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052155845X - Anglo-Saxon England, 24

Edited by Michael Lapidge, Malcolm Godden, Simon Keynes, Peter Baker, Carl Berkhout, Martin Biddle, Mark Blackburn, Daniel Donoghue, Roberta Frank and Helmut Gneuss

Excerpt

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An Anglo-Saxon mass for St Willibrord and its later liturgical uses

NICHOLAS ORCHARD

Of all the services held in a saint's honour in the course of his or her feast-day, mass was the most important: and central to the mass were the prayers invoking the saint's intercession said by the celebrant. Together with the canon, these 'proper' prayers – by the ninth century normally a collect (*collecta*), secret (*super oblata* or *secreta*), preface (*prefatio*) and postcommunion (*ad complendum* or *postcommunio*) – formed the backbone around which the chant and readings were arranged, and they were gathered together in the sacramentary, the book used by the celebrant alone. Further forms might be provided as 'alternatives' (*aliae orationes*); for the conclusion of mass (*super populum*); and occasionally, for vespers of the day before the feast and of the feast itself (*ad vesperas*), but generally speaking, these are rare.¹ As 'informal' cults became formal, or prize relics came to hand, so the need for new suites of prayers arose. These could be composed afresh, 'borrowed' from existing saints' masses (an easy option, necessitating little more than the insertion of the new saint's name in the relevant prayers); or if the precentor's creative powers failed him completely, they could be taken from the 'commons', that is, from the series of ready-made masses contained in almost every medieval sacramentary or missal for a 'confessor', a 'martyr' or a 'virgin', and so on. Some houses attracted the services of gifted writers; other seem not to have been so fortunate. It is my intention to analyse here the genesis and dissemination of a mass from a house of the former class which throws interesting light on the liturgical links between England and the Continent in the eighth century.

The fullest version of this mass is found in two sacramentaries from the abbey of Echternach in modern-day Luxembourg: Paris, Bibliothèque

¹ J. A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, trans. F. A. Brunner, 2 vols. (New York, 1955), though outdated in some respects, still remains the best general work on the development of the mass and its individual elements. The terms *super oblata* and *ad complendum* occur in sacramentaries that are strongly 'Roman' or Gregorian, *secreta* and *postcommunio* in those that belong in the main to the Gelasian tradition. In Gelasian sacramentaries, 'Roman' features, often of a non-Gregorian kind, are mixed in varying degree with northern European. See J. Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, 3 vols., *Spicilegium Friburgense* 16, 24 and 25, 2nd ed. (Fribourg, 1979–88), who edits the most important ninth-century Gregorian sacramentaries, and H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary* (Oxford, 1894), who edits the oldest member of the Gelasian family, and gives a useful synopsis of the contents of two later books.

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Nationale, lat. 9433, of c. 895–900; and Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, 1946, of the early eleventh century.² It is assigned in both to the feast of St Willibrord (7 Nov.), founder of the abbey, and is as follows:

VII. IDUS NOVEMBRIS. NATALE SANCTI WILLIBRORDI CONFESSORIS ATQUE PONTIFICIS

Oratio ad vesp̄eras. Omnipotens sempiternus deus qui nos pia devotione beati Willibrordi confessoris tui atque pastoris nostri in hoc sacratissimum ovile congregasti. concede quesumus ut cum eodem pastore ad celestis vitae gaudia pervenire mereamur. per dominum.

AD MISSAM IN DIE SACRA

Collecta. Deus qui in diversis nationum populis preclaros verae fidei constituisti doctores. concede quesumus ut omnes qui ad sanctissimi doctoris nostri Willibrordi festa convenerunt. presentis prosperitatis gaudium. et futurae beatitudinis consequantur. per.

Super oblata. Sit tibi quesumus domine deus nostrae devotionis oblatio acceptabilis. ut beato Willibrordo confessore tuo intercedente. utrumque et tuae placeat maiestati et nostrae proficiat saluti. per.

Prefatio. Vere dignum aeternae deus. Qui beatum Willibrordum confessorem tuum nobis doctorem donare dignatus es. per quem a tenebris ignorantiae liberati. eternae lucis fieri filii meruimus. Qui quod ore docuit. exemplo monstravit. Cuius vita moribus effulsit egregia cuius meritum miraculis inluxit. Quae etiam antiquis libris leguntur inscripta quae etiam nova cotidie videntur in facto. Cuius presenti patrocinio gaudentes. tuam super nos predicamus gratiam abundanter effusam. per Christum.

