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A Fragment of a Ninth-Century Liturgical Book in the Holdings of Utrecht University Library

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The subject of this paper is a fragment of a liturgical book that is a part of the manuscript fragment collection in the holdings of the Utrecht University Library Special Collections¹. The fragment was brought to light in the 1960s, after it was rebound into a manuscript belonging to the St. Paul's Abbey, Utrecht, where it was inserted during the binding process in the fifteenth century. The fact that it does not fit into the known chronology of either Utrecht or the Netherlands and displays an unusual degree of sophistication prompted me to examine it in greater detail and attempt to assess the original shape of its parent book and its function.

1. Description

The fragment, preserved in Utrecht, University Library, ms. 163 (shelfmark 4 J 9), is a single leaf of parchment from an otherwise unknown mass book. This leaf was cut into two half-leaves and re-used as the front and the back pastedown of the manuscript, for which reason it is still divided into four pages (163-1 to 163-4). Due to the cropping both of one of the horizontal and one of the vertical edges, one line of text is missing in the space where the two half-leaves adjoin and one of the outer margins together with the initials in the margin and a small part of the line at the edge is absent. The half-leaves measure approximately 13 x 17.5 cm, i.e. before the cropping the leaf would be of an average folio size. The text in the fragment, arranged into two columns of 31 lines (with the missing line), occupied area of approximately 7.5 x 22 cm per column before the halving of the parchment. The page was ruled in dry-point, which is occasionally still visible, just as the lines delineating the division into the columns. Damage seems to have been done to the fragment only during and after the binding and the same applies to the additions, such as the inscription *Liber monasterii sancti Pauli in Traiecto Inferiori* inserted vertically in a late medieval hand in between the columns in

163-1.² The St. Paul's Abbey was identified as the place of the binding also based on the particular stamp on the front cover of the book.³

The core material of the parent book of the fragment is that of a sacramentary. However, in addition, it recognizes two other layers of the text. Apart from the prayers given in the Carolingian minuscule and the *tituli* of the feasts given in capitalis rustica, it also contains the chants, written in minuscule in a smaller script but clearly in the main hand, and giving the full incipits of the chants rather than just the first few words. This indicates that we should not speak of the parent book of the fragment as of a sacramentary proper, but that it is rather a different, more complex liturgical book (sacramentary *cum* gradual). The carefully laid script and the lack of corrections, erasures and later additions further attest that the parent book of the fragment was a particularly elaborate material object, possibly a prestige item created for and used by a high-ranking individual or institution.

The script features of the fragment support dating into the second half of the ninth century.⁴ Comparable script appears also in two sacramentaries from Cologne – Köln, Dombibliothek, Codex 88 and Köln, Dombibliothek, Codex 137⁵, of which Köln 137 was likewise dated to the late ninth century.⁶

²) A similar ownership mark was made into ms. 163, f. 8r, which makes it clear that it refers to the book as a whole and was not a part of the parent book of the fragment. The script of the mark also confirms dating of the binding to the late fifteenth century.

³) A. Hulshof/M.J. Schretlen, *De Kunst der Oude Boekbinders*. Utrecht 1921, 6 and pl. I, 10-18.

⁴) This is the personal opinion of David Ganz. Cfr. K. Gamber, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores* II. Freiburg 1968, 522-523, nr. 1386. Here, *Bischoff* dates the fragment to the third quarter of the ninth century.

⁵) See *Codices Electronici Ecclesiae Coloniensis*. At: <http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/>. Also *The Medieval Manuscripts of the Cologne Cathedral Library I*, ed. by D.W. Anderson. Colledgeville 1995, Mss. 1-100.

⁶) H. Finger/M. Riethmüller, *Handschriftencensus Rheinland*. Wiesbaden 1993, 652. See also the catalogue entries for Köln 137 and Köln 88 in *Codices Electronici Ecclesiae Coloniensis*. For Köln 88, dating to the late tenth century is supported, in particular by Finger/Riethmüller, 624-25 and by A. Odenthal/U. Surmann, *Anmerkungen zu Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Handschrift 88*. In: *Glaube und Wissen*

¹) I would like to thank Dr. *Els Rose* and Dr. *Bart Jaski*, the curator of the Special Collections, who supervised me while writing this article.

