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1918), p. 140, quoting Witzel's *Exercitamenta Syncerae Pietatis* (Moguntiae: 1555), Sign P.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Egbert, Archbishop of York (732-66): "Nos autem in Ecclesia Anglorum idem primi mensis ieiunium ut noster didascalus beatus Gregorius, in suo antiphonari et Missali libro, per paedagogum nostrum beatum Augustinum transmisit ordinatum et rescriptum, indifferenter de prima hebdomada quadragesimae servamus." *De Instit. Cath. Dial.* XV; PL, 89, 441.

<sup>17</sup>E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*: I, (*The Vatican City*) (Oxford: Clarendon, 1934), p. 30; on early possession by St. Denys, cf. G. Morin, "La provenance du psautier de la reine et du Missale Francorum," *Rev. Charlemagne*, II (1912), pp. 17-29.



on the normal route. An important church in the former city had had written for it in the early years of the eighth century a Mass-book, called *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (MS Palat Lat 493).<sup>18</sup> He would have found it a thin little book, very much in the Gallican mode, with, for instance, only one proper Mass in its Sanctorale, and one proper Mass for Sundays, besides some Christmas and Lenten and Easter offices.

Autun was a far more imposing city, and so it was in keeping that its famous Mass-book, *Missale Gothicum* (MS Reg 317), be correspondingly grander than Auxerre's.<sup>19</sup> The book, if he saw it, would have had special interest for Stephen, if only because it so clearly reflected the new 'Romanization' of the church in Gaul, thanks in great part to St. Boniface. If its Masses are still arranged in the Gallican order, the prayers in many cases are the prayers of Rome.

As Pope Stephen crossed the Alps into Italy he may have been thinking mostly of the coming campaign, but I dare say it had come home to him, no less than to his guard of honor of Frankish prelates, that in matters liturgical Gaul was divided into many more than three parts. *Quot libri, tot systemata*. The Frankish prelates then accompanying him were soon to signalize themselves in adopting Roman liturgical practices.

Events in the immediate sequel can be dealt with briefly; Duchesne and others have followed Bäumer in recounting the incidents. One of the Pope's escort on this entire trip was (St.) Chrodegang, brother of King Pepin, Archbishop-Bishop of Metz. Presumably it was after this trip that he imposed the Roman *cantilena* at Metz, something that had never been done before, his biographer says, and perhaps even imposed to some degree the Roman Mass, "*morem atque ordinem Romanae Ecclesiae*."<sup>20</sup> In the period, 758-63, another brother of Pepin, (St.) Remedius, or Remegius, Archbishop of Rouen, secured

<sup>18</sup>E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*: I, *The Vatican City*, p. 27; text available, PL 72, 319-382.

<sup>19</sup>E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, p. 32: "Origin, Burgundy . . . written, it seems, at an important center where the script of Luxeuil was practiced." Edition H. M. Bannister, *The Missale Gothicum* (London: Bradshaw, Vols. LII, LIV, 1917, 1919).

<sup>20</sup>Bäumer, p. 229; Paul Deacon, *Gesta Episc. Mett*: MGH SS II, 228; PL 95, 709.

from Rome the services of Symeon, who was *secundericius* in the Roman *Schola Cantorum*. But when the *primericius* died, Symeon was summoned back to Rome to lead the school, whereupon Remedius persuaded Pepin to send some of his monks to Rome to complete their training in the Roman chants.<sup>21</sup> Sometime in the period, 761-63, Pope Paul I sent Pepin "*libros quantos reperire potuimus, id est Antiphonale et Responsale, et insimul. . .*"<sup>22</sup> It was doubtless about this time that Pepin issued his decree imposing the Roman Chant (that is, the Office) as obligatory: the tenor of the decree may be inferred from Charlemagne's reenactment of it in 789:

*Omni Clero. Ut cantum Romanum pleniter discant et ordinaliter per nocturnale vel gradale officium peragatur, secundum quod genitor noster Pippinus rex decertavit ut fieret, quando Gallicanum tulit, ob unanimitatem apostolicae sedis et sanctae Dei Ecclesiae pacificam concordiam.*<sup>23</sup>

The *gradale officium* includes the Mass.

Pepin died in 768, but that his policy continued into the next reign is clear from such items as the following: In 784 the great Abbey of Corbie, where Charlemagne's son-in-law (St.) Angilbert was lay-abbot, received a *Responsoriale* direct from Pope Hadrian I.<sup>24</sup> In the *Libri Carolini* of the last decade of that century the program was declared to be a State policy and directly connected with the fact of Pope Stephen's visit to France: "Whereas the Gallican Church since its conversion has ever stood in loyal and close union with the holy Church of Rome, and differed from it in only a few points, not in matters of faith, but as touching the celebration of divine worship, it is now, by the zeal and solicitude of our father, of happy memory, *and in consequence of the journey of the blessed Stephen, Bishop of Rome, to Gaul*, entirely at one with Rome in this question of Psalmody. . . ."<sup>25</sup> The document quoted is probably Alcuin's.

