

***Expositiones Missae* in MS Corbie 230**

Three commentaries on the Mass in a Carolingian
pastoral compendium

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1. Introduction

“Let a priest never celebrate Mass alone, because as it cannot be celebrated without the salutation of a priest, the response of the people, the admonition of the priest, and, again the response of the people, thus it ought never to be celebrated by one man alone. For there should be people to stand around him, to receive his salutation, to give responses to him, and to recall to him that saying of the Lord: “Wherever two or three shall be gathered in my name, there also am I in their midst.”

Theodulf of Orléans, first capitulary, cap. 7.¹

The ritual of the Mass, including the receiving of the communion, is one of the most important sacraments of the Christian church. Hence, when the Carolingian scholar Theodulf of Orléans (ca. 750-821) wrote instructions for the priests in his diocese, several of his precepts concerned the ritual of the Mass; priests should educate their lay communities – referred to as “the people” – and admonish them to attend Mass regularly in a correct manner.² In the seventh chapter of his precepts, Theodulf emphasized that both priest and laity should attend Mass and that Mass cannot be celebrated without the response of the people. The *Admonitio generalis*, an important capitulary issued by Charlemagne in 789, underlined the importance of the sacrament and encouraged bishops to examine priests in their diocese on the celebration of the Mass to see whether they properly understand the prayers of the Mass.³ This raises the following question: how were priests educated on the Mass during the Carolingian era?

¹ Theodulf of Orléans, *Capitula* I, cap. 4: “Sacerdos missam solus nequaquam celebret, quia sicut illa celebrari non potest sine salutatione sacerdotis, responsione plebis, admonitione sacerdotis, responsione nihilominus plebis, ita nimirum nequaquam ab uno debet celebrari. Esse enim debent, qui ei circumstant, quos ille salutet, a quibus ei respondeatur. Et ad memoriam illi reducendum est illud dominicum: *Ubi cumque fuerint duo vel tres in nomine meo congregati, et ego in medio eorum.*” (Matth. 18,20) P. Brommer ed., *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* I (Hanover 1984) 108. I used the translation of Theodulf’s first episcopal statute by G.E. McCracken and A. Cabaniss: *The library of Christian Classics, Vol. IX: Early Medieval Theology* (Philadelphia 1957) 95.

² Chapters in Theodulf’s first episcopal statute that are concerned with Mass are cap. 5 (about the baking of the bread used in the Mass), cap. 6 (about women attending Mass), cap. 7 (the priest has to celebrate Mass with the people, not alone), cap. 11 (Mass should take place alone in churches), cap. 24 (on the celebration of Mass on Sundays), cap. 41 (on the celebration of Mass on Sundays in Lent), cap. 44 (people should take Mass regularly, except those who are excommunicated), cap. 45 (on special Masses, such as Masses for the dead), cap. 46 (how Mass should be celebrated in cities and parish churches).

³ *Admonitio generalis* 68: “Ut episcopi diligenter discutiant per suas parrochias presbiteros, eorum fidem, baptisma et missarum celebrationes, ut fidem rectam teneant et baptisma catholicum observent et missarum preces bene intellegant.” Hubert Mordek, Klaus Zechiel-Eckes and Michael Glatthaar ed., *MGH Fontes iuris germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi XVI* (Hanover 2012) 220.

1.1 Introduction to Corbie 230

The main focus of this thesis is the ninth-century manuscript known as Corbie 230, a pastoral compendium.⁴ Although little is known about the provenance and exact date of the manuscript, it is most likely that the manuscript was produced somewhere in northeastern France, probably in the second half of the ninth century.⁵ Many of the texts in the manuscript are aimed at pastoral care – such as a penitential and expositions on baptism and the Mass – or can be seen as essential tools for a priest or other member of the clergy – such as computus and a canon law collection. Based on this content, the manuscript has been interpreted as a “Handbuch für die Seelsorgspraxis”⁶ or as an “instruction-reader for a priest.”⁷ One of the most interesting aspects for this study of Corbie 230 is its section on the Mass, containing not one, but three Mass commentaries. Explanations of the celebration and meaning of the prayers of the mass is a recurring feature in pastoral compendia, as the Mass was one of the most important rituals of the Christian church and thus a necessary field of study for clergymen studying to become a priest.⁸ As a consequence there was a great variety of texts explaining the Mass, now known as Mass commentaries or so-called *Expositiones Missae* – expositions on the Mass. Such expositions are often found in Carolingian manuscripts, mostly in manuscripts that were meant for pastoral care.⁹ I will touch upon the terminology and interpretation of these manuscripts later in this introduction.

⁴ Although Corbie 230 was one codex in the ninth century, it has since then been divided into three parts. These three parts all are kept in St Petersburg under three separate shelfmarks: St Petersburg, Publicnaja Biblioteka, Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34; Cod. Q.v.II. nr. 5; Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 56. The three mass commentaries are all in Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34. The manuscript, however, is also known as Corbie 230 (Codex Corbeiensis nr. 230), as that was the name it received in an old catalogue from the library in Corbie, where the manuscript was at that point. The manuscript, however, was probably not written in Corbie, which makes this signature slightly misleading. Nevertheless, I will refer to the manuscript as Corbie 230, as I mean to study the manuscript as a whole, not simply the individual texts. One of the earlier manuscript descriptions that recognized the three manuscripts as a whole is in a catalogue from 1910, by A. Staerk: *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale de St.-Petersbourg*. Vol. I (St Petersburg 1910) 73. See also: Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen Age, Vol. I, les manuscrits* (Leuven 1931-1961) 348-351. I studied the manuscript using a microfilm. The provenance of the manuscript will be further discussed in ch. 2.1. See also appendix A for a brief description and list of contents of Corbie 230.

⁵ The dating of the manuscript and the different opinions will be discussed in ch. 2.1.2. See also appendix A.

⁶ Raymond Kottje, *Die Bussbücher Halitgars von Cambrai und des Hrabanus Maurus* (Berlin 1980) 34.

⁷ Susan Keefe, *Water and the Word. Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*. Vol. I (Notre Dame 2002) 17: “This codex was intended to educate the priest on the requirements of his office”. See also table 1, and pp. 23-26 in this volume for Keefe’s explanation of an “instruction reader”.

⁸ For a discussion of priests in the Carolingian period, see: Carine van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord. Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*. Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 6 (Brepols 2007) 51-68. Julia Barrow also wrote an excellent overview on the secular clergy in the Middle Ages, see: *The clergy in the medieval world: secular clerics, their families and careers in north-western Europe, c. 800-c. 1200* (Cambridge 2015). See especially chapter 6 and 7 on the education of the clergy (pp. 170-235).

⁹ Susan Keefe included a list of commentaries on the Mass in Carolingian manuscripts in her study on Carolingian baptismal tracts. See: Keefe, *Water and the Word. Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*. Vol. II (Notre Dame 2002) 126-127.

Two of the Mass commentaries in Corbie 230 are among the most distributed Mass commentaries in Carolingian manuscripts and are both known by their incipits, *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum*.¹⁰ The third Mass commentary is an unknown and short text, which has not received a name thus far. Following the tradition of the two other texts that are known by their incipit, in this thesis the third Mass commentary shall be referred to as *Missa celebrare*.¹¹ These three texts were probably written in the Carolingian age, although it is not known exactly where, when and by whom they were written.¹²

Corbie 230 is the only known manuscript with this specific combination of texts, although the manuscript is not an exception in containing more than one exposition on the Mass. There are at least three other ninth-century manuscripts that contain the same combination of the *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum*, a considerable number.¹³ In this thesis, Corbie 230 will serve as a case study to see how expositions on the Mass, in this case the combination of the *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum*, with the addition of *Missa celebrare*, might have functioned in a pastoral compendium. Not only will this research further our understanding of the use and audience of these *Expositiones Missae*, but it will also contribute more broadly to the growing field of study centred around these manuscripts.

1.2 Status quaestionis

The standard work on Mass commentaries is an article in the *Dictionnaire d'archeologie chretienne et de liturgie*, written by Dom André Wilmart in 1922.¹⁴ He considered the *Expositiones Missae* to be a strict genre: according to his criteria they had use a proper exegetical method.¹⁵ He interpreted these

¹⁰ A. Wilmart, 'Expositio missae', *Dictionnaire d'archeologie chretienne et de liturgie* 5 (1922) 1019-1021.

¹¹ The incipit of the text is: "Missa celebrare primum a sancto petro et a sanctis apostolis est institutum iubente domino" (Corbie 230, f42v). The correct grammatical spelling would be "missam celebrare", but this is not the reading we find in the manuscript. I therefore chose to conform to the reading in the manuscript: "missa celebrare".

¹² The provenance, dating and authorship of the three Mass commentaries will be discussed in ch. 3.2.

¹³ The two other ninth-century manuscripts apart from Corbie 230 are St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 446 and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 485. In Cod. Sang. 446 the *Primum in ordine* can be found on pp. 50-74 and the *Dominus vobiscum* on pp. 85-105; between the two mass commentaries is a liturgical commentary. In Pal. Lat. 485 the *Primum in ordine* is on ff.17v-27v, followed directly by the *Dominus vobiscum* on ff. 27v-36v. This is the same order in which we find the two texts in Corbie 230. Both manuscripts are also described by Keefe in *Water and the Word*, Vol. II (see pp. 88-90 for Cod. Sang. 446 and pp. 100-103 for Pal. Lat. 485). I will discuss these texts and manuscripts in the third chapter of this thesis. There is also one manuscript from the tenth century, and six manuscripts from the eleventh century that contain both *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum*. See chapter 3.3.1 for the shelfmarks of these manuscripts.

¹⁴ Wilmart, 'Expositio missae', 1014-1027.

¹⁵ Wilmart used the term *Expositio Missae* specifically to refer to some specific texts: four anonymous Mass commentaries (*Primum in ordine*, *Dominus vobiscum*, *Quotiens contra se* and *Missa pro multis*), the *De institutione clericorum* by Hrabanus Maurus, the *Liber officialis* by Amalarius of Metz, including the reaction on this exposition by Florus of Lyon, and lastly the *Expositio de celebratione missae* by Remi of Auxerre. The designation *Expositiones Missae* has been used to great extent after Wilmart's article in DACL, especially to refer to three of the most distributed and common anonymous commentaries on the mass (*Dominus vobiscum*, *Primum in ordine*, and *Quotiens contra se*).

texts as a teaching tool for the secular clergy, as they had to be able to understand and perform the Mass. Wilmart also gave a concise overview of the *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum*, in which he mainly discussed origins and possible authors.¹⁶ While I see no direct reason to doubt that these texts were meant as a teaching tool for the secular clergy, we are still far from understanding how these texts were intended to function and how they actually were used and adapted. How exactly did teaching and learning about the Mass work?