Both were produced for and used by the Cologne cathedral.⁷ Another mass book from the area, the so-called Balderic or Utrecht sacramentary (Berlin, Theol. lat. qu. 2) dated to the late tenth century displays some comparable paleographic features.⁸ According to *Overgaauw*, this sacramentary was used in Utrecht, although it was prepared in a different locality, possibly Cologne.⁹ Moreover, it might have been a bishop's book.¹⁰ Finally, similar paleographical features may be found in the Sacramentary of Noyon (Reims, Bibliothèque municipale 213) copied at the end of the ninth century at Saint Amand.¹¹ This sacramentary was an institutional book and contains the incipits of the chants inscribed into the margin.¹²

The five books can be further compared as objects in other respects. The parent manuscript of the fragment falls between the institutional sacramentaries (27.5 x 23 cm for Köln 88; 30 x 24 cm for Köln 137; and 34 x 26 cm for Reims 213¹³) and the Utrecht sacramentary (23 x 16 cm)¹⁴ when it comes to size. The text area of the fragment, however, is significantly larger than in case of any of the manuscripts listed. The contents of the single chant-containing leaf preserved in ms. 163 spreads over two leaves of Köln 88 and the layout of Köln 137, Reims 213 and Berlin, Theol. lat. qu. 2 resemble that of Köln 88.¹⁵ In

im Mittelalter. Katalogbuch zur Ausstellung. München 1998, 394-395.

⁷) Anderson, Mss. 1-100.

⁸) See A. *Fingernagel*, Die illuminierten lateinischen Handschriften süd-, west- und nordeuropäischer Provenienz der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin PK: 4.-12. Jahrhundert. Wiesbaden 1995, 74-75.

⁹) E. *Overgaauw*, Sechs mittelalterliche Handschriften aus Utrecht, Nimwegen und Nordholland: Beispiele niederländischer Buchkultur. *Zentrum für Niederlande-Studien. Jahrbuch 4* (1993) 116-118.

¹⁰) *Overgaauw*, Sechs mittelalterliche Handschriften 117. P. *Sejourne*, L'Ordinaire de S. Martin d'Utrecht. Utrecht 1919-21, 142.

¹¹) J. *Deshusses*, Le Sacramentaire Gregorien I. Freiburg 1971, 41. Cfr. *Gamber* 522 (as Sacramentar aus Saint-Thierry). For the sample of the script, see *Tresors de la Bibliothèque municipale de Reims I, Manuscripts*, ed. by M. *de Lempis*. Reims 1978, no. 10.

¹²) There are additional mass book manuscripts that could be compared with the fragment. Some of them are mentioned in particular sections of this paper because of their relevance in that context. Others are noted in the conclusion.

¹³) Compare also with Reims 213, another sacramentary cum gradual made for the Noyon Cathedral, measuring 34 x 26 cm; *de Lempis*, no. 10.

¹⁴) *Fingernagel* 74.

¹⁵) The comparison is based both on the photocopies of the Balderic sacramentary and photographs in *Overgaauw*. See *Fingernagel*, 74-75; and V. *Rose*, Verzeichniss der Lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin

the case of all these manuscript, the margin is quite wide and at least in some cases serves to accommodate certain sections of the text (chants) or is suitable for additions and correction. The margin in the fragment, in contrast, is significantly reduced and could not serve such a purpose.¹⁶ One may ask what might have been the reasons behind this formatting? One hypothesis might be that, apart from being elaborate, prestigious and unusually rich in contents, the parent book of the fragment was also very compact, perhaps in order that it might be carried around. This feature would seem to support the assumption that we should speak here of a personalized item such as a bishop's or an abbot's book.

2. Prayers

The fragment features altogether 13 prayers and 2 prefaces that belong to a portion of the sanctorale for the period from May 3rd to May 13th containing five mass services. The first of these, the Invention of the Holy Cross (May 3rd), is cropped and only the last lines of a preface and a prayer *Ad complendum* (post-communion) are present in the fragment. The other four – the feast of St. John *ante portam latinam* (May 6th), the feast of St. Gordianus and Epimachus (May 10th), St. Nereus, Achilleus and Pancrace (May 12th) and the Dedication of the church of Mary *ad martyres* (May 13th) – are all present in full apart from the single cropped line in the joint of the half-leaves. The particular content, sequence and presentation of the prayers allow one to draw three generic features of its parent book.

First of all, as mentioned in section 1, the parent book of the fragment combines the sacramentary, i.e. the prayers of mass, with yet another liturgical book which supplied the chants, most probably a gradual. In the period of the fragment's origin, few mass books would support such a direct fusion.¹⁷ Only three other sacramentaries available to the author for

II: Die Handschriften der Kurfürstlichen Bibliothek und der Kurfürstlichen Lande. Abt. 2. Berlin 1903, 679-681. Reims 213 is accessible via the databases of Bibilothèque municipale de Reims. At: <http://www.bm-reims.fr/medias/medias.aspx?INSTANCE=EXPLOITATION&SYNCMENU=ACCUEIL>.

¹⁶) Or was possibly trimmed in the course of insertion? This is not clear from the shape of the fragment.