<sup>21</sup>Bäumer, p. 229-30; Jaffé, *Mon. Carol.*, p. 139 ft.

<sup>22</sup>Andrieu, "Les Messes des Jéudis de Carême, *Rev. Sc. Relig.* VIII (1928) p. 349, *MGH Ep̄s* III, 529.

<sup>23</sup>*MGH LL* I, 66.

<sup>24</sup>Amalar, *De Ord. Antiph.*: PL. 105, 1243.

<sup>25</sup>Bäumer, p. 231, quoting Jaffé, *Mon. Alcuin*, p. 223A.

At Parma, March 15, 781, two singular lives met and fused. The great King of the Franks was making a state visit to Rome for Easter: Alcuin, the deacon of the church of York, had just secured the pallium for his friend Eanbald, now elected Archbishop of York. It was not their first meeting, for Alcuin had been a guest at the court of Aachen as early as 768. Since that date both had become famous in their respective spheres, and it is part of the greatness of Charles that he recognized greatness in the heir of Bede beside him. At this meeting Charles tendered the invitation to share thenceforth their respective spheres of interest. Although invited to come to court as school-master, Alcuin had within a few years become the beloved first counselor in the lands of the Franks.

Among the first fruits of his liturgical activity in his new home, if one prescinds from his work on the correction of the Bible text, were his *Comes*, Epistle-Book, we should say, and his *Lectionary*, "*Comes ab Albino ex Caroli imperatoris praecepto emandatus*," as a monk of Chartres later wrote in his copy, (MS 32, *olim* 24, of Chartres), and the "*Lectionarius plenarius a supradicto Albino ordinatus*," as the librarian of St-Riquier described this book in his catalogue of 831.<sup>26</sup> Dom Wilmart recently discovered another copy of this Lectionary (MS Cambrai 553), a circumstance that led him to reexamine the previous publications about it.<sup>27</sup> Now, special interest attaches to these books of Alcuin's, because they are the lists of *Lessons of the Roman Mass*. Wilmart assigns the work to Alcuin's first years at court, that is, shortly after 781. In the years that followed Alcuin was more than once the hand of Charles in effecting liturgical reforms *ob unanimitatem apostolicae sedis et sanctae Dei Ecclesiae pacificam concordiam*. By far the greatest occasion was connected with the introduction into Gaul of the Gregorian Mass-book.

Charlemagne had asked Pope Hadrian I to send him, for adoption in his kingdoms, a genuinely Roman Mass-book. The

<sup>26</sup>G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonnae, 1884), p. 28.

<sup>27</sup>A. Wilmart, "Le *Lectionnaire d'Alcuin*," *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, LI (1937), pp. 136-197.

book was accordingly sent him sometime during the period 784-91.<sup>28</sup> The book, although described as an authentic copy of the work "arranged long ago by our holy predecessor, the God-inspired Gregory," turned out to be a defective copy, in that it contained no Masses for most of the Sundays, for burials, and other common parochial offices. More serious still: the book was stiff, was 'cold', had none of the color and warmth embodied in the old Frankish usages. Charles wished to impose the book: the book was unacceptable. The situation was saved, diplomatically speaking, when Alcuin was commissioned to draw up an official *Supplement to the Roman Book*, embodying the missing Sunday Masses, and such remnants from the old Gallican uses as he thought necessary under the circumstances. He thought it well to add a *Supplement* twice as long as the book itself! Perhaps no single individual has ever exercised so much discretionary power over the piety of the subsequent Roman Catholic world as Alcuin had in compiling his Supplement. The book, with *Supplement* carefully marked off, was then imposed as obligatory in Charles' domains, in such wise that what came from Rome was mandatory, what Alcuin had added was optional. "But if any one consider our collection a superfluity," says in part Alcuin's prefatory note in the book,<sup>29</sup> "and not necessary for himself, let him use the work of the aforesaid Father alone, *which in not a tittle may be rejected without peril to himself*; and let him also tolerate those who demand [our *Supplement*] and wish piously to use it. For not for the thankless and scornful, but for the zealous and devout

<sup>28</sup>MGH. *Epis.* III, 626.