At the end of the twentieth century, Roger Reynolds analysed what he called “pseudonymous liturgical tracts” and more specifically “texts on the liturgical ministers and the Mass”, amongst which he included Carolingian Mass commentaries such as *Dominus vobiscum* and *Primum in ordine*.¹⁷ According to Reynolds, liturgical tracts such as the Carolingian Mass commentaries were included in canon law collections as *addenda*: “Because they dealt with liturgical procedures in the broad sense, it was thought fitting to append them to manuscripts containing legal procedures enacted largely by popes, bishops, and councils.”¹⁸ He suggested that the popularity of these liturgical tracts was a result of their incorporation within these canon law collections. Nevertheless, while Corbie 230 (and other similar manuscripts) indeed contains a large collection of canon law, the character of the manuscript is not dominated by the canon law collection. In addition, the intended use and audience of such manuscripts are not taken into consideration when only parts of the texts within a manuscript are taken into account. We should regard a manuscript such as Corbie 230 as a whole in the context of pastoral care, not merely consider one of the components of the manuscript.

In the last few decades, several of such pastoral compendia have been analysed.¹⁹ For example, in 2001 Yitzhak Hen studied Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 116 (94), a liturgico-canonical manuscript

¹⁶ Wilmart, ‘Expositio Missae’, 1020-1021. See also: A. Wilmart, ‘Un traité sur la Messe copié en Angleterre vers l’an 800’, *Ephemerides liturgicae* 50 (1936) 133-139.

¹⁷ Roger Reynolds, ‘Pseudonymous liturgica in early medieval canon law collections’, in: Roger Edward Reynolds, *Law and liturgy in the Latin church, 5th - 12th centuries* (Aldershot 1994) 67, 68.

¹⁸ Reynolds, ‘Pseudonymous liturgica in early medieval canon law’, 75. Reynolds gives the example of another Carolingian Mass commentary, *Quotiens contra se*, which is included in a manuscript of the *Collectio Dacheriana* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 446).

¹⁹ On Carolingian pastoral compendia, see: Carine van Rhijn, ‘The local church, priests’ handbooks and pastoral care in the Carolingian period’, in: *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell’alto Medioevo: Spoleto, 4-9 aprile 2013, Settimane 61* (Spoleto 2014) 689-706; Yitzhak Hen, ‘Knowledge of Canon Law among Rural Priests: The Evidence of Two Carolingian Manuscripts from Around 800,’ *The Journal of Theological Studies* 50 (1999): 117-34; Hen, ‘Educating the Clergy: Canon Law and Liturgy in a Carolingian Handbook from the Time of Charles the Bald’, in: Yitzhak Hen ed., *De Sion exhibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder* (Turnhout 2001) 43-58; Frederick S. Paxton, ‘Bonus liber: A Late Carolingian Clerical Manual from Lorsch’, in: Laurent Mayali and Stephanie A.J. Tibbets, *The Two Laws: Studies in Medieval Legal History dedicated to Stephan Kuttner* (Washington 1990) 1-30; James McCune, ‘The sermon collection in the Carolingian clerical handbook, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 1012’, *Mediaeval Studies* 75 (2013) 35-91. For an eighth-century example of a clerical handbook, see: Yitzhak Hen and Rob Meens ed., *The Bobbio Missal: Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology 11 (Cambridge, 2004).

that was meant for the education of priests.²⁰ This manuscript contains one of the earliest copies of the *Dominus vobiscum*. Hen suggests that the manuscript should be regarded as a guidebook, offering basic information for priests-in-training within the context of the ecclesiastical reforms and the efforts to “create a new generation of educated clergy”.²¹ One of the ninth-century manuscripts that contains *Dominus vobiscum* and *Primum in ordine* (Vatican City Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 485) has also been subject to analysis. Frederick Paxton stated that this manuscript was an organized, coherent and carefully compiled book used for the education of the secular clergy.²² However, he only briefly comments on the two Mass commentaries in Pal. Lat. 485, and follows Wilmart’s explanation that the *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* were written for “unsophisticated clerics”.²³ But Wilmart’s notions on the intended audience of the texts were mainly based on the literary quality of the texts and the, according to him, poor Latin.²⁴ Therefore, analysing these texts within the contexts of their manuscripts might shed new light on how such Mass commentaries were actually utilized in the ninth century.

1.3 Questions

By building on previous research as exists, this thesis will focus on a single manuscript that contains three expositions of Mass. Its main concern will be to understand what the three Mass commentaries in the late ninth-century manuscript Corbie 230 can tell us about the use of the *Expositiones Missae* in pastoral compendia and how that reflects on the study of the education of the priests in the Carolingian period. I will take the manuscript as a starting point, not individual texts, and try to analyse how the Mass was explained in this ninth-century manuscript. As such, the focus will be on the three Mass commentaries found in Corbie 230: *Dominus vobiscum*, *Primum in ordine* and *Missa celebrare*. By researching these three texts, comparing them, and exploring why the compiler of the manuscript chose these texts and how they functioned within this manuscript, the aim is to find out what knowledge on the Mass was required for a priest.

²⁰ Hen, ‘Educating the clergy’, 43-58.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 55.

²² Paxton, ‘Bonus liber’, 3.

²³ Paxton writes about the two mass expositions: “The genre itself is a Carolingian invention – an expression both of a new understanding of the liturgy itself and the need to educate the clergy and the faithful in the meaning of its symbolic language. (...) The second treatise may have been modelled on the first, but they are both addressed in a straightforward manner to unsophisticated clerics.” See: Paxton, ‘Bonus liber’, 13.

²⁴ Wilmart, ‘Expositio Missae’, 1020.

1.4 Theoretical framework

1.4.1 Manuscripts for pastoral care?

In 1977, Rosamond McKitterick wrote the following on the structure of the Frankish church in the ninth century: “The legislation of the Franks had defined the royal and clerical functions, stressing the pedagogic and pastoral aspects of the priesthood, and the necessity that the whole of the *populus Dei* be properly instructed in faith, doctrine and morals. (...) The bishops in their statutes both undertook the training of new clergy and provided handbooks not only of administrative and liturgical procedure but also of spiritual and social guidance addressed to the clergy in each diocese for the fulfilment of their social functions.”²⁵ These episcopal statutes, for instance the aforementioned capitulary by Theodulf of Orléans, therefore have been interpreted as one of the local implications of the so-called Carolingian reforms or *correctio* in the Frankish kingdoms.²⁶ In order to understand how a priest was educated and how he in turn could educate and instruct the laity, manuscripts such as Corbie 230 might provide some further insights.

Let us first consider earlier research on ninth-century manuscripts, especially manuscripts like Corbie 230 could be linked to pastoral care. This description – manuscripts concerned with pastoral care – is still rather vague, but will be elaborated on in this introduction as well as in the first chapter of this thesis. The vague description also reflects the state of research at this moment; although there have been many interesting and useful studies on these ninth-century pastoral manuscripts, there is still much that we do not yet know and that in itself deserves and requires further research.

One of the leading studies in the field of pastoral manuscripts is the study *Water and the Word* by Susan Keefe.²⁷ In this elaborate study on Carolingian baptismal treatises, Keefe not only edited many baptismal treatises but also considered these texts in their manuscript contexts. The study contains descriptions of these manuscripts, 66 in total, not simply as research into the baptismal texts, but also to consider the other texts that appear alongside these baptismal texts and what that might mean for the purpose and use of the baptismal treatises.²⁸ Keefe came up with four different categories for these

²⁵ Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895*. Royal Historical Society Studies in History (London 1977) 208.

²⁶ Although there is a plethora of studies on the so-called Carolingian reforms, there is still debate on what exactly the Carolingian reforms entail and how we should name this phenomenon. Studies on the Carolingian reforms include: Giles Brown, ‘Introduction: the Carolingian Renaissance’ in: McKitterick ed., *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge 1994) 1-51; John Contreni, ‘The Carolingian Renaissance: education and literary culture’, in: McKitterick ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. II: c.700-c.900* (Cambridge 1995) 709-757; McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian reforms*. For the interpretation of the word *reform*, see: Julia Barrow, ‘Ideas and Applications of Reform’ in: T.F.X. Noble en J.M.H. Smith ed., *The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. III* (Cambridge 2008) 345-362.

²⁷ *Water and the Word* by Keefe consists of two volumes. The first volume offers an analysis and interpretation of the baptismal texts and their manuscripts within the context of the Carolingian reforms. The second volume contains descriptions of Keefe’s corpus of manuscripts and the Latin text and editions of the baptismal tracts.

²⁸ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I, 7-9.

manuscripts, based on their contents, intended purposes, and users. These categories are: instruction-readers for priests, pastoral manuals for bishops, reference works for bishops, and schoolbooks.²⁹

Keefe regarded her manuscripts not simply as “collections” or “miscellanies”; she stresses that these manuscripts “have rarely been appreciated as carefully designed books, each the work of a compiler with a particular purpose and probably a specific recipient in mind.”³⁰ She interpreted Corbie 230 as an instruction-reader for priests, which she describes as follows: “instruction-readers tend to provide anything that would help a priest become more learned in his office, but usually have a more limited and economical selection of texts, and are devoid of the occasional practice-writing or miscellaneous *excerpta* typical of schoolbooks.”³¹ They are often rather small, and were meant for personal ownership with the intention to serve as a helpful tool for priests who were already ordained. She describes schoolbooks, on the other hand, as books used in either episcopal or monastic schoolrooms: “Baptismal instructions and other texts for the education of the secular clergy became part of the curriculum of monastic schools, which served more areas than a cathedral school could reach, and thus greatly widened the possibility of every parish priest receiving a school education.”³²

But this categorization about the application of such manuscripts can prove to be difficult to work with, because not all manuscripts apply to one of the categories. Perhaps a manuscript intended as a schoolbook could also be useful to a local priest, or perhaps a manuscript changed purpose or owner over a period of time. The hazard of such a categorization is that it can often become anachronistic, as if the manuscripts were compiled and written with one of these categories in mind, which is – as far as we know – not the case. These categories therefore cannot be seen as representative of how the Carolingians understood these manuscripts. I will analyse the intended purpose and use of Corbie 230 in more detail in the next chapter, but for now it is important to note that I will refer to Corbie 230 in this thesis as a pastoral compendium. The word compendium can be understood as a “a collection of concise but detailed information about a particular subject, especially in a book or other publication.”³³ Although Corbie 230 contains texts and knowledge on a number of subjects, for instance Mass, penance, computus, and the Creed, these texts share a similar purpose, i.e. pastoral care. The phrase *pastoral compendium* reflects the context of pastoral care, but still offers the opportunity for further interpretation. Each manuscript tells its own story that comes to the surface when we regard the manuscript as a “carefully designed book”, as Keefe described it. As such, it remains important to study the individual manuscripts, as it will hopefully further our understanding of these ninth-century manuscripts.