Ad complendum. Mysteriis divinis refecti domine deus quesumus ut beati Willibrordi confessoris tui ubique intercessionem protegamur. pro cuius annua veneratione haec tuae obtulimus maiestati. per.

Super populum. Celesti benedictione misericors deus populum presentem confirma. et quem magno ac speciali patrono scilicet Willibrordo confessore tuo decorasti. eius semper presenti suffragio ab omni adversitate protege propicius. per dominum.

Ad vesp̄eras. Concede quesumus omnipotens deus beati Willibrordi confessoris tui nos ubique intercessionibus adiuvari. cuius nos doctrinis ad agnitionem tui sancti nominis pervenire tribuisti. per.³

² For Paris, BN lat. 9433, see Y. Hen, *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, HBS 109 (London, forthcoming). See also C. Nordenfalk, 'Ein karolingisches Sakramentar aus Echternach und seine Vorläufer', *Acta Archaeologica* 2 (1931), 207–44, with plates. The Darmstadt book has been published in facsimile: *Echternacher Sakramentar und Antiphoner*, ed. K.H. Staub, P. Ulveling and F. Unterkircher, 2 vols., *Codices selecti phototypice impressi* 74 (Graz, 1982).

³ BN lat. 9433, fols. 161–2; Darmstadt 1946, 230r–1v. The text is printed from the former.

Ad Vesp̄eras. O Almighty Everlasting Lord, who hast gathered us in this most holy sanctuary in loving devotion to thy confessor and shepherd Willibrord, grant, we beseech, that with this shepherd, we may be worthy to reach the joys of heavenly life.

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The mass commemorates the death of Willibrord in 739. Darmstadt 1946 calls Willibrord *archiepiscopus*. (Willibrord was archbishop of Utrecht from 695 to 739.) None of the prayers in this mass can be traced in the surviving Roman sacramentaries (Leonine, Gelasian or Gregorian), and the presumption must be that they were composed specifically in his honour. In German and Frankish territories, however, the mass – in a reduced form – remained standard for the saint into the sixteenth century, occurring in late manuscript and early printed missals as follows:

Cologne and Freising ⁴	collect, secret and postcommunion
Trier ⁵	collect, secret and prayer for second vespers
Utrecht ⁶	collect, secret and prayer for second vespers
Esztergom ⁷	secret and postcommunion
Mainz and Prague ⁸	collect and postcommunion
Worms and Liege ⁹	prayer for first vespers
Minden ¹⁰	collect

Collecta. O God, who hast made illustrious doctors of true faith far and wide, grant, we beseech, that all who gather for the feasts of our most holy doctor Willibrord may reap the reward of earthly prosperity and happiness in time to come.

Secreta. O God, we pray that the oblation of our devotion may be acceptable to thee, so that with the intercession of thy confessor Willibrord, it may both please thy majesty and work towards our salvation.

Preface. *Vere dignum aeternae . . . Deus.* Who hast pleased to give us thy confessor and doctor Willibrord, through whom we, freed from the darkness of ignorance, have become children of the eternal light; who was the example of what he taught; whose happy life glittered in good deeds, and whose goodness shone forth in the miracles which happen daily in our own times just as they are set down in our ancient books. We, thankful of his continuing protection, praise thy grace bestowed abundantly upon us.

Ad complendum. Refreshed by the divine mysteries, we pray, O Lord God, that wherever we may be, we may be protected by the intercession of thy confessor Willibrord, for the enduring remembrance of whom, we have offered up these devotions to thy majesty.

Super populum. With thy heavenly blessing, O Merciful God, bless this congregation, which thou hast graced with thy confessor Willibrord as honoured and special patron, and through this prayer, protect it from every adversity.

Ad Vesperas. O Lord God, we pray that wherever we may be, we may be aided by the intercessions of thy blessed confessor Willibrord, through whose doctrines thou hast enabled us to come to know thy holy name.

⁴ Unless otherwise indicated, copies of early printed books referred to below are held by the British Library. *Missale Coloniense* (1494), 368v; and *Missale Freisingense* (1487), fol. 266.