<sup>29</sup>The translation is that of Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1918), pp. 52-53. The date of the issuance of the Gregorian-and-Supplement is not very accurately determined. Pope Hadrian's book was received some time in the period 784-91. In 786 Alcuin was in England for a time; again from 790 to the Summer of 793, he was again in England. There is a letter of his, dated April 4, 801, to Archbishop Eanbald of York, in which he says: "De ordinatione et dispositione missalis libelli nescio cur demandasti. Numquid non habes Romano more ordinatos libellos sacrorios abundanter? Habes quoque et veteris consuetudinis sufficienter sacramentaria maiora. Quid opus est nova condere, dum vetera sufficiunt?" (MGH. *Epis.* IV, 300). This letter is taken as evidence that the work was finished by 801, and that York had asked for a copy. Edmund Bishop adduced another bit of evidence that the book was in circulation in the last years of the eighth century, a seeming citation of it in MS Zurick Rb 30: *Liturgica Historica*, pp. 188-189.

have we brought together this collection in which he to whom these prayers are dear and familiar may find wherewith he may worthily and with mind unruffled pay to our Lord His due vows, and perform the service of divine worship."

With the issuance of this Mass-book, Charlemagne thought to himself, the day of liturgical anarchy is gone forever. He took care to insert in a Capitulary of 802 this question to be addressed to ordinands at ordination: "Can you celebrate Mass in the Roman Rite (*Ordo Romanus*), and how do you understand it?"<sup>30</sup> But Charlemagne's conclusion was premature, or, let us say, he secured the adoption of the Roman Mass, but not of the Roman Missal. All the extant Mass-books of the ninth century, some two score, happen to be from Charles' dominions. A few of them are in the Gelasian tradition, but most of them in the new Gregorian manner, yet *only two* are the Roman book *without the Supplement*. Even the books with the *Supplement* have additional materials slipped surreptitiously, as it were, into their pages. The most popular of all these 'illegal' Masses were some Votive Masses that were being circulated by Charlemagne's great 'Minister of Cult and Culture,' Albinus, *Magister Scholarum*.

#### ALCUIN, COMPILER AND COMPOSER

Alcuin's request that he be allowed to retire from court, and spend his last years as a Benedictine, "significavit regi Karolo saeculum relinquere postulans licentiam apud S. Bonifacium [Fulda] monasticam vitam secundum regulam sancti Benedicti,"<sup>31</sup> was only partially acceded to, in that he was named in 796 Abbot of St. Martin's, Tours, the country's greatest Benedictine Abbey, then badly in need of reform. So, if he was not to be allowed to live under the Mistress Rule, it was his business to see that others did. So to St. Martin's Alcuin went gladly enough, and there his last eight years were spent. Yet, up to the very hour of his death he remained the beloved *Magister*.

<sup>30</sup>MGH. SS. I, 106 sqq.

<sup>31</sup>*Vita Alcuini*, c. viii, xiv; PL 100, 99.

the 'Elder Statesman,' the counsellor of ecumenical prestige. Since attendance at the Palace School was a *sine qua non* of advancement, nearly every influential post in the realm was then or later held by a 'son' of his.

Along with two of his letters, written from Tours, he sent *libelli missarum*, which, with the exception of the *Missae Sancti Augustini*, supply practically the entire contents of his own Sacramentary. It is matter of regret that the letters are not accurately datable. One of them, addressed to the community of St. Gaston (S. Vedasti), Arras, cannot be assigned more definitely than as of 796-804; the other, addressed to Fulda, is of the period, 801-802. Since the most interesting and pertinent passages in the two letters are so schematic, I propose to present them in parallel columns, and as compared with the contents of Alcuin's Sacramentary. This will show one at a glance what is repeated, and what is proper to each source. Again, the italic type indicates the Masses found in our Missals.

LETTER TO ST. GASTON'S, 796-804: MGH <i>Epis.</i> IV, 455	LETTER TO FULDA, 801-802: MGH <i>Epis.</i> IV, 404-06	ALCUIN'S SACRAMENTARY PL 101, 416-466
"... Missas quoque aliquas de nostro tuli Missale ad cotidiana et ecclesiasticae consuetudinis officia:	"... Misi cartulam missalem vobis . . . ut habeatis singulis diebus, quibus preces Deo dirigere cuilibet placeat:	
primo <i>in honore summae trinitatis;</i>	quando <i>in honore sanctae trinitatis;</i>	Dom. <i>Missa de S. Trin.</i>
	quando de amore Sapientiae;	F. iv. De Sancta Sapientia
	quando <i>de penitentiae lacrimis;</i>	F. ii. <i>Pro pet. lacrymarum</i>
	quando <i>de caritate</i> perfecta;	F. v. <i>De Charitate</i>
deinde sanctorum intercessionibus deprecandas;	vel quando <i>de suff. ang. postulando;</i>	F. iii. <i>Ad post. ang. suffragia</i>
am <i>de angelorum suffragia postulanda;</i> quae multum necessaria sunt in hac peregrinatione laborantibus.	vel omnium sanctorum cui libet postulare placet;	XV. M. cotidiana Sanctorum

LETTER TO ST.  
GASTON's, 796-804:  
MGH *Epis.* IV, 455

LETTER TO FULDA,  
801-802:  
MGH *Epis.* IV, 404-06

ALCUIN'S  
SACRAMENTARY  
PL 101, 416-466

vel etiam si quis *pro peccatis suis*;

vel pro quolibet amico vi-  
vente;

vel etiam pro amicis pluri-  
bus;

vel etiam fratribus de hoc  
saeculo recedentibus . . .