²⁹ Ibid., Vol. I, 22. See ch. 2 (The Intended Recipients and Used of the Volumes) for her discussion and analysis of these four types of books.

³⁰ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I, 8.

³¹ Ibid., 24.

³² Ibid., 35.

³³ This is the definition given by the *Oxford English Dictionary* (<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/compendium>, last accessed on 8 June 2018).

1.4.2 The *social logic of texts*

Each manuscript thus should be regarded as a book that was produced with care, but that is not an easy task, especially because in many cases little is known about the scribes, provenance, or dating of these pastoral compendia. In the case of Corbie 230 there are only a few indications that tell us anything about the provenance of the manuscript and there is still a lot that remains unknown, let alone any details on the scribe, the users, or the location(s) where it was used. Therefore, when researching a manuscript such as this, one must work with whatever information is available, namely a manuscript full of texts brought together for a reason. The contents of the manuscript as such can suggest quite some details about the probable (intended) use and users. When asking such questions, a useful theory is the *social logic of texts* by Gabrielle Spiegel.³⁴

Spiegel sees language as a mirror of society: “All texts occupy determinate social spaces, both as products of the social world of authors and as textual agents at work in that world, with which they entertain often complex and contestatory relations. In that sense, texts both mirror and generate social realities, which they may sustain, resist, contest, or seek to transform, depending on the case at hand. (...) Only a minute examination of the form and content of a given work can determine its situation with respect to broader patterns of culture at any given time.”³⁵ Therefore every text mirrors the society – the place, time and circumstances in which it was written – and the beliefs and opinions of the author of the text. Although Spiegel specifically wrote about texts, not manuscripts, Bastiaan Waagmeester first applied this theory to interpreting a manuscript, a priest’s handbook (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 14508).³⁶ His purpose was to understand and examine a social community based on a manuscript with clear pastoral content; this manuscript had to serve all sorts of different purposes, both aiding the priest and therefore also his community.³⁷ By doing so, Waagmeester found that the texts in the manuscript provided details about the community, the religious practices of the community and its social surroundings.³⁸

The theory of the *social logic of texts* therefore can indeed be applied to the study of manuscripts, by interpreting the contents of the manuscript as conscious choices of the compiler or scribe(s), who deemed them to be suitable and effective for the purpose which he intended for the manuscript. However, the difficulty with applying Spiegel’s theory to manuscripts is that most manuscripts were used and (sometimes) edited and changed, by adding corrections or comments, over several centuries by several different users. A manuscript could change purpose, change from one owner to the next, be

³⁴ Gabrielle Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore-London 1999) 3-29, especially 23-28.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 24.

³⁶ Bastiaan Waagmeester, *Beyond the Manuscript: Inquiries into a ninth-century local priest and his social environment by means of his handbook (BSB Clm 14508)*, Master Thesis, Utrecht University, 15-08-2016.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, ch. II: “social logic”, 14-21.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, ch. V: “conclusion”, 74-76.

damaged, or sometimes even be taken apart or be added to another manuscript. So one manuscript might tell many different stories.

In this thesis, I will discuss the intended use and intended audience of Corbie 230 and its section on the Mass. In doing so, I will apply Spiegel's theory to the manuscript and its compiler(s) and scribe(s), not to the individual texts within the manuscript. Corbie 230 contains mostly copies of pre-existing texts: a baptismal treatise written by Theodulf, three anonymous Mass commentaries, a penitential by Halitgar, etc. Spiegel's theory could be applied to each of these texts individually, but that is not the purpose here. The focus is on this particular manuscript, constructed from a number of different texts, by someone who had a certain purpose and audience in mind. Therefore, the contents of the manuscript can reflect this purpose and audience, and thus the social surroundings. Another facet of the *social logic of texts* is that texts not only mirror their social realities, they in turn also "generate social realities."³⁹ However, in this thesis I will primarily consider the question of the intended use: why did the compiler add these three texts to his manuscript, and why and for whom did he deem them to be useful? As such, I will mainly address the first element of the *social logic of texts*.

Within this thesis I will refer several times to the compiler and scribe of Corbie 230. This might have been the same person, but it equally may not have been. Hence, I will differentiate between the word compiler when it concerns the compilation choices and the word scribe when I refer to person who copied the texts in the manuscript.

1.5 Contents of this thesis

The next chapter of this thesis will focus on Corbie 230, the manuscript which is the case study in this thesis. Although I am mostly interested in the three Mass commentaries in the manuscript, it is also my goal to understand the use and purpose of these three texts, for which it is also necessary to understand the use and purpose of the whole manuscript. In other words, in this chapter I will analyse how the contents of the manuscript reflect the intended use and audience.

In recent scholarship, the *Expositiones Missae* have been seen as a Carolingian genre. But there are earlier texts as well (as early as the third century) with an expositional purpose that explain elements of the liturgy.⁴⁰ As such, the third chapter will offer a discussion of the genre *Expositiones Missae* (if we can actually speak of a genre at all), as well as give an answer to the question how the *Dominus vobiscum*, *Primum in ordine* and *Missa celebrare* fit into the tradition of explaining the Mass. Although I will address elements such as authorship, dating, and provenance, the focus will mainly be on the use and purpose of the three texts.

³⁹ Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, 24.

⁴⁰ Roger Reynolds, 'Liturgy, Treatises on', in: R. Strayer ed., *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*. Vol. VII (New York 1986) 624-633.

The focus of the fourth chapter then will specifically be on the three expositions on the Mass, within the context of Corbie 230. Why were these Mass commentaries relevant in a manuscript such as this and what could one learn from them? How do these texts fit within the context of this manuscript and how could the user of the manuscript utilize them? And thus, why were all three of these texts deemed useful by the compiler of the manuscript in the context of the intended purpose and audience of the manuscript? These are far-reaching questions, and therefore I will limit myself to a few specific case-studies within the manuscript.

2. Corbie 230

In this thesis, Corbie 230 serves as a case study; how is the Mass explained in this ninth-century manuscript, and thus, why did the compiler add the three Mass commentaries to the manuscript and why did he think they were useful to the user of this manuscript? This chapter will therefore address the manuscript as a whole: is it possible to detect what the intended purpose of this manuscript was and who the intended user was? The focus in this chapter is thus on Corbie 230 and especially its contents: what might the content of this manuscript tell us about the function that this manuscript might have had?

To answer these questions it is essential consider the manuscript as a whole instead of just a few texts or a small section of the manuscript. Parchment was valuable and compiling such a volume took a considerable amount of time, so we cannot assume that one simply compiled a random collection of texts. No, in light of Spiegel's theory on the *social logic of texts*, each of these texts was chosen with intent, because the compiler thought them to be useful, with a certain purpose and a certain user in mind.⁴¹ By interpreting the manuscript as a whole, the three expositions on the Mass will eventually be placed into context. This chapter therefore will consist of two parts: the first part will offer a brief description of the manuscript and its contents, as well as a discussion of the possible dating and provenance of the manuscript. The second part then will be an analysis, building on the first part of the chapter: how do the contents and provenance of the manuscript reflect on the intended use and users of the manuscript?

2.1 Corbie 230

Corbie 230 is a collection of liturgical, theological, canonical, and computistical texts. It starts with several texts on liturgy, consisting of explanations of baptism and the Mass. Then follows a section on canon law, followed by a penitential, and lastly a short computus section, including a calendar. The first part of this chapter is focussed on the history and historiography of Corbie 230: dating and provenance, physical characteristics of the manuscript, previous research to (parts of) the manuscript, and a brief overview of the contents of the manuscript. Although this part will be concise, it does offer the necessary knowledge for the second part of this chapter, which will endeavour to answer the question of the intended audience and purpose of the manuscript.

⁴¹ Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, 24. See also ch. 1.4.2 in this thesis.

2.1.1 Short description and historiography of the manuscript

Corbie 230 was originally one manuscript, but it has since then been divided into three separate codices. As these three codices (.....) originally belonged together in one manuscript, in this thesis it will be treated as such. The manuscript as a whole consists of 156 folia⁴² and is a rather small manuscript (ca. 190x152 mm). According to a classification for the size of manuscripts by C. Bozzolo and E. Ornato, Corbie 230 falls into the category of “small to medium”.⁴³ The texts are written in a Carolingian minuscule by several hands and are usually written in 23 lines per page in one column. There are no decorations or illuminations in the manuscript. Most headings are rubricated and some paragraphs start with a small initial. There are few contemporary corrections or marginal notes in the manuscript. The only structural case of corrections or marginalia can be seen in the penitential of Halitgar, in the form of frequent interlinear corrections.

Some sections of the manuscript have received some attention from scholars in the past. In 1910, Dom Antonio Staerk included the manuscript in his catalogue of Latin manuscripts in the Imperial library of St Petersburg, as well as completing a transcription of some of the texts, including *Primum in ordine* and the calendar.⁴⁴ Michel Andrieu gave a concise overview of all three parts of the manuscript.⁴⁵ Susan Keefe describes the contents of Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34, as it contains one of her baptismal texts.⁴⁶ Hubert Mordek was primarily interested in the canon law collection in Cod. Q.v.II. nr. 5.⁴⁷ But although (part of) the contents of the manuscript are described in several studies, there is no comprehensive and analytic study of the manuscript, in which the underlying structure of the manuscript and the intended audience and purpose of the manuscript are taken into consideration. Nevertheless, some interesting remarks have been made about the character of the manuscript. Raymond Kottje interpreted the manuscript as a “Handbuch für die Seelsorgspraxis”⁴⁸. Susan Keefe called the manuscript an

⁴² The foliation numbers were added after the original manuscript was separated into three separate manuscripts. So the foliation in Cod. Q.v.II. nr. 5 and Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 56 both start at 1, whereas in the original manuscript they would have started at respectively f46 and f146. The first folium of the penitential of Halitgar, which is f45r in Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34 (and would have been 102r in the original manuscript) has a double foliation number, both 45 and 102.