¹⁷) E. *Palazzo*, A history of liturgical books from the beginning to the thirteenth century. Collegeville 1998, 107. Cfr. *Gamber*, 504-33. A list of other ninth-century liturgical books containing chants is to be found in P. *Jeffery*, The Oldest Sources of the Graduale: A Preliminary Checklist of mss. copied before about 900 AD. *The Journal of Musicology* 2:3 (1983) 316-21. Also The sacramentary of Ratoldus:

more thorough comparison – the tenth-century Leofric Missal¹⁸ and the ninth-century Vatican, BAV Ottobonianus 313¹⁹ and Reims 213²⁰ – contain chants in the form of incipits inscribed into the margins.²¹ The traces of comparable marginal additions occur also in Köln 137²², Berlin, Theol. lat. qu. 2²³ and the tenth-century Sacramentary of Ratoldus.²⁴ In contrast to all these sacramentaries, the chants in the fragment are: a) fully incorporated into the main body of the text; b) given as full incipits rather than just a few words (this is the case also with Köln 137); and c) written in a hand contemporary with the rest of the text (that is the case also with Reims 213 and the Leofric Missal). The fusion of the two different liturgical sources was clearly carried out intentionally and actively. Gamber notes that fused books of this type were a product of certain experimentation in the late Carolingian period in some of the monastic centers and this is probably the environment to which the fragment should be assigned.²⁵ Note, however, that no book known to me incorporates the chant text directly into the main body of the sacramentary.

Secondly, beside the prayers, the main body of the text in the fragment contains two prefaces from the *supplementum* of Benedict of Aniane²⁶, which could appear both within the main body of a liturgical book and as a separate appendix to it. The latter is the standard mode of presentation in the oldest ma-

nuscripts containing the *supplementum*²⁷, including Reims 213, Köln 88 and 137. The former represents to some extent a younger stage of the development. The sacramentaries in the late tenth century (e.g. the Leofric Missal and the Ratoldus Sacramentary) would in general follow the trend to incorporate the *supplementum* just as the parent book of the fragment.²⁸ Only a few of the ninth-century books contain this progressive feature, e.g. the Sacramentary of Chelles (New York, P. Morgan G 57) produced at the end of the ninth century at Saint Amand.²⁹

Finally, the particular combination of prayers and prefaces visible in the fragment classifies the parent book as a *Gregorianum mixtum*, i.e. a mass book based on a Gregorian sacramentary with traits derived from an older Gelasian book. The service for the feast of St. Pancrace, in particular, distinguishes a Gregorian from a Gelasian sacramentary. In the *Gregorianum Hadrianum*, St. Pancrace would have a service and prayers on his own³⁰, whereas in the Gelasian sacramentaries, the saint would be adjoined to St. Nereus and Achilleus.³¹ Unlike many of the *mixta*, the fragment does not contain a double entry for St. Pancrace, a single and a corporate one, but recognizes only the feast day of all three saints. If we wish to classify the fragment even further, the selection of items in the fragment may be associated with what Deshusses sees as a peculiar Corbie-Saint Amand subgroup of *mixta*.³² Some parallels exist also with the tenth-century books from Northwestern Europe, where many of the sacramentaries would be mixed Gregorian books with roots in the Corbie-Saint Amand group.³³

While the listed features seem to indicate that the parent book of the fragment should be associated with the Corbie-Saint Amand group of sacramentaries, its prayer content comes close rather to three mass books from the tenth century and northwestern Europe: the Leofric Missal³⁴, the Sacramentary of

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12052. ed. by N. Orchard. London 2005, 125-26.

¹⁸) More specific the so-called Leofric A, or the earliest layer of the sacramentary from the late tenth century, made for the use of the archbishop of Canterbury from an unknown continental prototype of the Arras-type. See The Leofric Missal, ed. by N. Orchard. London 2002, 126-130.

¹⁹) A ninth-century *Gregorianum Hadrianum* used as one of the source manuscripts in The Gregorian sacramentary under Charles the Great. ed. by H.A. Wilson. London 1915. For the description and the structure of Ottobonianus 313, see Wilson's Introduction, xxviii-xxxvii. Also Gamber, 350-51.

²⁰) Bibliothèque municipale de Reims. At: <http://www.bm-reims.fr/medias/medias.aspx?INSTANCE=EXPLOITATION&SYNCMENU=ACCUEIL>.

²¹) According to *Sejourne*, the sacramentary of Utrecht used by Jacques de Pamele contained likewise the chants, but there is little evidence for that. *Sejourne* 142.

²²) In f. 52r.

²³) *Sejourne* 142.

²⁴) Orchard (2005), xli.

²⁵) Note that *Bischoff* believes it originated in Rheims; according to *Gamber*, 522. I was not able to track this information back to *Bischoff*. The paleography, indeed, shows some parallels; *M.-P. Laffitte/Ch. Denoël*, Trésors carolingiens, Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve. Paris 2007, 169 and 179.

²⁶) See *Deshusses* 67-70.

²⁷) See *Wilson* 255-302.

²⁸) *Wilson* xxiii.

²⁹) See *Deshusses* 38-39.

³⁰) See *Deshusses* 218 and 640.

³¹) See for example Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Überlieferung (Codex Sangall, No. 348). ed. by K. Mohlberg. Münster 1939, 118.