Postea *sanctae Dei genetricis*  
*semperque virginis Ma-*  
*riae Missam superaddi-*  
*mus* per dies aliquot  
. . . decantandam;

vel quando specialiter *beatae*  
*Mariae genetricis Dei*  
*virginis* perpetuae de-  
precare velit interces-  
siones;

vel etiam sanctissimi patris  
vestri Bonifacii cantare  
quis velit . . .

F. ii. *Missae pro peccatis*

*Sabbato, Missae de Sancta*  
*Maria*

*Missae in commemora-*  
*tione Sanctae Mariae*

necnon et Sancti Vedasti  
patris vestri et protec-  
toris nostris dictavimus  
missam;

*Pro peccatis quoque,*

(cf. above, item 7)

*Item*

et elemosinam facientibus  
adiunximus orationes qua-  
tenus si quis vel pro suis  
negligentiis, vel pro aliorum  
benefactis offerre voluisset,  
haberet convenienter inter-  
cessionem suae voluntati.

Arbitror vos melius haec  
omnia vel in sacramentis  
vestris conscripta, vel in  
consuetudine cotidiana ha-  
bere. Tamen, ne inobediens  
vestrae *esse* dilectioni,  
scripsi quod nos in consue-  
tudine habemus, et vobis  
proficuum esse putavi."

Haec omnia caritatis intuitu  
vobis dirigere curavimus:  
deprecantes humilitatem ves-  
tram benigne suscipere, quod  
plenissima caritate vobis di-  
rigimus. Faciat quislibet de  
iis quodcumque placeat: et  
ne me reprehendat in cari-  
tatis officio. Unusquisque  
enim in suo sensu abundet,  
et semper faciat Deo placita,  
et omnibus sanctis, quatenus  
cum illis perpetua visione  
domini nostri Jesu Christi  
frui digni inveniantur.

The following Votive Masses  
now found in our Missals,  
and coming from Alcuin's  
Sacramentary, are not men-  
tioned in his letters:

*De gratia Spiritus Sancti*  
*postulanda*  
*pro tentationibus cogitati-*  
*onum.*

*ad postulandam humilitatem*  
*contra tentationes carnis*  
*de sancta cruce*

*pro inimicis*  
*pro salute vivorum vel*  
*requie mortuorum*

These lists call for a few observations. First, should one conclude off-hand that the words, "de nostro tuli missale," of the St. Gaston letter, mean that Alcuin copied the Masses in question from *the* Mass-book of Tours? Even standing quite alone, could they not equally well mean that he took them from a book in some peculiar way 'ours,' as a book of 'our' authorship? The monks had asked him for verses to be put up in their new church; with apologies he was herewith sending them. They had also asked him for Masses; these he encloses with similar apologies. Of the Mass of St. Gaston he says he had dictated it, *dictavimus*. The circumstance that he speaks so deprecatingly of the verses and of the Masses would argue his authorship in both types of composition. Well, as will be seen below, St. Gaston's Missal embodied in the next century a truer copy of Alcuin's own Sacramentary than any other known center.

The Fulda letter was written on the occasion of Alcuin's sending a pall for St. Boniface's tomb, "*patris nostri, de cuius sancta intercessione pro peccatis meis magnam habeo fiduciam.*" The three lists, St. Gaston's, Fulda's, and the Sacramentary, present, it may be, three stages in the formation of the Sacramentary. In each there is an initial framework, beginning with the Mass of the Holy Trinity, including Masses of the Angels, of All Saints, and ending with that of the Blessed Virgin. Then, in each there is an increasing amount of additional matter, some of it put into the framework mentioned, some of it added at the end. The day-by-day assignment of the Masses, as found in the Sacramentary, as well as the attractive character of the Masses themselves, gave this part of the Sacramentary its greatest appeal. Let us see what is known of the previously existing materials embodied into Alcuin's Sacramentary.

Alcuin states expressly, in his Preface to the *Supplement* to the Gregorian Mass-book, that he had gathered for it a great many items from other sacramentaries, "we have thought it well to gather them like spring flowers of the meadows, and collect them together, and place them in this book apart, . . . although we had found a great many [items] also embodied



in other sacramentaries." Thus, it is to be supposed that he was fully conversant with the different types of Mass-book then in use in the Frankish kingdoms. He also clearly implies that nothing in the Supplement is of his own composition: "Let the reader be assured that we have inserted nothing but what was written with great accuracy and care by men of excellent learning and high repute." Yet, unless I have overlooked them, those prayers and Masses of Alcuin's Sacramentary we are considering in this paper do not occur in any earlier tradition, except only the Gelasian, and Visigothic. Absolute accuracy may not attach to this table, but I believe it will show with reasonable finality the extent to which Alcuin laid written sources, now preserved to us, under contribution in arranging his Sacramentary. On the *nature* of the borrowings some details are added below.