⁴³ The classification by Bozzolo and Ornato is based on the sum of the length and width of a folium. If the sum is under 320 mm, the folium is considered to be small. If the sum is between 321 and 490 mm, the folium is “small to medium”. The sum of Corbie 230 is ca. 342 mm. Although such a classification is arbitrary – for how exactly does one define relative terms such as “large”, “medium” or “small”? – it does give a suggestion of the size of the manuscript compared to other manuscripts. C. Bozzolo & E. Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au Moyen Age. Trois essais de codicologie quantitative* (Paris 1983) 217-218.

⁴⁴ Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle*, 173-213.

⁴⁵ Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, 348-351.

⁴⁶ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 30-31.

⁴⁷ Hubert Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta. Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse* (Munich 1995) 698-702.

⁴⁸ Kottje, *Die Bussbücher Halitgars*, 34.

“instruction-reader for a priest.”⁴⁹ Indeed, the texts in this manuscript are typical for what one would expect in a manuscript meant for pastoral care, as will be discussed later in this chapter.⁵⁰

2.1.2 Dating and Provenance

The abbey of Corbie – dedicated to St Peter and St Paul – was a royal abbey in the diocese of Amiens with close links to the court.⁵¹ Queen Bathild and her son Chlothar III founded the abbey in 659. By the middle of the ninth century the abbey had grown into a place of great significance; not only as an abbey under protection of the Merovingian and Carolingian royal families, but also as a centre of intellectual importance. The abbey had a large scriptorium that produced many manuscripts and influential writings. Several scholars have tried to reconstruct the library of Corbie Abbey.⁵² The first was Leopold Delisle, who only briefly refers to Corbie 230.⁵³ More recently, David Ganz did extensive research to the abbey of Corbie and its library, resulting in his publication *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* in 1990.

As the result of these studies, we now have quite a clear overview of the Corbie library. And although this manuscript is known as and often referred to as Corbie 230, it is very questionable whether the origins of the manuscript can in fact be found in Corbie. Bernard Bischoff stated that the manuscript was not written in the scriptorium of Corbie, basing his conclusions on the type of scripts in Corbie 230.⁵⁴ David Ganz, who studied the manuscripts of the Corbie library to great extent, also omits Corbie 230 in his list of Corbie manuscripts.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I, 17.

⁵⁰ For a study of Carolingian manuscripts for local priests, see: Carine van Rhijn, ‘Manuscripts for local priests and the Carolingian reforms’, in: Steffen Patzold & Carine van Rhijn ed., *Men in the Middle. Local priests in early medieval Europe* (Berlin/Boston 2016) 177-198.

⁵¹ For a full history of the abbey of Corbie and its scriptorium, see: David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen 1990). See also: Leslie Webber Jones, ‘The Scriptorium at Corbie: I. The library’, *Speculum* 22 (1947) 191-204; ‘The Scriptorium at Corbie: II. The script and the problems’, *Speculum* 22 (1947) 375-394.

⁵² There are three medieval catalogues preserved from the abbey of Corbie: Vat. Reg. Lat. 520 (47 titles); Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, phil. 1865 (312 titles, from the eleventh century); and Vat. Reg. Lat. 520 (364 titles, from the end of twelfth century). For an overview on the library of Corbie, see: Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, 36-38.

⁵³ Delisle briefly refers to Corbie 230 in *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*. Volume 2: “686. Ordo scrutinii. Theodulfi quaedam. Rabani quaedam, etc. IXe s.” 686 refers to the number the manuscript received in St Germain des Prés. It is conceivable that Delisle only refers to the first part of the three parts of manuscript (the part that is now Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34). *Ordo scrutinii* refers to the first text in Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34; Theodulfi quaedam refers to the *De ordine baptismi* which is indeed written by Theodulf of Orléans; Rabani quaedam probably refers to the three mass commentaries in Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34. While it is unlikely that they are indeed written by Hrabanus Maurus, an early modern hand did attribute in the margins of the manuscript all three mass commentaries to Hrabanus Maurus.

⁵⁴ Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen) II: Laon – Paderborn* (Wiesbaden 1998) nr. 2323.

⁵⁵ This list contains all the manuscripts that were in Corbie before the end of the ninth century, according to Ganz. See: Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, 124-158.

There is, however, another plausible option; Hubert Mordek suggested Cambrai as possible place of origin, based on the similarities between the canon law collection in Corbie 230 and a manuscript from Cambrai: Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 201, known as the *Collectio canonum Laudunensis*.⁵⁶ There are some other aspects in the manuscript as well that could point to Cambrai as possible place of origin. Subsequent to the *Collectio canonum Laudunensis*, Corbie 230 contains a poem in the form of an acrostichon dedicated to Hildoard, who was bishop of Cambrai between 790 and 816.⁵⁷ The poem was written by “Dungalus peregrinus”⁵⁸ and is therefore generally attributed to the Irish monk and scholar Dungal, who lived on the continent in several places, amongst which the monasteries of St Denis and Bobbio. The manuscript also contains the ninth-century penitential from Halitgar, who was the bishop of Cambrai from 817 and 831 and the successor of bishop Hildoard. He composed his penitential while he was bishop of Cambrai.⁵⁹

The dating of the manuscript is also not exactly known. Bernard Bischoff suggested that the first part of the manuscript, including the Mass commentaries and the penitential of Halitgar, was written towards the end of the ninth century, and that the canon law collection and calendar might have been written in the tenth century.⁶⁰ Kottje also placed ff45-88 (the penitential of Halitgar) specifically in the ninth century.⁶¹ Arno Borst is more specific on the dating of the calendar (Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 56), which he claims was produced between 855 and 877.⁶² Hubert Mordek and Lotte Kéry placed the canon law collection (in Cod. Q.v.II. nr. 5) in the last quarter of the ninth century.⁶³ Mordek also suggests that the canon law collection, *Collectio canonum Laudunensis*, was compiled in the second quarter of the ninth century, at the latest in 850.⁶⁴ One of the other texts in the manuscript that provides a *terminus post quem* is the penitential of Halitgar, which was written in the late 820s.⁶⁵ As such, the manuscript could not have

⁵⁶ Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta*, 698.

⁵⁷ The poem is edited by E. Dummler: *MGH Poetae latini aevi carolini I* (Berlin 1881) 411.

⁵⁸ The first words of the poem read as follows: “Hos versus in honorem Hildoardi episcopi Dungalus peregrinus”. There is some controversy on the identity of Dungal, as there could be as many as four different writers by the name Dungal who have been falsely regarded as one and the same Irish monk Dungal. For some remarks on this debate, see: Mary Garrison, “The English and the Irish at the court of Charlemagne”, in: Butzer, P. L., M. Kerner, and W. Oberschelp ed., *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken: 1200 Jahre Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa* (Turnhout 1997) 100-101.

⁵⁹ Kottje, *Die Bussbücher Halitgars*, 1-12.

⁶⁰ Bischoff; *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften II: Laon – Paderborn*, nr. 2323.

⁶¹ Kottje, *Die Bussbücher Halitgars*, 33.

⁶² Borst, *Schriften zur Kompustik im Frankenreich von 721 bis 818* (Hanover 2006) 293-294.

⁶³ Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta*, 698; Lotte Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca 400-1140). A bibliographical guide to the manuscripts and literature* (Washington DC 1999) 166-167

⁶⁴ Hubert Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich: Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kirchenrechtssammlung des Fränkischen Gallien (Studien und Edition)*. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 1 (Berlin/New York 1975) 165.

⁶⁵ Rob Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600-1200* (Cambridge 2014) 132.

been written before the late 820s, and perhaps – based on Mordek’s dating of the canon law collection – not before the middle of the ninth century.

Although the exact date and place of origin therefore remains unknown, it is very likely that the manuscript was produced somewhere in northeastern France in the second half of the ninth century. While the manuscript was probably not written in Corbie, it was at least kept in the library of Corbie for a long period of time, where in a thirteenth century catalogue it carried the name *Corbeiensis 230*. Some clear links to the monastery of Corbie can be found in the calendar in the manuscript.⁶⁶ This calendar contains a few later additions, recognisable by the irregular handwritings. A few of these additions are a direct reference to Corbie. For example, in the month of July, we find two of such references: on the 20th of July: “Corbeia dedicatio sancti Stephani” and on the 28th of July: “Corbeia dedicatio sancti Petri”. The abbey of Corbie was indeed dedicated to St Peter, and there was a smaller church in Corbie that was dedicated to St Stephen.⁶⁷ One of the additions in the calendar also offers an indication as to when the manuscript might have been at the monastery of Corbie, namely “Ratoldus obiit” on the fourteenth of March. There was an abbot by this name in Corbie, who died in 986. Does this refer to this abbot Ratoldus? Then that could be an indication that the manuscript was already at Corbie at that time.

In 1638, the manuscript was brought from the monastery of St Peter and St Paul in Corbie to St Germain des Prés.⁶⁸ In 1791, during the French Revolution, the manuscript was acquired by the Russian secretary Peter Dubrowski (1754-1816). He was a secretary at the Russian embassy in Paris and collected many manuscripts in France after the French Revolution in 1789. As such, he also brought several of the manuscript that were kept at the former library of St Germain des Prés with him to Russia. In 1805, Corbie 230 was purchased by the Russian state and ended up in the imperial library in St Petersburg, where it has been ever since. To my knowledge, it is not known when and where the manuscript was divided into three separate codices. However, throughout the entire manuscript a later hand, at least seventeenth century or later (possibly during the time that the manuscript was in the library of St Germain des Prés), has added small descriptions of the texts. These descriptions include (sometimes incorrect) attributions to authors. For example, the three Mass commentaries are all attributed to Hrabanus Maurus, which is very unlikely, as will be discussed in the next chapter. In these small descriptions, references to editions are also included, for example an edition by Hugo Menardus (1585–1644).⁶⁹ These texts in the margins do suggest that the manuscript was still complete at that time.

⁶⁶ Arno Borst suggests that the calendar might have originated in Cambrai. In *Die karolingische Reichskalender* he refers to the calendar as “Kalendarium Cameracense”. However, he does not offer clear arguments for this hypothesis, so his suggestion might also simply be based on the possible Cambrai origin of the manuscript itself. The saint days mentioned in the calendar are mostly French of origin, according to Borst. See: Arno Borst, *Der karolingische Reichskalender und seine Überlieferung bis ins 12. Jahrhundert* (Hanover 2001) 150.

⁶⁷ Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, 15.

⁶⁸ In St Germain des Prés the manuscript was called Sangermanensis 686.