³²) *Deshusses* 74; *P. Deshusses*, Le Sacramentaire Gregorien II. Freiburg 1971, 22. Also The Sacramentary of Echternach: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. lat. 9433, ed. by Y. Hen. London 1997, 36-37.

³³) *Palazzo* 55; *Sejourne* 142. Köln 88 and the Leofric Missal also seem to represent this trend.

³⁴) Orchard (2002) 126-30.

Ratoldus³⁵, and the so-called Pamelius sacramentary.³⁶ All three represent *Gregoriana mixta*³⁷ and in one way or another pay attention to the mass chant.³⁸ Only Leofric and Ratoldus, however, contain the *supplementum* in the main body of the text, while Pamelius follows the separation of the Cologne sacramentaries.³⁹ Furthermore, Pamelius (and Köln 88, one of its sources) as well as Ratoldus contain a double entry for St. Pancrace. Köln 137, on the other hand contains only the “pure” single feast of St. Pancrace. In this respect, Leofric comes the closest to the fragment, yet at the same time it is a British book with specific Insular traits that are not present in the fragment or in the continental books.⁴⁰ What is even more, both Leofric and Ratoldus were designed as episcopal sacramentaries and as such contain episcopal blessings incorporated into the main body of the text just like the *supplementum* (in contrast to Köln 88 and 137, which was designed as an institutional sacramentary).⁴¹ A similar feature is absent in the fragment, which, however cannot be taken as evi-

dence that the parent book of the fragment was not an episcopal book. A separate benedictional could have been appended to the main part of the liturgical book, just like a separate *supplementum*.⁴² However, there are grounds to speculate against such an assumption, since the existence of a separate benedictional seems to go against the general objective of compactness and efficiency that is visible in the fragment and its northern French structure.

It may be concluded that the parent book of the fragment stands in certain respect between the ninth-century experimental books connected with Corbie and Saint Amand, which provided it with the structure, and the tenth-century sacramentaries from the northwestern Europe, which have similar contents.⁴³ This could indicate two things. First, that even though the book itself might have come from northern France (perhaps directly from Saint Amand), its contents reflect the particular use outside this area, i.e. that the book might have been prepared for the usage in this externalized context.⁴⁴ This would not be surprising, as we know that monastic centers such as Corbie and Saint Amand produced liturgical manuscripts to be exported to different areas.⁴⁵ Secondly, the parallels with the tenth-century books may be interpreted as disclosing a certain degree of dependency of these younger manuscripts on prototypes similar to the parent book of the fragment, originating outside the target area but accepted here as progressive models that were imitated and elaborated at later stages, e.g. by the addition of the episcopal blessings.

3. Chants

The fragment contains 26 chant items distributed into four mass services, as the chant material for the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross is fully cropped. These items are not distributed evenly, which indicates a certain hierarchy of the feast days. The entry for the feast of St. Mary *ad martyres*, for example, lists all ten chant items that would constitute a mass service, while all other services contain only five to six chants. This absence of material obviously present in the service when performed indi-

³⁵) Orchard (2005) xiii-lxiii.

³⁶) Of the three, Pamelius alone is not a medieval manuscript proper, but an early modern edition made by Jacques de Pamele in 1571. As his sources, Pamele used a number of today unknown manuscripts from the area of Western Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. It is not possible to reconstruct what manuscripts were used and in what way in the compilation, but it is clear that the two Cologne sacramentaries mentioned above, Köln 88 and Köln 137, were used as the framework for the edition. Other manuscripts used include an unknown sacramentary from Utrecht and a chant-containing sacramentary from Ghent. For the sources of Pamelius and the place of the Cologne manuscripts in the compilation, see *J. Pamelius*. Praefatio. In: *Ritualis ss. Patrum Latinorum sive Liturgici Latini I. Cologne 1675*, (unpaginated). Also *R. Amiet*, *Les sacramentaires 88 et 137 du chapitre de Cologne. Scriptorium 9* (1955) 76-84.

³⁷) According to *Sejourne*, all mass books connected with Utrecht are *Gregoriana mixta*. Moreover, he observes a trend towards a higher degree of saturation with the Gelasian material towards the twelfth century, *Sejourne*, 142. Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of preservation of the liturgical book examined does not allow for an assessment of this sort.

³⁸) Pamelius includes a separated *Antiphonarius ordinatus* without indications about its source; moreover, one of his source manuscripts was a chant-containing sacramentary from the church of St. Bavo in Ghent. Contrast with Reims 213, which is a chant-containing sacramentary akin to the fragment in structure but not so fully in contents.

³⁹) Whether this was also the trait of other manuscripts used by Jacques de Pamele, among which was a now-lost sacramentary from Utrecht, cannot be said.

⁴⁰) Such as the feast of St. Marc on May 14th inserted before St. Mary *ad martyres*. Orchard (2002), 126-30.

⁴¹) To add, already ninth-century episcopal sacramentaries would support this feature, e.g. the Sacramentary of Saint Amand, BNL lat. 2291 or the Sacramentary of Sens (written

at Saint Amand), Stockholm Holm A. 136; Orchard (2002), 24.