MASSES UTILIZING BORROWED MATERIALS	MASSES THAT SHOW NO BORROWINGS
A. Missa de S. Trinitate (preface only)	A. De gratia Sp. S. postulanda
B. Missa pro Peccatis (title; 1 prayer)	B. M. pro tentationibus cogitationum
C. M. pro petitione lacrymarum (title)	C. M. de S. Sapientia
D. M. ad postulanda angelica suffr. (2 prayers)	D. M. de Sancta Maria in Sabbato
E. M. ad postulandam humilitatem (1 prayer)	E. M. cotidiana sanctorum. <sup>32</sup>
F. Missa de Charitate (title: 2 prayers)	F. M. pro inimicis
G. Alia contra tentationes carnis (entire Mass)	G. M. pro salute vivorum et requie mortuorum
H. Missa de cruce (2 prayers)	

<sup>32</sup>In both the letters quoted, as well as in his Sacramentary, Alcuin included a Votive Mass of All Saints. This Mass lodged in a good many missals, but did not finally win acceptance in the missal as approved by Rome. We include it here just for the sake of this note, as it enables us to point out, thanks to Dom Wilmart, the following glowing passage in one of Alcuin's letters, indicative of his zeal in fostering the cultus of All Saints on November 1st. The letter dates of the early part of 801, and is addressed to Arn, a former associate of Alcuin's and at this time Archbishop of Salzburg. I quote

### A. Missa de Sancta Trinitate

The most conspicuous of the Alcuinian Masses is that of the Holy Trinity, and the most conspicuous element of it is its matchless Preface. So, too, the most important theological writing from Alcuin's hand is the booklet, *De Sancta Trinitate*, of the year 802. For nine years he had been carrying the brunt of the opposition against the Adoptionist heresiarchs, Bishops Felix of Urgel and Elpiandus of Toledo, by multiple writings, and, on occasion, by public disputation. At an early date in the long controversy, Elpiandus of Toledo had appealed for support for his views to the prayers of the Visigothic service-books. To this fact no doubt it is owing that Alcuin began reading these books, began even utilizing the prayers he there found. It will be recalled that the whole series of *Missae Sancti Augustini* are rearranged from the Visigothic books. How dimly reminiscent of that ancient debate over Trinitarian orthodoxy that our Preface of the Trinity should have been 'clipped' by Alcuin from the Visigothic Sacramentary! In the oldest extant Mozarabic Sacramentary (MS 35.3 of the Cathedral Library, Toledo),<sup>33</sup> our Preface is the *Illatio* of a *Missa Quotidiana* in this form:<sup>34</sup>

Dignum et iustum est, eterne omnipotens Deus, nos te semper laudare, tibi que quantas possumus indesinenter gratias agere: qui cum unigenito Filio tuo Domino nostro et Spiritu sancto unus es Deus in personarum Trinitate et unus est Dominus in trinitate.

from Dom Wilmart's article, "Un Témoin Anglo-Saxon du Calendrier Métrique d'York," in *Rev. Bén.* 46 (1934), pp. 41-69:

"Kalendis Novembris solemnitas omnium sanctorum. Ecce, venerande Pater, Arne, habes designatam solemnitas omnium sanctorum, sicut diximus. Quam continue in mente retineas, et semper anniversario tempore colere non desistas; attendens illud et intente considerans quoniam, si Helias, unus ex illis in Vetere Testamento oratione sua, dum voluit, claudere caelum potuit praevicatoribus et aperire conversis, quanto magis omnes sanctos in novo testamento, ubi eis specialiter et potenter claves regni caelestis commissae sunt et claudere caelum possunt incredulis et aperire credentibus, si intima dilectione honorificentur a fidelibus et coluntur glorificatione eis condigna? Quod ut fieri digne possit a nobis, lumen verum quod inluminat omnem hominem, Christus Jesus, inluminet corda nostra, et pax Dei quae exsuperat omnem sensum per intercessionem omnium sanctorum ejus, custodiat ea usque in diem aeternitatis. Hanc solemnitatem sanctissimam tribus diebus ieiunando, orando, missas canendo et elemosinas dando pro invicem sincere devotione procedamus."

<sup>33</sup>Edited by M. Férotin, *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* (Paris: 1912).

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, col. 519, §20.