⁶⁹ On f8v in Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34 the added description says: “[...] Gregorii edidit Hugo Menardus”. This might refer to one of the works of Hugo Menardus, also known as Nicolas-Hugues Ménard: *St. Gregorii I Papae Liber*

2.1.3 Contents

Corbie 230 contains many different texts, and I will not describe all the texts here. Instead, I will offer a few short remarks on the contents and structure of the manuscripts. The contents of the manuscript can be divided in several different parts or components, all with its own theme: baptism and the Creed, Mass, canon law, penance, and computus.

The part on baptism (f1r-22r) consists of an *ordo* for scrutinies and a baptismal tractate. According to Keefe, there is a clear link between these two texts; these scrutinies were specifically meant as a preparation for baptism in the weeks before Easter, and Theodulf of Orléans discusses the scrutinies in his *De ordine baptismi*. As such, Keefe suggests that the *Ordo scrutinii* was deliberately placed next to the *De ordine baptismi* as an illustration to the text, and that the *ordo* was not meant to be used by a priest during the scrutiny Masses itself.⁷⁰ The next text in the manuscript could also be seen as an educational device, as it contains a set of questions and answers on two natures of Christ and the Trinity (f22r-23v).⁷¹ The questions and answers in this text are largely based on the Athanasian Creed and as such, the text corresponds with the baptismal exposition; catechumens had to know and understand the Creed in preparation for their baptism. The Creed was indeed an important element of the education of laity and an exposition on the Creed can be found in almost all pastoral compendia.⁷²

After this “block” on baptism, the next part of the manuscript is focused on the Mass. These three commentaries on the Mass – explaining the meaning of the prayers in the Eucharistic prayer – will be discussed to great extent in the next chapter, so I will not elaborate on these texts again in this chapter. And so it continues: a collection of canon law and episcopal statutes; the ninth-century penitential of Halitgar; some computus and a calendar. Subsequently, the manuscript contains some miscellaneous texts, amongst which are a list of readings throughout the year and some prognostical texts.⁷³ As such, there seems to be a clear internal logic in the manuscript; but what can the contents of the manuscript and this internal logic tell us about the purpose and use of the manuscript?

Sacramentorum (Paris 1642). This is an edition of the Sacramentary of Eligius (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 12051).

⁷⁰ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, vol. I, 17.

⁷¹ The title of the text in Corbie 230 is *Interrogationes de trinitate et unitate patris et filii et spiritus sancti*. The text was transcribed by Staerk in his study of Corbie 230. See: Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle*, 180. Keefe also includes this text in her overview on explanations of the Creed in Carolingian manuscripts. See: Keefe, *A catalogue of works pertaining to the explanation of the creed in Carolingian manuscripts* (Turnhout 2012) 162 (nr. 291), 346-347. In this study, Keefe collected almost 400 texts on the Creed in Carolingian manuscripts. She edited 43 of these texts in the volume *Explanationes fidei aevi Carolini*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (254 (Turnhout 2012).

⁷² Van Rhijn, ‘Manuscripts for local priests and the Carolingian reforms’, 188. See also: Keefe, *A catalogue of works pertaining to the explanation of the creed in Carolingian manuscripts*.

⁷³ For a full list of contents and details on the texts, see appendix A.

2.3 Intended use and users

First, even though Corbie 230 contains several liturgical commentaries, the manuscript itself should not be regarded as a “liturgical book”. What, then, is a liturgical book? The answer to that question is an entire thesis in itself. One of the most important criteria, however, is in the purpose of the manuscript.⁷⁴ Henry Parkes defined the purpose of a liturgical manuscript as follows: “Serving the obligations of Mass and Office, the daily sources of spiritual nourishment upon which religious life subsisted, these books were the simple tools of the trade, with whose help were performed the basic rituals by which time was structured, memories carved out and each successive age of the human existence marked, from baptism to last rites to commemoration in death.”⁷⁵ A liturgical manuscript would have been used during the performance of the ritual itself, as a “tool of the trade”. A sacramentary, for example, would contain the prayers necessary to celebrate Mass. It is important to note here that the different types of liturgical manuscripts were still developing during this period.⁷⁶

Do the different texts in Corbie 230 reflect the purpose of “active duty” during rituals such as baptism or Mass? The only text that could be interpreted as such is the first text in the manuscript, the *Ordo scrutinii*. But, as Keefe suggested, the *Ordo scrutinii* might have served as an educational text, to illustrate Theodulf’s treatise on baptism, the *De ordine baptismi*. Subsequently, using this relation between the *Ordo scrutinii* and the *De ordine baptismi* as an example, she argues that Corbie 230 was not used by a priest “on active duty”, but that it served as an educational device.⁷⁷ The context of the manuscript also shows that a monastic audience probably can be excluded, as the abundance of texts that has a pastoral purpose, such as baptism, can be mainly understood in the context of secular clergy. The material and knowledge offered in Corbie 230 would especially serve either a priest or bishop, as they were allowed to perform Mass, baptize, and hear penance.⁷⁸

The practice of penance is an important example of pastoral care and penitentials are thus an essential component in pastoral compendia. As is the case with all the types of texts discussed thus far, there was great variety, and there were many different penitentials in circulation. Although there are examples of manuscripts that contain several penitentials, there is only one penitential in Corbie 230, the *Penitential Halitgarii* on ff.45r-88r (ff.102r-14). This penitential was written by Halitgar, bishop of Cambrai, in the late 820s and was commissioned by archbishop Ebo of Reims.⁷⁹ Rob Meens described the penitential of

⁷⁴ For an extensive discussion of the historiography of liturgical books, see: Eric Palazzo, *A history of liturgical books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Collegeville 1993) 3-18.

⁷⁵ Henry Parkes, *The making of liturgy in the Ottonian church. Books, music and ritual in Mainz, 950-1050* (Cambridge 2015) 5.

⁷⁶ Eric Palazzo, *A history of liturgical books*, 36-56

⁷⁷ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I, 17.

⁷⁸ Barrow, *The clergy in the medieval world*, 51.

⁷⁹ The first five books of the penitential consists mainly of excerpts from canon law collections, such as the *Collectio Dacheriana* and *Dionysio-Hadriana*, and excerpts from Gregory the Great and Julianus Pomerius. The sixth book was an already existing penitential and is also called the *Penitential Pseudo-Romanum*, as Halitgar

Halitgar as a reform penitential: “the first penitential in a new style, trying as much to keep to the authority of well-established sources of canon law”.⁸⁰ Because of the authoritative status of the penitential, it was particularly popular amongst bishops, but the penitential was also used for educational purposes and in a pastoral context.⁸¹ The penitential of Halitgar therefore would not necessarily be out of place in a manuscript for a local priest. Also, a manual for a bishop would perhaps include other material not useful for a priest, for example instructions on how to dedicate a church.⁸² As such, it is more likely that the manuscript was compiled for the education of priests, for example as a schoolbook for the secular clergy or as a handbook to an already ordained priest.

Keefe suggests that this manuscript was meant for a priest and places Corbie 230 in her category of *instruction-readers*.⁸³ She describes this category as follows: they were “intended to be placed in the hands of particular priests who were already ordained and charged with the care of souls of a local church” and “these were not required liturgical books, but an additional helpful tool for a priest who (...) needed basic instruction.”⁸⁴ If we would follow Keefe’s analysis of the manuscript and definition of the priests’ instruction-reader, the purpose of the manuscript would have been to serve a priest in his pastoral tasks in a local community. The manuscript would not have been used on active duty by the priest, but would have served as a reference work, as study material for the already ordained priest. It should be noted, however, that Keefe only considered one of the three parts of the original manuscript: Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34.⁸⁵

Although Keefe might be correct that Corbie 230 was meant for an ordained priest, in my opinion we cannot exclude that the manuscript might have been compiled as a schoolbook for the education of the secular clergy. Her categories of *schoolbooks* and *instruction-readers* are closely related in contents. Keefe suggests that schoolbooks might be recognized by brief details, such as marginalia, alphabets, glosses and catalogues of names.⁸⁶ Although such details are not found in Corbie 230, the contents of the manuscript do not exclude that the manuscript was meant to serve for the education of young priests.

allegedly copied this penitential from Roman penitential, thus giving the penitential Roman authority. See: Kottje, *Die Bussbücher Halitgars*; Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe*, 130-134.

⁸⁰ Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe*, 220.

⁸¹ Rob Meens, ‘The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance’, in: Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis, *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*. York Studies in Medieval Theology 2 (York 1998) 39-47.

⁸² Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I, 26-27: “What sometimes distinguishes a bishop’s pastoral manual from an instruction-reader for priests is the additional material inappropriate for, or superfluous to, the needs of a diocesan priest.”

⁸³ See the discussion of Keefe’s category of instruction-readers in the introduction of this thesis, ch. 1.4.1.

⁸⁴ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I, 23,24.

⁸⁵ As Keefe’s research area concerned solely manuscripts with baptismal treatises, her focus is on Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34, which contained *De ordine baptismi*. She is, however, aware of the larger manuscript to which Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34 belongs. It is not directly clear whether she based her interpretation and categorization of the manuscript solely on Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34, or the two other parts as well.

⁸⁶ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I, 28.

The knowledge and material that is combined in Corbie 230, although the exact use of the manuscript remains unknown, indicates that the compiler had the education of priests in mind, to provide a young priest with the necessary tools and knowledge to learn how to carry out his duties. The knowledge presented in Corbie 230 consists of a broad scale of subjects, not only sacraments such as baptism, Mass and penance, but also a lunar calendar and an explanation of the constellations, a list of ecclesiastical grades, canon law (including conciliar canons, papal degrees, and excerpts from patristic writings), and a list of readings of scripture (f53v-56v), to be read in the weeks before Easter and at Pentecost.⁸⁷ Some *computus* can also be found in the manuscript, mainly in the last quire, which contains a calendar and computistical schemes. This quire also includes a monthly description of what seem to be medical prescriptions, concluding with a short remark on Egyptian days (the so-called *unlucky* days) on which one should withhold from medicine (“diebus egyptiacis oportet medicinam suspendere”).⁸⁸ While a text such as this might seem as odd material for a priest, it could also be a clear indication that some knowledge of medicine was also part of a priests’ job description. The importance of medicine and health within the context of pastoral care is also reflected in a later (but still Carolingian) addition to the manuscript, an *Apuleian sphere*. This is a device meant to calculate the outcome of an illness, based on the letters of the name of the one who is ill.⁸⁹ The presence of such texts again shows the large scale of knowledge that can be found in the manuscript.