⁵ *Missale Trevense* (1487), 239v.

⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. b. 9, 221v, a late-fourteenth-century missal; and *Missale Traiectense completissimum* (1514–5), 68v.

⁷ *Missale Strigoniense* (1501), 189v.

⁸ *Missale Moguntinum* (1482), fol. 305; and *Missale Pragense* (1498), fol. 115.

⁹ *Missale Wormatiense* (1490), quire bb, fol. 5; and *Missale Leodiense* (1540), quire K, 3v.

¹⁰ *Missale Mindense* (1513), fol. 323.

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It is clear from the above list that the full version of the mass was once known at Trier, in which diocese Echternach lay; at Utrecht, where Willibrord was first archbishop; and at Worms.¹¹ More interesting from the perspective of Anglo-Saxon England is the fact that the full version of the mass was also available at Winchester in the early eleventh century, where it was assigned to St Birinus. The so-called ‘Missal of Robert of Jumièges’ – in reality, a sacramentary (of 1014 × 1023) from Peterborough or Ely given to the abbey of Jumièges by Robert, bishop of London (1044–51) – adopts the following (Willibrord) prayers for the deposition of Birinus (3 Dec.):¹²

Collecta. Omnipotens sempiterna deus qui nos pia devotione

Secreta. Sit tibi domine nostrae devotionis oblatio

Prefatio. Qui beatum Birinum confessorem tuum nobis doctorem

Ad complendum. Misteriis refecti domine quesumus ut beati Birini

This was probably the standard form of the mass for St Birinus in England. However, the ‘New Minster Missal’, written at the New Minster in the early eleventh century, spreads five of the six Willibrord prayers over two adjacent masses:¹³

¹¹ At the abbey of St Mary, Parc Louvain (dioc. Cologne), the Utrecht mass was taken over in part for Hubert, bishop of Troyes, whose feast (6 Nov.) falls on the day before Willibrord’s. See London, British Library, Add. 11862, fol. 257, a late-eleventh-century missal from Cologne with a supplement (in which the mass for St Hubert appears) for Parc Louvain. St Hubert is assigned the secret and *super populum*.

¹² Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 274, 166r, ed. H. A. Wilson, *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, HBS 11 (London, 1896), 229–30. The book is datable on the following grounds. An invocation of St Florentius, whose relics were brought to Peterborough from Bonneval in 1014 by Abbot Ælfsige (1007–42), appears in the litany of the service for the Visitation of the Sick and Dying; and the calendar does not commemorate the translation of St Ælfheah’s remains to London (8 June), which took place in 1023. See C. Hohler, ‘Les saints insulaires dans le missel de l’archevêque Robert’, *Rouen: Congrès scientifique du XIIIe centenaire*, 2 vols. (Rouen, 1955) I, 293–303; and for the litany, M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, HBS 106 (1991), 82 and 270–2. D. N. Dumville, ‘On the Dating of some late Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Manuscripts’, *Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliographical Soc.* 10 (1991), 40–57, at 52, has unsuccessfully attempted to undermine the quite obvious implications of the presence of the invocation of St Florentius; and one must treat with extreme caution his suggestion that the manuscript was produced for Lyfing, archbishop of Canterbury (1013–20): *idem*, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 1993), p. 92. The sacramentary underlying the mid-twelfth-century missal from Bury St Edmunds, now Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 238, descends in large part from Rouen 274. From a liturgical standpoint, there is nothing to connect either book with Canterbury. By the late eleventh century a number of masses for English saints had been copied from Robert’s sacramentary and sent to Saint-Evroult (founded from Jumièges in 1050), where they were adapted for ‘local’ saints. I have an edition of these masses (which are preserved in Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 273) in hand.

¹³ Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale, 330, fol. 164, ed. D. H. Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster, Winchester*, HBS 93 (London, 1963), 188–9.