⁴²) Cfr. Orchard (2002) 28. Separate benedictionals, in his opinion, were preferred in Germany.

⁴³) Cfr. with the Leofric Missal, which, as Orchard puts it, contains “Artesian symptoms” even though its content is Insular; Orchard (2002) 29.

⁴⁴) Cfr. Orchard (2002) 25.

⁴⁵) Sacramentary of Ratoldus is a prime example.

cates that the entry as preserved in the fragment itself would not suffice for the performance of the chants during the mass. This in turn would mean that: a) the parent book of the fragment was used in combination with additional resources when the mass was celebrated, whether in the form of a supplement of the book itself (e.g. *Commune sanctorum*), as a separate liturgical book/s (e.g. ordinal, gradual) or based on the memory of the user (e.g. offertory versicles); and b) that the user of the book did not need necessarily to have the complete set of chants available. When this line of thinking is reversed, it can be noted that certain liturgical resources need not to be used together with the book, such as the mass gradual, as the introit antiphon, the offertory and the communion antiphon are present for every service, and that for a reason that cannot be deduced today, the user of the book wished to have these in front of him when celebrating the mass.

The presence of the chants for the service of St. John *ante portam latinam* requires special attention, since this feast day would rarely feature its own, proper set of chants and instead rely completely on the Common of Saints.⁴⁶ Only a few other sources from all manuscripts and editions encountered in the course of this research give the chant items for *ante portam latinam*, the Leofric Missal being foremost among them.⁴⁷ Both liturgical books feature very similar chants for *ante portam latinam*, which could indicate a certain relationship, albeit indirect

⁴⁶) This is obvious upon comparison with *Hesbert's* Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex, which lacks chant items for the feast day in all six analyzed manuscripts. Note in particular that two of *Hesbert's* core manuscripts belong to the Corbie-Saint Amand group. See *R.J. Hesbert*, Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex. Brussels 1935, 116-117. It can be likewise pointed out, that the Ordinary of St. Denis explicitly says that the mass of St. John *ante portam latinam* should be sung as the standard mass for St. John or it should take over the chant from the Sunday mass: *Si venerit in V feria Missa matutinalis sit de sancto Dyonisio et magna Missa de sancto Iohanne, similiter si in sabbato. Si in dominica sit, magna Missa sit de dominica et Missa matutinalis de sancto Iohanne*; The first Ordinary of the Royal Abbey of St.-Denis in France: Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 526, ed. by *E. Foley*. Saint-Paul 1990, 524.

⁴⁷) *Orchard* (2002) 259. See also *Orchard* (2002) 130. "Proper" chant for *ante portam latinam* occurs also in *carpsum* of Stephan the Cantor, an extraction of liturgical items from the ninth to the eleventh century made in late eleventh century Verona. See *L'Orazionale Dell' Arcidiacono Pacifico e il Carpsum del Cantore Stefano*. ed. by *G.G. Meersseman/E. Adda/J. Deshusses*. Freiburg 1974, 276. Its contents are as follows: Ad introitum Ant. *Ego autem* (iii). Ps. *Quid gloriaris. Alleluia. V Beatus vir. Of. Gloria et honore. Com. Magna est gloria eius.*

(dependency on a third source/tradition). All of the chants for the service can be traced back to other services, particularly to the service *unius apostoli* and *unius martyris*, i.e. although the liturgical book presents them as particular to the feast, they are in fact common. Yet, the decision to list them as the proper chants for the feast day gives them some of the significance of the proper chants. It is unclear how this signification should be interpreted, whether in the fragment or in the Leofric Missal. Possibly, in both cases listing of a set of chants for the feast had to do with a very concrete, local liturgical use. Another possibility is that the listing of the chants for the feast of St. John *ante portam latinam* falls into the more general programme of compactness of the parent book of the fragment.

Significantly, the two chant-containing sacramentaries from the Corbie-Saint Amand group, that are used by *Hesbert* – the Sacramentary of *Rodradus* (Paris, BNF lat 12050, as *Corbiensis*) and the Sacramentary of *Senlis* (Paris, St. Genevieve 111, as *Silvanectensis*) – contain some distinct chant features that do not occur in the fragment. This supports the impression that, even if the parent book of the fragment might have been produced in the same area as the two sacramentaries, it was meant for externalized use and the selection of the chant, as much as the selection of prayers, reflects this different environment (Utrecht?).