2.4 Conclusion

Very little can be known about the place of origin and actual use of Corbie 230, and the circumstances that led to its compilation. The question whether the manuscript was compiled in Cambrai, Corbie, or another scriptorium cannot be answered with absolute certainty; the only thing we can say is that Corbie 230 was at the monastery of Corbie a few centuries after its compilation, and likely already from the end of the tenth century, based on the additions in the calendar of the manuscript. As such, the few traces of use give us some further information on the provenance of the manuscript, and likewise the contents of the manuscript gave us an idea of its intended use.

⁸⁷ Controversially, this text is also known as *Ordo Corbeiensis de lectione librorum catholicorum*, although this is not a contemporary title and the Corbie provenance of the manuscript is also heavily debated, as discussed earlier in this chapter. It is not clear where this title originated, but Staerk at the start of the twentieth century already used it. In the manuscript itself, the text is introduced as “Incipit ordo librorum catholicorum qui in ecclesia romana ponitur in anno circulo legendus et de feria III, V, VI, et VII ante pascha ac de sabbato pentecosten.” For the transcription of the text, see: Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle*, 201-205.

⁸⁸ The text containing the monthly medical description shows some remarkable similarities to a text found in several other manuscripts, including a ninth century fragment from the Leiden University Library (Vossian fragment Lat. F. 96A). On this fragment, the text is referred to as an account of diets, including *dies aegyptiaci*. For an edition and translation of the text on this fragment as well as a list of other manuscripts, see: H. Stuart, ‘A Ninth-Century Account of Diets and Dies Aegyptiaci’, *Scriptorium* 33, (1979) 237-244.

⁸⁹ László S. Chardonnens, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics. A Study of the Genre with a Text Edition* (Leiden 2006) 65-75.

Gabrielle Spiegel wrote that “texts both mirror and generate social realities”.⁹⁰ The same can be said for a manuscript, where we consider the manuscript to be a carefully constructed work. In the same way as Spiegel proposed to search for the *social logic of texts*, we can search for the social logic of this manuscript, as both a reflection of its society and of its compiler, and as a carefully constructed work to serve a certain purpose. If we regard Corbie 230 in this way, it leads us to the conclusion that this manuscript could have served to teach the clergy, especially young priests, in all aspects of their (future) work. Corbie 230 in that sense reflects a society where the priest had a diverse job description. The manuscript is compiled out of texts that could serve to improve or strengthen his knowledge of the main sacraments: baptism, Mass and penance, all sacraments on which not just the clergy should be educated, but the laity as well, hence emphasizing the pastoral context in which we should understand this manuscript. Corbie 230 provides a (future) local priest with enough tools to prepare him for his daily job, whether as celebrant of the Mass, educator of the laity concerning baptism or the Lord’s prayer, the hearing of penance, or even as practitioner of medicine and health.

⁹⁰ Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, 24.

3. *Expositiones Missae*

The section on the Mass in Corbie 230 is introduced as *Incipit tractatus super missam*, after which follow the three anonymous commentaries on the Mass. But before analysing this section on the Mass in Corbie 230 and how the Mass is explained in the manuscript, it is beneficial to discuss the genre of *Expositiones Missae* and specifically the three expositions on the Mass that we also find in Corbie 230. Commentaries on the Mass and other liturgical commentaries are very popular in Carolingian manuscripts, but should we regard such texts as a Carolingian genre? What is known about *Primum in ordine*, *Dominus vobiscum* and *Missa celebrare*, what sort of texts are they and in what context can we place these texts?

In the first part of this chapter, the history of the *Expositiones Missae* will be discussed, to show that such liturgical explanations were not a Carolingian invention, but that they have their origins in the first centuries of the Christian church. It is important to note that I will not focus on the development of the liturgy of the Eucharist itself in this first section, but specifically focus on the development of explaining the Eucharist. In the second part I will focus on three Mass commentaries in particular (*Dominus vobiscum*, *Primum in ordine* and *Missa celebrare*) and their origins, authorship and character, to see how these three *Expositiones Missae* fit into the tradition of explaining the Mass. The third part of this chapter will focus on the distribution of the three texts and the type of manuscripts in which we find these *Expositiones Missae*. Studying these manuscripts provides some interesting insights in the way that these texts were distributed and how they were regarded in the ninth century. As such, this third chapter will analyse the “genre” of the *Expositiones Missae* and also offer the necessary information to analyse the section of the Mass in Corbie 230 in the next chapter of this thesis.

3.1 *Expositiones Missae*

Commentaries or explanations on the liturgy are almost as old as Christianity itself. Not just the Mass was explained in such a commentary, but there were also commentaries on significant texts such as the *Pater noster*, the Creed, and also important rituals such as baptism. These texts all give explanations on important elements of the liturgy. Roger Reynolds tried to accommodate all these texts under the umbrella of “liturgical commentaries”.⁹¹ C.M. Nason, who wrote on the *Dominus vobiscum*, spoke of a “genre of liturgical writing”.⁹² The contemporary terminology for this corpus of texts will be discussed later in this chapter, but for now it is especially relevant to emphasize that these texts are not liturgical

⁹¹ Reynolds, ‘Liturgy, treatises on’, 624-633.

⁹² Corey M. Nason, ‘The Mass Commentary *Dominus vobiscum*. Its textual transmission and the question of authorship,’ *Revue Bénédictine* 114 (2004) 75.

writings in itself, they are texts *on* liturgy. These texts were not meant to be used during the performance of a liturgical ritual, such as baptism or Mass, but they were meant to explain a certain element of the ritual, for educational purposes. Also, as the word *liturgy* then did not have the meaning it has received nowadays, caution is required in using the word.⁹³

3.1.1 Pre-Carolingian Mass commentaries

All three of the Mass commentaries in Corbie 230 seem to have been written in the late eighth or early ninth century, but by no means are the *Expositiones Missae* a Carolingian invention. Texts such as the *Dominus vobiscum* and *Primum in ordine* are the result of a long tradition of expositional treatises.⁹⁴ Already in the first centuries AD certain liturgical rituals, especially baptism and the Eucharist, demanded description, instruction, explanation, interpretation, and/or justification. One of the earliest examples of an instruction on the sharing of bread and wine can already be found in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. In the tenth chapter, Paul writes the following:

Therefore, my dear friends, flee from the worship of idols. I speak as to sensible people; judge for yourselves what I say. The cup of blessing that we bless, is it not a sharing in the blood of Christ? The bread that we break, is it not a sharing in the body of Christ? Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread. Consider the people of Israel; are not those who eat the sacrifices partners in the altar? What do I imply then? That food sacrificed to idols is anything, or that an idol is anything? No, I imply that what pagans sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons and not to God. I do not want you to be partners with demons. You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons. You cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of demons.⁹⁵

In the eleventh chapter, Paul repeats some of his remarks on the sharing of bread and wine, while admonishing the Christian community in Corinth on their misconduct during their gatherings: "Now in the following instructions I do not commend you, because when you come together it is not for the better but for the worse."⁹⁶ Paul then commences to explain the sharing of bread and wine, by first briefly describing the ritual itself (1 Cor. 11,23-26) and then instructing the community on the correct way and intentions to partake in the ritual (1 Cor. 11,27-34).

⁹³ For a discussion of the word *liturgy*, see: Carol Symes, 'Liturgical Texts and Performance Practices', in: Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton ed., *Understanding medieval liturgy. Essays in interpretation* (Farnham 2016) 239-268.

⁹⁴ For a clear overview on texts on liturgy, see: Reynolds, 'Liturgy, treatises on', 624-633.

⁹⁵ 1 Cor. 10, 14-21, *New Revised Standard Version* (1989).

⁹⁶ 1 Cor. 11,17, *New Revised Standard Version* (1989).

In each of these remarks, Paul emphasizes the importance of celebrating the Eucharist in the right way: there are violations in the intention of the people and in the execution of the ritual itself, which brought Paul to write these brief comments and instructions in his letter to the Corinthians. Another early example of a commentary on the liturgy is the second-century *Didache*, originally written in Greek, but also translated to Latin.⁹⁷ The *Didache* was mainly concerned with church organization, and less with theology or liturgy, but in its ninth chapter it contains a prayer for the Eucharist and a prayer to be said afterwards, along with some brief instructions. Following Paul's remarks on the right and wrong ways to participate in the ritual and the intention of the partakers, in the *Didache* the relevance of baptism for the Eucharist is also cited: "And let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist, except those baptized in the name of the Lord, for the Lord has likewise said concerning this: "Do not give what is holy to dogs" (Matthew 7,6)."⁹⁸ A similar statement can be found in the first *Apologia* by Justinus Martyr, also from the second century.⁹⁹ These early texts are not yet very specific on the exact liturgy and prayers of the Eucharist; instead, they mainly focus on an explanation and justification of the importance of the ritual itself and who can partake in the ritual.

During the patristic era, the number of texts on liturgy grew notably, for example *De Sacramentis* by Ambrosius of Milan. One of the most influential texts in the west of Europe was *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, written by Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636) around the year 600 to his brother Fulgentius, bishop of Astigi. The text, consisting of two books, discusses amongst other subjects the ecclesiastical offices, the Mass, and baptism. In the fifteenth chapter of the first book, Isidore discusses the order of the Mass and the prayers. He describes seven prayers of the Mass, "by which the sacrifices offered to God are consecrated."¹⁰⁰ According to Isidore, there are seven prayers to reflect the "sevenfold completeness of the holy church" or the "sevenfold spirit of grace"¹⁰¹. Reynolds argues that most liturgical treatises in the Middle Ages, written after the age of Isidore, use either the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* or the *Etymologia* as a source, which shows the importance of Isidore's writings on liturgy. The influence of the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* is also apparent in a Carolingian priest exam from Freising, Germany, which

⁹⁷ The *Didache* was edited and translated by by Aaron Milavec, *The Didache: text, translation, analysis, and commentary* (Collegeville, Minnesota 2003).

⁹⁸ *Didache*, 9, Milavec ed., *The Didache: text, translation, analysis, and commentary*, 23.

⁹⁹ Justinus Martyr, *Apologia* LXVI: "And this food is called among us Εὐχαριστία [the Eucharist], of which no one is allowed to partake except one who believes that the things which we teach are true, and has received the washing that is for the remission of sins and for rebirth, and who so lives as Christ handed down." Translated by Leslie William Barnard, *St Justin Martyr: The First and Second Apologies*. Ancient Christian writers 56 (New York 1997) 70.

¹⁰⁰ Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I.15, trans. by Thomas L. Knoebel, *Isidore of Seville: De ecclesiasticis officiis*. Ancient Christian writers 61 (New York 2008) 39. I used this translation as well as the critical edition of the CCSL: Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, C.M. Lawson ed., CCSL 113 (Turnhout 1989).