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[More information](#)*An Anglo-Saxon mass for St Willibrord**Translation of St Birinus**Collecta.* Deus qui veneranda beati Birini confessoris tui*Secreta.* Hostias domine laudis tuis altaribus adhibemus*Postcommunio.* Mysteriis sacris relecti domine quesumus ut beati Birini*Deposition of St Birinus**Collecta.* Omnipotens sempiternus deus qui nos pia devotione*Secreta.* Sit tibi domine nostrae devotionis oblatio*Prefatio.* Qui beatum Birinum confessorem tuum nobis doctorem*Postcommunio.* Concede quesumus omnipotens deus ut beati Birini

The translation of St Birinus was already provided for in its proper place in the sanctorale of the New Minster book (4 Sept.). There is nothing to indicate why a second translation mass was assembled. Nor is there anything to indicate why the prayer for first vespers was preferred to the collect proper in England. But the collect was not entirely abandoned, being assigned instead to the office for St Birinus in the *Portiforium* of Wulfstan II, bishop of Worcester (1062–95), now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391 (written *c.* 1064–5). This usage survived the Conquest, certainly at Ely and Peterborough, and probably elsewhere too.¹⁴

The mass was also adopted in England for St Augustine of Canterbury (26 May) at Canterbury, Durham and Barking, and for St Oswald of Worcester (28 Feb.) at Sherborne.¹⁵ In northern France and Flanders, it was used for St Amand at Saint-Amand (6 Feb.); for St Ambrose (4 Apr.) in Paris; for St Richarius (26 Apr.) at Saint-Valéry; for St Germanus of Paris (28 May) at Rennes; for the translation of St Praecordius (5 June) at Corbie; and for St

¹⁴ A. Hughes, *The Portiforium of St Wulfstan*, 2 vols., HBS 89–90 (London, 1956–7) I, 150 (no. 1982). The prayer for second vespers also appears there for St Birinus (no. 1983). For Ely, see the early-fourteenth-century breviary-cum-missal now in Cambridge, University Library, li. 4. 20, 290v; and for Peterborough, the fifteenth-century diurnal, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough liturg. 17, 203r.

¹⁵ See J. W. Legg, *Missale ad usum ecclesiae Westmonasteriensis*, 3 vols., HBS 1, 5 and 12 (London, 1891–7) III, 1551, who prints the mass from London, British Library, Harley 5289, a late-fourteenth-century missal from Durham; and M. Rule, *The Missal of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury* (Cambridge, 1896), p. 90, who prints the mass – a late-twelfth-century addition – from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 270, a sacramentary of *c.* 1091 × 1100 from St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. Both books embody the sacramentary prepared by Lanfranc soon after the Conquest for Christ Church, Canterbury. The prayers were known at the abbey by the early twelfth century: they figure in the skeletal office for St Augustine in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 312, p. 297. At some point the mass was dispatched to Bec: see A. Hughes, *The Bec Missal*, HBS 64 (London, 1964), 150. For Barking, see J. B. L. Tolhurst and L. McLachlan, *The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey*, 2 vols., HBS 65–6 (London, 1927–8) II, 232; and for Sherborne, J. W. Legg, 'Liturgical Notes on the Sherborne Missal', *Trans. of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Soc.* 4 (1896), 1–31, at 26.

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Bertin (5 Sept.) at the abbey of Saint-Bertin and its cell at Bergues-Saint-Winoc.¹⁶ Corbie alone preserves the proper preface. In northern Italy the collect became the postcommunion for St Provinus (8 Mar.), second bishop of Como.¹⁷ These are the occurrences of the mass (and its individual prayers) known to me at present, but I am confident that there are more to be found.

As mentioned above, none of the prayers appear in Roman books. However, several are close in style to those used at Tours, some of which were composed by Alcuin, abbot of the house from 796 until his death in 804.¹⁸ The relationship may best be demonstrated by arranging the relevant passages in parallel.

Ad vespas: as the collect *in natale pastorum* at Tours and Echternach; and with a different ending, as Alcuin's *super populum* for the octave of St Martin at Tours (11 July), which is printed here:¹⁹

Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui pia
nos pia devotione beati Willibordi
confessoris tui atque pastoris nostri in
hoc sacratissimum ovile congregasti.
concede quesumus ut cum eodem
pastore ad celestis vitae gaudia
pervenire mereamur. per dominum.

Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui nos
pia devotione sanctorum in hoc
sacratissimum ovile congregasti.
concede quesumus eorum nos
perpetua protectione ab omni
adversitate defendi. atque cum eis in
aeternae vitae beatitudine gaudere.
per.