What can be remarked further about the chants present in the fragment, upon their comparison with other manuscripts containing chants⁴⁸, is that they are characterized by two features: their presence/absence with respect to the manuscript and their constancy/variability with respect to the service. A high proportion of the chant material belongs to the subgroup of chants always listed by the manuscripts and constant in a given service, i.e. they represent the core liturgical units, which could hardly support deviation. This is the case of all the introit antiphons, the offertories and the communion antiphons as well as more generally the items belonging to the service of St. Mary *ad martyres*. Numerous other items seem to be constant elements of given services, but not always listed by

⁴⁸) The comparison group included the Leofric Missal, *Ottobonianus* 313, the sacramentary of *Jacques de Pamele* and the selection of manuscripts given by *Hesbert's* Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex. It is more than possible that this research field is incomplete as important sources were not available to the author of this paper, and thus the comparison must be taken as helpful and providing some but definitely not all information about the relationship between the fragment and other, comparable liturgical books.

the manuscripts. These include the gradual responses, the offertory versicles and the alleluia for St. Mary *ad martyres*. The items which are both variable and often absent from the manuscripts are alleluias and the psalms. As for the former, the two alleluias for the feasts of St. Gordianus and Epimachus and for the feast of St. Nereus, Achilleus and Pancrace display a high degree of variability which would indicate a very restricted local tradition. Both, moreover, can be found in other services, such as the Common of more martyrs and the particular feast days of such cluster saints (St. Tiburius and Valerianus, St. Primus and Felician, St. Cosmas and Damian).⁴⁹ The psalms likewise display a comparable variability within the comparison group but in this case, they perhaps can be connected to the traditions of performance of the psalms in concrete communities using the liturgical books. Furthermore, the absence of the psalms from some of the services appearing in the fragment indicates that the parent book of the fragment would have been used in combination with an additional liturgical resource, whether in the form of a different liturgical book, material appended to the same book or knowledge bound to the memory. It is impossible to assess the presence of specific psalms in specific positions within the liturgy, given the fragmentary state of the material examined.

4. Conclusion

Before concluding this paper, it needs to be made clear that this paper does not strive to provide definitive answers, but rather to bring forward observations and present hypotheses and further points of departure about the fragment examined and the manuscript which supplied it. I had only limited access to the textual material which would allow for a more profound analysis and contextualization of the fragment. Further comparison with the sacramentaries from the Corbie-Saint Amand group, in particular, would be valuable. Nevertheless, following observations can be made.

The unknown manuscript from which the fragment examined was taken is a mass book of a sacramentary-type which incorporates the mass chants in its main body of text. Even among the chant-containing manuscripts, the degree of its sophistication and the manner of presentation is extraordinary. This needs

to be stressed as the fragment reveals unexpected progressive experimentation with the liturgical text in a relatively early period.

The parent book of the fragment was, moreover, prepared as a profoundly compact, prestigious item. It is unclear whether it might have been an episcopal book, particularly as the episcopal benedictions which could be expected to be found in the main body of the text are absent. It is very likely, that it should be connected with the centers of manuscript production in northern France and that it was intended for export to a different region. The manuscript, dated to the late ninth century, may be characterized as a *Gregorianum mixtum* with the *supplementum* included in the main body of the text. Its mixed traits as well as layout and formatting resemble the manuscripts that were produced in this period in Saint Amand and Corbie, although the contents reflect rather the use of northward lying areas, and be possibly connected with Utrecht, Cologne, or both. The content of the fragment also indicates that additional resources apart from the parent book were necessary for the complete celebration of the mass, although it cannot be ruled out that the additional information was supplied by the book itself in a section now lost or could have been transmitted via memory. Some of the more particular features contained in the fragment include the set of “proper” chants for the feast of St. John *ante portam latinam*, a particular selection of psalms and a singular corporate service for St. Pancrace. Even after this research, it is impossible to say in what context the manuscript was compiled, but given the role of Saint Amand in the production of the sacramentaries for major institutions of the period, it is likely that the parent book of the fragment belongs in the same category. It remains unclear whether the liturgical book was made for Utrecht or used here, although it may be presumed. Its presence in the St. Paul’s Abbey in Utrecht cannot be confirmed sooner than in the fifteenth century. It was clearly not meant for this institution as the convent came into being only in the mid-eleventh century, but rather should be connected with the bishopric of Utrecht.

Indices provided in the previous sections pointed to the monastery of Saint Amand as one of the most likely loci of compilation of the parent book of the manuscript. This assumption is supported also by the fact that Alfried, the bishop of Utrecht in 866-870, served as an abbot of Saint Amand prior to his or-

⁴⁹) See *P.F. Cutter*, *Musical sources of the Old-Roman Mass: an inventory of MS Rome, St. Cecilia Gradual 1071, MS Rome, Vaticanum Latinum 5319, MSS Rome, San Pietro F 22 and F 11*. Stuttgart 1979, 187-188.

dination.⁵⁰ It is not unlikely that he brought a book such as the presupposed parent book of the fragment with him.⁵¹ This would accord with its personalized, externalized content as well as with the compactness and elaboration. Moreover, one could argue that the chants were present in full in the parent book, because the intended user, Alfried, was not acquainted with the use of the locale where he was to become a bishop. Other features of the book, however, continue to be unexplained: Is the compactness and sophistication dictated by the reasons presumed above alone? Or could there have been other causes as well? What other material would such a hypothetical book contain and how would this picture fit with the fragment (the question of the episcopal blessings)? Should we presuppose that the parent book was supposed to be a movable object? What does this add to the hypothesis of connection with Alfried?