Quod enim de tua gloria revelante credimus, hoc etiam de Spiritu Sancto, sine ulla discretione sentimus: ut in confessione vere semperneque Deitatis, et in personis proprietates, et in maiestate unitas, et in Deitate adoretur equalitas. . . .

The Visigothic sources have no Mass in honor of the Holy Trinity. It may, I think, be taken that this Preface suggested to Alcuin the desirability of such a Mass. Alcuin's Mass ranks first among the privileged Votive Masses, and with a change of Lessons became our Mass for Trinity Sunday.

### B. *Missa De Peccatis*

The cathedral city of Angoulême (in the metropolitan province of Bordeaux), acquired about 780 or so a Mass-book now preserved as MS. B. N. 816.<sup>85</sup> That book is linked with no less than four of Alcuin's Masses. This book did not have a *Missa Pro Peccatis*, but it has a long series of prayers *Pro Peccatis* [2260-76], one of which is the familiar *Deus, qui culpa offenderis*. Alcuin, in arranging his Mass, added that prayer as a second Postcommunion (*Ad complendum*), as was then customary. Later, when one Postcommunion became the norm, that prayer slipped out. A later witness of the Gelasian tradition, MS Berlin *Phillips* 1667, written somewhere around Verdun-Trier, has a *Missa Pro Peccatis*, which is related in different ways to both the Angoulême prayers and Alcuin's Mass. So Alcuin here borrowed the idea, and one of the prayers.

### C. *Pro Petitione Lacrymarum*

A Mass, *Pro Petitione Lacrymarum*, is found in this same Sacramentary of Angoulême [2298-31]. It is not reproduced in Alcuin's Mass of the same title: no doubt he was inspired by it to write a Mass under the same title. Strangely enough, farther on in Alcuin's Sacramentary this Mass, as found in Angoulême, was borrowed by Alcuin and entitled *Missa de Tribulatione et Necessitate*. It did not pass into the Roman Missal.

<sup>85</sup>Published by Cagin, *Le Sacramentaire Gélisien d'Angoulême* (Charente, 1919).

### D. *Ad Postulanda Angelica Suffragia*

For this Mass Alcuin utilized as highly suitable materials the Collect and the Postcommunion from the old Roman Mass for the Dedication of St. Michael's church as found in our Missals, and in Alcuin's, for September 29th. He added the Secret of his own composing and made of the whole a Votive Mass of all the angels.

### E. *Ad Postulandam Humilitatem*

For this Mass was borrowed the Collect of a *Missa in Contentione* as found in the Gelasian traditions, and also in the Gregorian *Supplement*. There is a nice change of attitude as indicated by Alcuin's title. *For Humility*, as compared with the rubric under which the borrowed Collect had stood, *In Contentione*: There is less contention as there is more humility.

### F. *Missa De Charitate*

The double Gelasian tradition had a Mass by this title, in appropriating which Alcuin seems to have composed only a new Postcommunion.

### G. *Alia Contra Tentationes Carnis*

This Mass was taken over by Alcuin from the Gelasian tradition (MS. B. N. 816, *Angoulême*), with the change of no more than the final clauses of the Postcommunion.

### H. *Missa de Cruce*

In arranging this Votive Mass Alcuin took over the Collect used in the Roman Mass-book for the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, which he had at hand in the Gelasian Sacramentary, and for his Postcommunion he borrowed one from a Roman Sunday Mass.

That, to the best of my knowledge, sums up the borrowings. Looking back over the list brings out the fact that the most

famous of the Votive Masses, as such, are owing to Alcuin himself: *De Trinitate*, *De Angelis*, *De Cruce* utilize borrowed materials, but the *idea of Votive Masses* is his own; while for *De Spiritu Sancto* and *De Maria in Sabbato* he is indebted to no extant sources. The last section of this paper will concern itself with sample chapters, so to speak, in the subsequent history of these Masses.

### PILGRIMS' PROGRESS

Without going to Europe and making the long round of the libraries, it is impossible to trace with absolute fidelity the 'case-history' of these Alcuinian Masses. But such a record would but add complexity of detail to a record that with materials at hand is clearly sketched as follows: In the ninth century these Masses passed from Missal to Missal throughout France, Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, in the tenth they crossed over into England, and beyond the Alps. By 950 the *Missa de S. Trinitate*, at least, stood in the Mass-book of St. Peter's (MS St. Peter's F 12, Col. 214).<sup>35a</sup> A few years later Rome was importing Missals from France with the Cluniac monks, and from Germany with the Ottonian Bishops. With the printed sources one can watch the inception of the use of these Masses, in one place and another, watch, too, the gradual development in the same center over a period of time, and even see, I believe, definite signs of the origin of the impulse at various stages of the movement.