¹⁰¹ Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I.15, trans. Knoebel, *Isidore of Seville: De ecclesiasticis officiis*, 40.

contains a list of things that priests were expected to learn during their education.¹⁰² One of the points on the list is the “librum officiorum”, which refers to the *De ecclesiasticis officiis*.¹⁰³ This means that in a least one diocese priests were supposed to know this text. Apart from this example from Freising, the importance of Isidore is also reflected in the many manuscripts that contain one of Isidore’s writings or an excerpt from his writings. Corbie 230 is one of these manuscripts, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

3.1.2 Carolingian *Expositiones Missae*

While all these examples show that liturgical expositions were not a Carolingian invention, the Carolingians did have a certain fascination with expositional texts on the liturgy. Keefe found 29 expositions on the Mass in her corpus of manuscripts, and even more expositions on the Creed and the *Pater noster*. One of the focal points of the *Admonitio generalis* was the education of the clergy, and it is especially mentioned that priests should understand the prayers of the Mass.¹⁰⁴ One of the explanations for the increasing number of expositions of the Mass in the ninth century could therefore be the growing concern of clerical ignorance; priests had to know what they were dealing with and what it meant.¹⁰⁵

Most of the Mass commentaries mentioned by Keefe are known from only one or two manuscripts, and little is known about their origin or authorship. There were also some more influential texts written in the first half of the ninth century by important liturgists or scholars at the court. Some examples are the *De Institutione Clericorum*, by Hrabanus Maurus (ca. 780-856), and *De exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, by Walafrid Strabo (ca. 808-849). Yitzhak Hen suggests the following regarding the character and purpose of these texts: “Looking at the liturgical activity carried out by eminent scholars of Louis’ reign, it seems that the aim of their work was not innovation or reform, but clarification and explanation, addressed to the clergy and aimed at preserving

¹⁰² *Capitula Frisingensia prima*, R. Pokorney ed., *MGH Capitula episcoporum* 3 (Hanover 1995) 204-205: “Haec sunt, quae iussa sunt discere omnes ecclesiasticos”. Then follows a list of fifteen points, including the Creed by Athanasius, the apostolic Creed, the *Pater noster*, penitentials, computus, homelies, etc. See also: Carine van Rhijn, “Et hoc considerat episcopus ut ipsi presbyteri non sint idiotae”. Carolingian local correctio and an unknown priest's exam from the early ninth century”, in: Rob Meens, Dorine van Espelo, Bram van den Hoven van Genderen, Janneke Raaijmakers, Irene van Renswoude and Carine van Rhijn ed., *Religious Franks. Religion and power in the Frankish kingdoms. Studies in honour of Mayke de Jong* (Manchester 2016) 162-180; ‘Karolingische priesterexamens en het probleem van correctio op het platteland’, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 125 (2012) 158-171.

¹⁰³ *Capitula Frisingensia prima* XIII: “Librum pastorem canonici atque librum officiorum.” According to the MGH edition, the “librum pastorem canonici” might refer to the *Regula pastoralis* by Gregory the Great. “Librum officiorum” then refers to Isidore’s *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, on which the editor is more certain; in two of the three manuscripts that contain this capitulary, the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* is included under the name “liber officiorum” (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6325 and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14461).

¹⁰⁴ *Admonitio generalis* 68, *MGH Fontes iuris germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi*, 220.

¹⁰⁵ See for example: C.A. Jones, ‘The book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England’, *Speculum* 73 (1998) 671.

and disseminating the ‘correct’ rite.”¹⁰⁶ As such, the liturgical commentaries from the ninth century can be seen as mainly explanatory and theoretical works without large theological or liturgical innovations.¹⁰⁷

In this chapter and the next we shall see how the anonymous Mass commentaries in Corbie 230 fit into this view. But before we go to the analysis of the three Mass commentaries, I will shortly consider the terminology used for such texts. Thus far in this paper I have referred to this corpus of texts as “commentaries” or “expositions” on the liturgy or the Mass. Wilmart started using the term *expositio missae* at the start of the twentieth century to refer to Carolingian commentaries on the Mass, and in fact, the word *expositio* is also a contemporary term, used in Carolingian manuscripts.¹⁰⁸ For example, in several manuscripts the *Primum in ordine* is referred to as *expositio missae*.¹⁰⁹ The term *expositio* is also used for the *Dominus vobiscum*, as well as for other explanations of the Mass, the Lord’s Prayer, the Creed, etc.¹¹⁰

As such, the word *expositio* – in the meaning of “explanation” – was used in Carolingian manuscripts to refer to a broader corpus of texts that had one thing in common: to explain a prayer or ritual. So to speak of *expositiones* seems to be useful as it is not just based on modern tendencies. On the other hand,

¹⁰⁶ Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul. To the death of Charles the Bald (877)* (London 2001) 105. Hen regards the works of Amalarius of Metz (ca. 775-850), including his *Liber officialis*, as an exception. Amalarius took an allegorical approach, by emphasizing a deeper meaning for every prayer, gesture, rite, and even objects in the liturgy of the Mass. The work of Amalarius of Metz was especially controversial in his own archbishopric. Florus of Lyons (ca. 810-860) wrote a treatise against the work of Amalarius and his allegorical approach to explaining the Mass, called *Opuscola adversus Amalarium*. See also: A. Kolping, ‘Amalar von Metz und Florus von Lyon: Zeugen eines Wandels im liturgischen Mysterienverständnis in der Karolingerzeit’, *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 73:4 (1951) 424-464; Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul*, 105; McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms*, 148-149; Reynolds, ‘Liturgy, treatises on’, 628.

¹⁰⁷ As the topic of this thesis is a ninth-century manuscript, I will not go into the development of the *Expositiones Missae* after the ninth century. For an overview of the further development of Mass commentaries in the post-Carolingian era, see: Enrico Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist. The origin of the rite and the development of its interpretation*, trans. by Matthew J. O’Connell (Collegeville, Minnesota 1999) 172-181; Reynolds, ‘Liturgy, treatises on’, 624-633.

¹⁰⁸ *Expositio* according to LewisShort could mean the *exposing of an infant*, but also *definition, explanation, narration, a setting forth or an exhibiting*. BlaisePatristic translates *expositio* as *explication, exposé, doctrine, écrits, interprétation*, or *exégèse*. I used the online *Database of Latin Dictionaries* to access these dictionaries. This database is available via Brepolis, <http://clt.brepolis.net.proxy.library.uu.nl/dld/pages/QuickSearch.aspx> (last accessed on 6 June 2018).

¹⁰⁹ This title is used in the following manuscripts from the ninth and tenth century: Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Lit. 131, f30v; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 485, f17v; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 446, p50.

¹¹⁰ There is some variation in titles in the different manuscripts. Despite all the variations, the word *expositio* is used in all of these titles: “Expositio in Missa” (El Escorial, Real biblioteca de San Lorenzo, L.III.8; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1012); “incipit expositio missae” (Munich CLM 14532); “incipit expositio missae a quodam doctore” (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1248), “expositio super missam incipit” (St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 40), “item incipit expositio” (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 485).

based on the study of the manuscripts it is also clear that there was no established title or designation for such commentaries; the word *expositio* does not occur in Corbie 230, for example. Instead the section on the Mass is introduced as *Incipit tractatus super missam* (also see ch. 4.1.1). It therefore remains important to proceed carefully in using any term, and to consider the titles given in the individual manuscripts, as they might reflect (or not reflect) the purpose that the compiler had in mind by copying these texts.

3.2 Three Mass commentaries in Corbie 230

It is clear by now that Corbie 230 contains three texts on the Mass: *Primum in ordine, Dominus vobiscum*, and *Missa celebrare*, but Corbie 230 is not the only copy of these three texts. When researching medieval manuscripts there tends to be a contrast between a certain “text” and one “version of that text”. Whether unintentionally, such as scribal errors and *Augensprung*, or intentionally, each text contains modifications, adjustments, corrections, marginalia, etc. In this thesis, the main focus is on the versions of these three texts as they appear in this particular manuscript. But, in order to do so, it is also relevant to consider what is already known about these three Mass commentaries, as it will offer important insights into these texts. This question is also significant to see how these three commentaries fit into the tradition of explaining the Mass, as discussed in the first part of this chapter. However, the question is not just “what do we know” about these Mass commentaries, but especially “what do we *not* know” or “what can we *not* say about these texts with absolute certainty”.

3.2.1 *Dominus vobiscum*

The *Dominus vobiscum* is one of the anonymous *Expositiones Missae*. Despite the large number of manuscripts that contain the *Dominus vobiscum*, we know little about the origin of this text and although the text has been attributed to several Carolingian scholars, the Mass commentary has thus far remained anonymous.

The *Dominus vobiscum* has been edited several times in the last few centuries. One of the earliest editions was by Martin Gerbert in 1779, who edited the text based on a manuscript from Einsiedeln (Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 110).¹¹¹ In 1797, F. Arevalo included the *Dominus vobiscum* in his edition of the work of Isidore of Seville.¹¹² At the end of the nineteenth century, Ch. Cuissard considered the

¹¹¹ M. Gerbert, *Monumenta veteris liturgiae alemannicae* II (St Blaise 1779), reprinted in PL 138, col. 1163-1173.

¹¹² F. Arevalo, *Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi opera omnia*, Vol. VII (Rome 1797) 221-231. This edition was reprinted in PL 83, col. 1145-1154. It is not directly clear from the edition itself on which manuscript(s) Arevalo based his edition, but J.M. Hanssens mentions that it was a manuscript from El Escorial. See: J.M. Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, Studi e Testi 138 (Vatican City 1948) 114.

text to have been written by Theodulf of Orléans and edited the text as such.¹¹³ The first edition to be based on a larger corpus of manuscripts, seven to be precise, was produced by J.M. Hanssens in 1948 in his edition of the work of Amalarius of Metz.¹¹⁴ The corpus of known manuscripts of the *Dominus vobiscum* has only grown since then.¹¹⁵ The widespread manuscript tradition of the *Dominus vobiscum* drew the attention of C.M. Nason, who studied the textual transmission and possible authorship of the Mass commentary.¹¹⁶ He mentions seven other manuscripts compared to Hanssens' edition, four of which came from the ninth century. Susan Keefe mentions a total of sixteen Carolingian manuscripts containing the *Dominus vobiscum*.¹¹⁷

The Mass commentary remained very popular for several centuries; a manuscript from Bodensee, written in ±1300, contains part of the *Dominus vobiscum*, where it is introduced as a sermon from Augustine of Hippo (354-430).¹¹⁸ Not many of the other ninth-century expositions on the Mass knew such a distribution, which makes the popularity of the *Dominus vobiscum* extra compelling. Naturally the question arises why this particular text became so successful. Was it perhaps written by a famous authority? Unfortunately, although some of the manuscripts contain an attribution to a certain author, there is no uniformity in the manuscripts on who wrote the text.¹¹⁹ Moreover, it is not known where the text might have been written or who commissioned the writing of this text. Nason does suggest “a central French origin” as most of the earliest manuscripts are from France.¹²⁰ The earliest known copy of the *Dominus vobiscum* is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2796.¹²¹

¹¹³ Ch. Cuissard, *Théodulphe évêque d'Orléans, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de l'Orléanais (Orléans 1892) 332-343. According to Hanssens, the edition of Cuissard was based on a manuscript from Orléans. See: Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, 114.