It could be likewise speculated that there might have been a relationship between this fragmented manuscript and the lost Utrecht manuscript of Jacques de Pamele. According to Pamele, the sacramentary he used could be dated to the ninth century.⁵² However, he does not mention any chants and speaks of episcopal benedictions included, although he does not specify whether in a separate section or inserted into the main text of the sacramentary. Furthermore, the fragment was made into a fly-leaf by all evidence in the fifteenth century, while the Utrecht sacramentary was available to Pamele still in 1571 (although

we don't know in what shape). Yet, even if the parent book of the fragment cannot be identified with the Pamele's source sacramentary, it cannot be ruled out that the two were connected and immediately a question arises, what could have been the nature of the connection between such two hypothetical sacramentaries?

Finally, the examination of the fragment did not reveal how the parent book of the fragment came down to the Saint Paul's Abbey in Utrecht. We may only speculate that, as long as the book was meant to be used by the bishop of Utrecht, it might have been deposited in the convent once it was considered outdated. Nothing more may be said after the examination of the fragment, but further research into this area could provide more insight into the matter.

Apart from the above-mentioned concerns, there are many more issues that deserve to be treated related to the contents of the fragment – the presentation of the Psalms, the usage of particular *tituli* for the feast days, the presence of a single feast for St. Pancrace and traces of a hierarchy of feasts. A broader study of the liturgical books containing mass prayers and chants would be very valuable for the further research of the fragment as would be the examination of known material connected with the Corbie-Saint Amand group of the mixed Gregorian sacramentaries, e.g. of the so-called Missal of Saint Amand (Paris, BNF lat 2291), the Sacramentary of Stavelot (London, British Museum 16605)⁵³ and of the Sacramentary of Radbod (Paris, BNF lat 12050). I believe that many of the questions phrased here can be answered in the course of further research, particularly in the field of study of the chant, but also after a comparison with other the manuscript fragments. As for now, I sincerely hope, the research undertaken provides important information for the field of the study of liturgical manuscripts.

⁵⁰) *K. van Vliet*, *Traiecti muros heu! The Bishop of Utrecht during and after the Viking Invasion of Frisia (834-925)*. In: *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhinelands and Scandinavia*. Wien 2004, 141. Also *K. van Vliet*, *In kringen van kanunniken: munsters en kapitels in het bisdom Utrecht 695-1227*. Zutphen 2002, 138 and 144-45. The parent book of the fragment would fit into the chronology proposed by *Deshusses*; *J. Deshusses*, *Chronologie des grands sacramentaires de Saint-Amand*. *Revue Bénédictine* 87 (1977) 230-37.

⁵¹) Note that Balderic, the bishop of Utrecht in 917-975 and the presumed owner of the Balderic sacramentary, had a hagiography of St. Lebuin commissioned at Saint Amand; *Vliet* (2004) 151. This could indicate that long-term ties existed between the abbey and the bishopric.

⁵²) *Pamelius*, *Praefatio*. Also *Amiet* 76.

⁵³) Description in *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1846-1847*. London 1864, 290. In addition, a fragment from a *missal* from Stavelot is likewise preserved in the British Museum in ms. British Museum 16.606; *Jeffery* 321.