Prefatio: clauses dependent on *effulsit* and *illuxit* as in Alcuin's preface for St Martin at Tours (11 July):²⁰

¹⁶ See Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 843, 6v, where the mass is found as a fifteenth-century addition to a twelfth-century missal from Saint-Amand; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9436, 82v, a mid-eleventh-century sacramentary from Saint-Denis, in Legg, *Missale ad usum ecclesiae Westmonasteriensis* III, 1542; London, British Library, Add. 34662, 145v–146r, a late-fourteenth-century missal from Saint-Valéry; the copy of the *Missale Redonense* of 1523 in Cambridge University Library (unfoliated); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12052, 41r, where it is found as an early-eleventh-century addition to the sacramentary of Abbot Ratoldus of Corbie (d. 986); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 819, 101v–102r, a mid-eleventh-century sacramentary from Bergues-Saint-Winoc, and Bourges, Bibliothèque Municipale, 37, 56r, an early-twelfth-century sacramentary from Saint-Bertin. The secret and postcommunion in this last are transferred to the feast of St Bertin's elevation (9 May).

¹⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. d. 4, 36v, where the mass is a thirteenth-century addition to an eleventh-century sacramentary.

¹⁸ Deshusses, *Sacramentaire grégorien* II, 25–8, and nos. 3511–15, 3517–21 and 3532–6. The prayers first occur in a ninth-century sacramentary from Tours, now divided between Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 184, and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9430, on which see J. Deshusses, 'Les anciens sacramentaires de Tours', *RB* 89 (1979), 281–302.

¹⁹ Deshusses, *Sacramentaire grégorien* II, no. 3201; BN lat. 9433, 240r, for which, see *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, ed. Hen. For the prayer in Alcuin's mass for St Martin, see Deshusses, *Sacramentaire grégorien* II, no. 3536.

²⁰ Deshusses, *Sacramentaire grégorien* II, no. 3519.

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Qui beatum Willibrordum
 confessorem tuum nobis doctorem
 donare dignatus es. per quem a
 tenebris ignorantiae liberasti. eternae
 lucis fieri filii meruimus. Qui quod ore
 docuit. exemplo monstravit. Cuius
 vita moribus effulsit egregia cuius
 meritum miraculis illuxit . . .

Qui mundum per sanctos doctores ad
 verae fidei agnitionem illuminasti. de
 quorum societate beatus Martinus
 excellentius enituit. virtutum meritis
 copiosus effulsit. signorum titulis
 clarius eluxit. et totius pietatis populo
 tuo magister emicuit . . .

Ad complendum: beginning similar to the Gelasian postcommunion for St Saturninus; ends as Alcuin's *ad complendum* for St Martin:²¹

. . . ut beati Willibrordi confessoris tui
 ubique intercessione protegatur. pro
 cuius annua veneratione haec tuae
 obtulimus maiestati. per.

. . . ut beati Martini nos ubique oratio
 adiuvet. in cuius veneratione haec tuae
 obtulimus maiestati per.

Super populum: begins much as Alcuin's prayer *ad vespas* for St Martin:²²

Celesti benedictione misericors deus
 populum presentem confirma . . .

Celesti benedictione omnipotens pater
 populum tuum sanctifica . . .

Ad vespas: ending much as the *ad complendum* of the mass *in festiuitate doctorum* at Tours:²³

. . . cuius nos doctrinis ad agnitionem
 tui sancti nominis pervenire tribuisti.
 per.

. . . quorum nos doctrinis ad
 agnitionem filii tui donasti pervenire.
 per.

St Martin, like St Willibrord (and the others who share his mass), is termed *doctor* throughout. Could the Willibrord mass have been composed by Alcuin?

Now it is well known that Alcuin wrote a life of the saint for Beornræd, third abbot of Echternach (from 775) and archbishop of Sens (785–97).²⁴ This *vita* was expressly designed to be read aloud, and indeed ultimately found its way into the breviary.²⁵ What is more, he wrote a life of St Richarius for

²¹ L. C. Mohlberg, *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli*, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Maior, Fontes 4 (Rome, 1960), no. 1075; and Deshusses, *Sacramentaire grégorien II*, no. 3520. ²² Deshusses, *Sacramentaire grégorien II*, no. 3521.

²³ *Ibid.* no. 3199.