Thus, overlapping currents of liturgical history greet us at once on looking at the famous St. Gall MS 348, a Gelasian book of 810 or so, and therefore an outlaw! But there is freedom in the mountains, and piety. Dom Mohlberg, editing this codex,<sup>36</sup> points out some additions made to it from time to time. We note three of these, in their order of time: f. 29, *de s. Maria*, f. 26, *de s. Trinitate*, and *pro peccatis*, all added before 830.

<sup>35a</sup>A. Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum im Mittelalter* (Freiburg: Herder, 1896), p. 185.

<sup>36</sup>K. Mohlberg, *Das Fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum* (Münster in W., 1918), pp. xcix, 255, 256, 257.

St. Gall MS 339, of the tenth century, has most of the other Masses here surveyed.<sup>37</sup> Nearby Reichenau before 850 had, in an otherwise 'legal' Mass-book, the entire series here treated, as my notes on MS *Vindob* 1815 (*Theol* 149) enable me to state.

Our only copy of Pope Hadrian's Gregorian on deposit in Charlemagne's library at Aachen, that antedates the death of that monarch (814), is Cambrai MS 164.<sup>38</sup> It lacks the official Supplement, and all the Masses we are here considering, but not long after the book was finished some one took pen and added, at folio 219, the *Missa de s. Trinitate*.<sup>39</sup> Well, Cambrai monks about 875 prepared a *de luxe* Mass-book for themselves, an elaborate affair in the sense that it went into two volumes! The second of these, MS 163, embodies in its text the following: *de s. Trinitate; de s. Sophia; de sancta caritate; ad postulandam gratiam Sp. S.; Feria VI, in honorem s. crucis; in hon. s. Mariae; ad postulanda angelica suffragia; and a missa generalis*, which is Alcuin's *Pro salute vivorum et requie mortuorum*.<sup>40</sup>

A similar state of affairs confronts us as we put two Mayence books side by side. The first, now preserved in the Seminary of Mayence, dates of 826-850; my information comes from notes taken on the spot. The book as first written had none of the Masses under discussion, but afterwards, at folio 189, in gold and with special decoration, was added *De Trinitate*. Following this came *De Sapientia, De grat. Sp. S., De Caritate, De Cruce*. Farther on, but by the same hand, were added: *De Peccatis, Pro Tent. Cogitationum* and *Contra Tentationes Carnis*. Strangely *not* the Mass of the Blessed Virgin! Issuing from the same scriptorium, of St. Alban's, Mayence, is the Mass-book at the Bodleian, MS *Auct D I* 20, dated as of the second half of the ninth century. In this book, in addition to the Masses just mentioned, we find: *De s. Maria; Pro Pet. Lacrymarum; Pro salute vivorum*, and the *Missae sancti Augus-*

<sup>37</sup>Cf. "Gall (Saint)," in *Dict. Arch. Chrét. Lit.* VI, I, cols. 209-210.

<sup>38</sup>Edited by H. A. Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary*. Bradshaw Society, XLIX (London: 1915).

<sup>39</sup>V. Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les Missels Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France* (Paris: 1924), I. p. 13.

<sup>40</sup>Leroquais, I. pp. 36, 37.

*tini per totam hebdomadam!*<sup>41</sup> This is the only instance I know of where these Augustinian Masses reappear outside the text of Alcuin's own Sacramentary. A tenth Century Mayence Mass-book, also from St. Alban's, has eliminated them, as my notes, recorded on examining the MS now kept in the Cathedral Chapter Library, show.

From the city where Alcuin spent his last years, Tours, and from a monastery then united with St. Martin's, comes a Mass-book, MS Autun 19 (19 *bis*). It dates as of 844, just forty years after Alcuin's death. Here we should like the fullest information possible; this is lacking, but Leroquais does say that it contains, at folio 183, *Missa de s. Trinitate*, as the first of a series of Votive Masses.<sup>42</sup> There are a number of Tours Mass-books, partial or complete, from the end of the century. Opening one of these, MS BN *nov. acq.* 1. 1589, we find the Alcuinian Masses spread at the very head of the book.<sup>43</sup> Parts of three other Tours Mass-books are now bound together in grand confusion in the two codices, Paris BN 9430 and Tours 184. All of them had a section beginning with the Alcuinian Masses, and fragments from still another Tours book, folios 98-114 of the Paris manuscript, are again the same Masses<sup>44</sup>. It is possible that Tours had these Masses, with the Ordinary and Canon, bound in small missals of convenience, just as nowadays we have the *Missae de Requie* handily bound in such fashion.

The fortunes of a book written at Liège between 841 and 855 show how the same current was working northward. The original scribe of MS Padua D 47 put none of the Alcuinian Masses in his book, but at the end another hand soon wrote in the *Missa de s. Maria*.<sup>45</sup> Still later, but in the tenth century, were added: *De Trinitate*; *Pro temptationibus Carnis*; *De Sapientia*; *Pro Peccatis*. Another hand, that Ebner dated as of the

<sup>41</sup>L. Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires* (Paris: 1886), pp. 153-157.