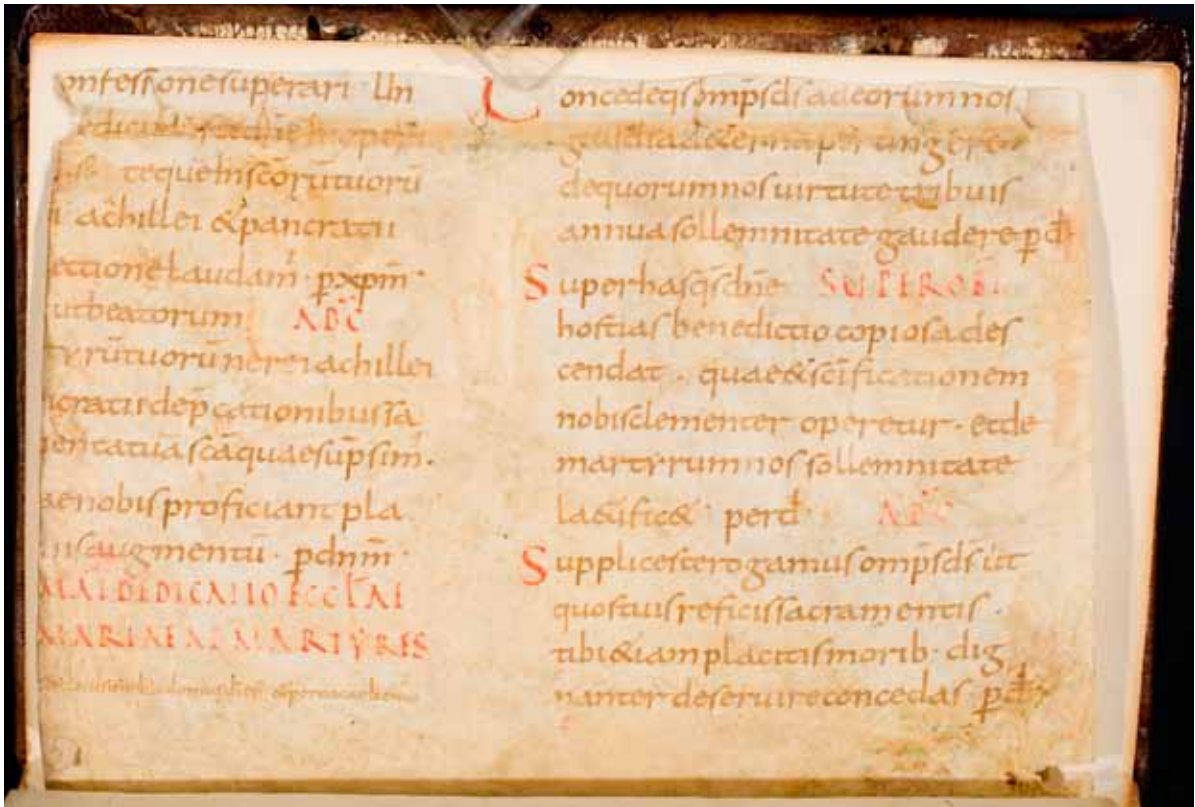


Plate 3: 163-3

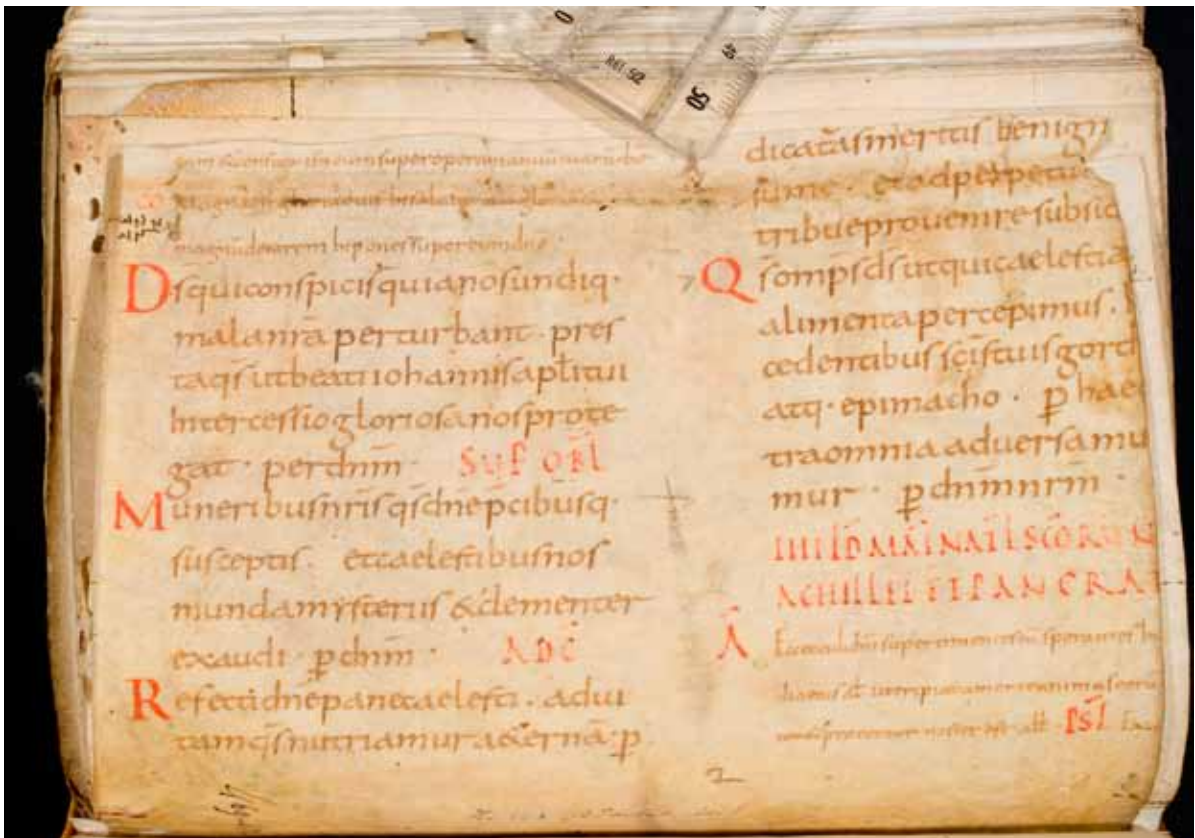


Plate 4: 163-4