²⁴ The *vita* is addressed to Beornræd, archbishop (785–97). Bk 1 (in prose) is ed. W. Levison, MGH, SS rer. Merov. 7 (1920), 81–141; and bk 2, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH, PLAC 1, 207–20. (The two books are printed integrally in PL 101, cols. 694–724.) See also I Deug-Su, *L'opera agiografica di Alcuino* (Spoleto, 1983), pp. 31–71.

²⁵ The 1495 edition of the breviary of Utrecht takes parts of the life for the readings at matins, and others for the chant (quire gg, fols. 5–6). All the responses in the first nocturn come from ch. 3 of the *vita*. See also the early-fourteenth-century ordinal from Trier, ed. A. Kurzeja, *Der älteste Liber ordinarius der Trierer Domkirche*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 52 (Munster, 1972), 553.

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Angilbert, abbot of Saint-Riquier, and composed antiphons, responses and hymns in that saint's honour. Both chant and life must have been composed in or shortly after the year 800: the latter is dedicated to *Karolus Augustus*. Charlemagne had been actively involved in the rebuilding of the abbey church.²⁶ Saint-Valéry, barely twenty miles away, used the Willibrord mass for St Richarius, as we have seen. It is therefore hard to resist the conclusion that Alcuin not only provided lives and offices for the two saints, but also prayers for mass (and office), sending to Saint-Riquier those he had recently composed for Echternach. His life of St Vedastus (6 Feb.) for the monks of Saint-Vaast, Arras, was accompanied by a new mass too.²⁷ There are further points to consider.

Alcuin worked a number of phrases from the Echternach/Saint-Riquier mass into his *vita* of St Richarius, the most obvious instance being at the end of ch. 4, where he says of the saint *quod ore praedicavit, exemplo ostendit*, alluding consciously or unconsciously to the preface of the mass, which reads *quod ore docuit, exemplo monstravit*.²⁸ Both mass and life are written in admirably lucid Latin. This is the *stilus simplicior* requested (for the latter at least) by Abbot Angilbert.²⁹

The mass is unusual in that it begins and ends with a prayer *ad vespervas*: the first for the vigil of the feast, the second for the night service of the day itself. Although this arrangement is hard to parallel among other propers for local saints, it does occur in the mass for St Peter (29 June) in the Hadrianic Gregorian sacramentary and its followers, the prayer *ad vigilias in nocte* there being equivalent to Willibrord's first vespers. Echternach was dedicated to St Peter.³⁰

From the evidence gathered together above, it seems clear that Alcuin composed the mass for St Willibrord while writing his *vita sancti Willibrordi* for Archbishop Beornræd (d. 797), 'recycling' the whole for St Richarius (whose *vita* he also wrote) a few years later.³¹ Moreover, it may well be the forerunner

²⁶ The life is ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SS rer. Merov. 4 (1903), 381–401. For the chant and hymns, see Hariulf of Aldenburg's *Chronicon Centulense* (PL 174, col. 1251); and for Charlemagne's part in the reconstruction of Saint-Riquier, *Angilberti abbatis de ecclesia Centulensi libellus*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH, SS 15.1 (1887), 173–81, and *Chronicon Centulense* (PL 174, cols. 1239–41).

²⁷ Deshusses, *Sacramentaire grégorien* I, nos. 59*–63* and II, 25–8; the *vita* of St Vedastus is ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SS rer. Merov. 3 (1896), 399–427.

²⁸ See above, p. 2, for the preface; MGH SS rer. Merov. 4, 392. Note also line 268 of Alcuin's poem on the saints of York: *quae modo per mundum chartis inscripta leguntur* (*Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. P. Godman (Oxford, 1982), p. 28).

²⁹ MGH, SS rer. Merov. 4, 389.

³⁰ Deshusses, *Sacramentaire grégorien* I, no. 593; and see also the mass at Echternach itself, in *Sacramentary of Echternach*, ed. Hen. The collect of the Willibrord mass may carry the allusion further. The words *pastor* and *ovile* recall Christ's charge to St Peter, 'Pasce oves meas' (John XXI.16).