<sup>42</sup>Leroquais, I, 15.

<sup>43</sup>Leroquais, I, 53.

<sup>44</sup>Leroquais, I, 43 sqq.

<sup>45</sup>Edited by Mohlberg-Baumstark, *Die Aelteste Erreichbare Gestalt des Liber Sacramentorum* (Münster in W., 1918).

eleventh century, inscribed: *Missa de cruce; Pro omnibus vivis et fidelibus defunctis*, which last is Alcuin's last formulary renamed.<sup>46</sup>

But these repetitions grow wearisome. A natural son of Charlemagne, Drogon by name, became Bishop of Metz in 826. A sumptuous book, MS BN 9428,<sup>47</sup> prepared for his use at the altar strangely included none of Alcuin's Votive Masses. What a contrast with a tenth century book from nearby Worms, MS Arsenal 610 (192 *TL*), which has scarcely anything but the Ordinary, Canon and Alcuinian Masses.<sup>48</sup> Would this be owing to the circumstances that a 'son' of Alcuin's, a Samuel, was bishop of Worms, 840-859?

Arles, towards the end of this century, was exerting tremendous political influence over northern Italy. The connection may be altogether fortuitous, but one may notice that a Mass-book of Arles, MS BN 2812, has the week's provision of Alcuinian Masses at the very head of the book,<sup>49</sup> and that an obscure little corner like Biasca, in the territory of the *Milanese Rite*, has equal provision, as seen in MS Amb A 24 *bis*.<sup>50</sup>

But we have said nothing all this time of St. Gaston's and of Fulda. For St. Gaston's we have the book known as the Leofric Missal, written in the Arras abbey about 875.<sup>51</sup> Without going back to check up every last detail, I will venture to express the conviction that sprang into my mind on first examining its votive Masses: "This is the most accurate transcript of Alcuin's Sacramentary, the *Missae s. Augustini* excepted, yet found in any Mass-book." There is another St. Vedast book of about the same date, MS BN 12052, but my information about its Votive Masses is incomplete.<sup>52</sup> There are a number of Fulda Mass-books of the late tenth century extant, and one has

<sup>46</sup>A. Ebner, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum im Mittelalter* (Freiburg: Herder, 1896), p. 130.

<sup>47</sup>Leroquais, I, 16.

<sup>48</sup>Leroquais, I, 62.

<sup>49</sup>Leroquais, I, 59.

<sup>50</sup>Ebner, 73.

<sup>51</sup>Edited by F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal* (Oxford, 1883).

<sup>52</sup>Leroquais, I, 79 *sqq.*



been printed in full. None of the Alcuinian Masses we are treating fails in it. But it is more interesting to point out this small but significant detail: the Mass listed in Alcuin's Sacramentary as *Pro Petitione Lacrymarum* is nearly always found under that very rubric, but in his letter to Fulda Alcuin called it *De poenitentiae lacrimis*, and in a Ratisbon Mass-book of the late tenth century it greets us under the heading *De Poenitentiae lacrimis*.<sup>53</sup> So Fulda itself was acting as a distribution point in bringing these Masses into honor.

We said above we should say a word about the *disappearance* from our Missals of Alcuin's Mass *De Sancta Sapientia quae Christus est*. It held its place in the series into the age of printing, and right up to the Missal of Pius V in 1570.<sup>54</sup> The Mass of the Blessed Sacrament might be considered the substitute dictated by more modern piety.

A final item: By the end of the tenth century these Masses were being inserted at times with their own by-line, so to speak. Witness this example, MS BN 11589; fol. 152v: *Incipiunt missas dumno Alcuini per singulas ferias in ebdomada*, or the more elegant form in MS Reims 418-452: *Dicta Alcuini quibus ebdomadae diebus quorum sanctorum memoria celebretur*.<sup>55</sup> The author of *Micrologus*, thought to be Bernard of Constance of the late eleventh century, had a story (chronologically impossible) that these Masses were composed by Alcuin at the request of Boniface for the ease and benefit of the Saxon priests just converted from paganism and not able to handle a full missal!<sup>56</sup> It is time to drop the story, for it has become legend.

I look at my Ordo for tomorrow: *S. Maria in Sabbato* is the entry. And for that, Alcuin, I am grateful to you.

<sup>53</sup>MS Vat 3806, edited by A. Rocca, and included in *Sancti Gregorii Opera*. I quote from the edition of Paris, 1675, column 1502.

<sup>54</sup>Cf. H. A. Wilson's collations of early printed missals in Vol. II, *Missale Romanum*, Milan, 1474, Bradshaw, XVII (London, 1899).

<sup>55</sup>Delisle, pp. 247, 286.

<sup>56</sup>Cf. PL 151, col. 974 sqq.