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Excerpt

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of his new masses for St Martin. Alcuin did not become abbot of Tours until 796, and there is nothing at present to suggest that he worked for the community before this date. That he was not averse to assigning prayers from one saint's mass to another also emerges from the fact that he made the normal postcommunion for St Cuthbert in England (and at Fulda) the *super populum* of his new mass for St Vedastus.³²

Subsequently the Willibrord mass seems to have spread rapidly, passing from Echternach to southern Germany, and from Saint-Riquier to Saint-Valéry and its neighbours. And if any explanation of how it was carried further afield were needed, one could point to the Englishman Fridugis (OE Frithugils), who was Alcuin's successor at Tours and thereafter became chancellor to Louis the Pious (from 819 to 834) and abbot of the monastery of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer (820–34), where, as we have seen, it was adapted for St Bertin.³³

From northern France the mass was then carried to Winchester – possibly by Grimbald, a monk of Saint-Bertin who settled in a *monasteriolum* close to the site of what was later to become the New Minster – and assigned to St Birinus, whose relics were preserved at the Old Minster. Grimbald died on 8 July 901.³⁴ However, it would be wrong not to take account of a further possibility: that the mass was introduced by Bishop Æthelwold (963–84). The exemplars of Æthelwold's liturgical books – notably the splendid benedictional written for him c. 973 by Godemann (later abbot of Thorney) – seem to have been acquired from the abbey of Saint-Vaast at Arras or a house nearby.³⁵ Although the mass did not come from Saint-Vaast itself, it could easily have been

³¹ The ninth-century mass-lectionary ('comes') of Saint-Riquier, which derives in part from one drawn up by Alcuin, provides proper readings for the feast of St Richarius (PL 30, cols. 487–532, at 506). See also F. Cabrol et H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris, 1907–53) V.1, cols. 322–3.

³² Deshusses, *Sacramentaire grégorien* I, no. 63*; Wilson, *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, p. 167; and G. Richter and A. Schönfelder, *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X* (Fulda, 1912), repr. HBS 101 (London, 1977), no. 250. See also N. A. Orchard, 'A Note on the Masses for St Cuthbert', *RB* 105 (1995), 79–98.

³³ On Fridugis, see W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 163–6. For the mass at Saint-Bertin and Bergues-Saint-Winoc, see above, p. 6, n. 16. The earliest surviving mass for St Audomarus (Omer) is the one originally composed by Alcuin for St Vedastus: Wilson, *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, pp. 210–11. The exemplar of Robert's book evidently came from Flanders. The next earliest mass for St Omer occurs in BN lat. 819, 102v: but its form there is different.

³⁴ On Grimbald's career, see P. Grierson, 'Grimbald of Saint-Bertin's', *EHR* 45 (1940), 528–59.

³⁵ The benedictional, now London, British Library, Add. 45958, has a blessing each for SS Vedastus, Æthelthryth and Swithun, but makes no further provision for 'local' saints. See G. F. Warner and H. A. Wilson, *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold*, Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1910), pp. 12, 37 and 39. Also see A. Prescott, 'The Text of the Benedictional of St

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gathered up at Saint-Omer by someone travelling north from Arras to England.³⁶

After the Conquest, the mass was again reassigned: to St Augustine at Canterbury, Durham and Barking (and therefore at St Paul's in London as well); to St Oswald of Worcester at Sherborne; and to Pope Mark (Oct. 7) at Hereford and Whitby.³⁷ But in the fenlands at least, old habits died hard: Ely, Peterborough and Bury continued to honour St Birinus.³⁸

Æthelwold', *Bishop Æthelwold: his Career and Influence*, ed. B. Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 119–47; and for Æthelwold and St Vedastus, see M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester: The Life of St Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1991), pp. lxxvi and lxxxiv.

³⁶ The mass does not appear in the sanctorale of Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 444, the contents of which are summarized in L. Brou, *The Monastic Ordinale of St Vedast's Abbey, Arras*, 2 vols., HBS 86–7 (London, 1957) I, 80–7.

³⁷ For Canterbury, Durham, Barking and Sherborne, see above, p. 5, n. 15. Barking adopted the liturgical use of St Paul's for mass, said the psalms according to the Roman manner, but retained the Benedictine breviary. See A. A. King, *Liturgies of the Past* (London, 1959), pp. 297–8. For Hereford and Whitby, see Legg, *Missale ad usum Westmonasteriensis* III, 1598–9.

³⁸ For Ely and Peterborough, see above, p. 5, n. 14. For Bury, see Laon 238, 138r, with Hohler, 'Les saintes insulaires dans le missel de l'archevêque Robert', pp. 302–3.

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