¹¹⁴ Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, 284-338.

¹¹⁵ Hanssens used a total of seven manuscripts for his edition, but not Corbie 230. He did know about at least twenty other manuscripts, but based his edition on just these seven manuscripts: Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 116 (94); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2796; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4281; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 40; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 446; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 485; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Car. C. 102.

¹¹⁶ Nason, ‘The Mass Commentary *Dominus vobiscum*’, 75-91.

¹¹⁷ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 126-127. For a complete overview of the manuscripts, see appendix B. This list is based on the manuscripts mentioned by Hanssens, Nason and Keefe.

¹¹⁸ Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. VII,4, f37^{ra}-39^{vb}. According to the manuscript description, this sermon – with the title “sermo augustini de dignitate anime” – is part of a *Liber paenitentialis*. See: Wilfried Werner, *Die mittelalterlichen nichtliturgischen Handschriften des Zisterzienserklosters Salem* (Wiesbaden 2000) 11-13.

¹¹⁹ In Merseburg, Kapitelsbibliothek, 58, *Dominus vobiscum* is attributed to Hrabanus Maurus and in Budapest, Széchényi National-Bibliothek, Lat. 316 the text is attributed to Alcuin. See also: Nason, ‘The Mass commentary *Dominus vobiscum*’, 87.

¹²⁰ Nason, ‘The Mass Commentary *Dominus vobiscum*’, 80. The early manuscripts that Nason refers to are: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2796; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 40 (actually from Switzerland); Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, 184 (Tours); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1012 (Limoges); and Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 116 (94) (Fleury).

¹²¹ The (probable) *terminus post quem* for this manuscript is 813-815, which in turn could provide a *terminus ante quem* for *Dominus vobiscum*. However, this is not a strict *terminus ante quem*, as the exact dating of the manuscript is still unsure. See: Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, 112.

Dominus vobiscum has been attributed to some well-known Carolingian authors. This is based on some of the manuscripts in which an author is mentioned, but those attributions are rare and seem to be quite arbitrary. Nason tries to argue that the text was written by Alcuin, but his arguments are solely based on indirect evidence. His main argument is almost entirely based on manuscript Budapest, Széchényi national-bibliothek, Lat. 316; this manuscript is one of the earliest remaining versions of the *Dominus vobiscum*, as it was written around the year 825, and attributes the text to Alcuin.¹²² The origins of this manuscript are probably in Salzburg, where Arno of Salzburg (750-821) had been the archbishop just a few years earlier. Arno had been a student of Alcuin, which Nason sees as a sign that the attribution to Alcuin in this manuscript might be correct. Another argument of Nason's is that the style of the *Dominus vobiscum* resembles Alcuin's *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus sapientissimi regis Carli et Albini magistri*, which is an instructional text in the form of a dialogue between teacher and student.¹²³ However, none of the manuscripts contains the autograph of the text, and as such, the question whether it is actually useful to debate on the possible authorship of the *Dominus vobiscum* based on secondary evidence is raised.

Wilmart also states that we should accept that this text will remain anonymous. He argues that the text could not have been written by any of these possible authors, as he was not impressed by both the literary quality of the text and the content of the explanations. He is especially strongly opposed to the suggestion that Theodulf of Orléans was the author, and goes as far as saying that the form of the text is too poor for someone like Theodulf of Orléans.¹²⁴ The author of the *Dominus vobiscum* was not only addressing priests, but he seems to be speaking on their behalf, as was suggested by Wilmart. He based this argument on the frequent use of the first-person plural in the text.¹²⁵ Might the author of the text himself have been a "simple priest"? While the argument of Wilmart that the *Dominus vobiscum* should remain anonymous – unless other manuscripts with a decisive answer on authorship turn up – is convincing, his reasoning on the poor literary quality of the text does not hold when taking into consideration that we only have copies of the text. The text itself points towards the opposite of a "simple priest". Regardless of the quality of the Latin, the contents of the *Dominus vobiscum* could not be called "simple". And whoever wrote this text must have had knowledge of and access to a number of sources. As such, it remains unknown who wrote the *Dominus vobiscum*. All the aforementioned attributions

¹²² For his complete argument, see: Nason, 'The Mass commentary *Dominus vobiscum*', 87-89. The attribution to Alcuin in the Budapest manuscript is as follows: "In nomine dei summi expositio super missae videlicet tractatus Albini magistri."

¹²³ Alcuin of York, *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus sapientissimi regis Carli et Albini magistri*, C. Halm ed., *Rhetorici Latini Minores* (Leipzig 1863) 523-550.

¹²⁴ "Il est plus qu'étrange que l'oeuvre littéraire de l'évêque d'Orléans soit réduite à si peu de chose. (...) Nous n'avons plus qu'à compter sur notre propre jugement pour décider si les deux opuscules sont dignes de Théodulphe." Wilmart, 'Expositio Missae', 1020.

¹²⁵ Wilmart, 'Expositio Missae', 1020.

lack any decisive arguments, but on the other hand there are also no decisive arguments against any of these possible authors.

Hence, it is unlikely that the popularity of the text was caused only because it was written by an authoritative author.¹²⁶ Instead, we might explain the popularity of the *Dominus vobiscum* by its accessible and approachable explanations of the canon of the Mass. There are no complicated debates on liturgy or theological matters. Instead, in every explanation there is a short and concise comment on the meaning of a particular prayer, often focussed on etymology. One would expect that the most important terms in the Christian faith and their origins and meaning would be known to the clergy and specifically to priests. Yet, common words such as *ecclesia*, *pater*, *christus*, *angelus*, *apostolus*, *caelum* and *ihesum* are all explained and interpreted in the *Dominus vobiscum*. At the end of the Mass, when the deacon says to the congregation “ite missa est”, even the origins of the word *diaconus* is interpreted (see also ch. 4.2).¹²⁷

As such, the text must have been appealing for educational purposes, although there is an expectation of some prior knowledge; if for instance one would have never heard of Jesus before, it is questionable whether this explanation will give enough information to fully understand who Jesus is. The method of explaining might be an important explanation for the popularity of the *Dominus vobiscum*, not only in the ninth century but also still in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; the text goes beyond complex and time-specific debates. That would explain why after a few centuries the text was not deemed to be outdated or old-fashioned and was therefore still copied, read, and used.

3.2.2 *Primum in ordine*

Although the *Primum in ordine* never knew the same popularity as the *Dominus vobiscum*, the text appears in at least ten ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts and as such the text can also be seen as one of the more successful Carolingian expositions on the Mass. *Primum in ordine* yields a similar structure to *Dominus vobiscum*, as it offers an explanation to the text of the *canon missae*. But as is the case with the *Dominus vobiscum*, very little is known about the origins of the *Primum in ordine*. As one of the earliest known manuscripts of the text, Oxford, Bodleian library, Hatton 93, might have been a late eighth-century Anglo-Saxon manuscript, it has been suggested that the text might have had an Anglo-Saxon origin.¹²⁸ Wilmart, on the other hand, placed the origins of the text at the Carolingian court, while

¹²⁶ It is however no exception that texts in priest handbooks are anonymous. See: Van Rhijn, ‘Manuscripts for local priests and the Carolingian reforms’, 183.

¹²⁷ “Et post finitam missam dicit diaconus ad populum “Ite missa est”. Diaconus grece, minister latine dicitur.” See Corbie 230, f42r.

¹²⁸ Before Wilmart identified the text in Hatton 93 as the mass commentary *Primum in ordine*, Henri Schenkel in 1891 even suggested that the tractate was Irish. See: Schenkel, *Bibliotheca patrum latinorum britannica* 1 (Vienna 1892) 70.

stating that the *Primum in ordine* might have been written a few years before the *Dominus vobiscum*, although he does not explain why.¹²⁹

There have been several editions of the *Primum in ordine*, although most of them are based on only one or two manuscripts. In 1779, M. Gerbert edited the text on the basis of the eleventh-century manuscript Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 110.¹³⁰ A. Staerk included a transcription of the *Primum in ordine* in his description of Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34, also known as Corbie 230.¹³¹ In 1982, the Italian historian Daniela Mazzuconi made a critical edition of the *Primum in ordine*.¹³² Her primary goal was to explore the manuscript tradition of the *Primum in ordine*. In her research, she includes 21 different manuscripts ranging from the eighth to the seventeenth century.¹³³ Although this list is very elaborate, there are at least three other manuscripts of the *Primum in ordine*.¹³⁴ The first two are London, British library, 8.c.III, a late tenth-century manuscript from England, and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 294, written around the year 1000 in Trier. Both of these manuscripts also include the *Dominus vobiscum*. The third is Cambridge, University library, Dd X 16, a late ninth- or early tenth-century manuscript, probably from the area of Tours.¹³⁵

In 1922, Wilmart wrote on the *Expositiones Missae* and gave a list of five manuscripts of the *Primum in ordine*.¹³⁶ He suggested that the *Primum in ordine*, more than the *Dominus vobiscum*, was a work of knowledge and scholarship. Although he stated that the *Primum in ordine* is literary enough to be written by someone like Theodulf of Orléans, unlike his opinion on *Dominus vobiscum*, there is still a lack of evidence pointing to one specific author, so we should accept the anonymity of the treatise.¹³⁷ Wilmart wrote again on the *Primum in ordine* in 1936.¹³⁸ His lists of manuscripts had grown to fourteen now,

¹²⁹ Wilmart, 'Expositio Missae', 1020-1021. See also: A. Wilmart, 'Un traité sur la Messe copié en Angleterre vers l'an 800', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 50 (1936) 133-139. In *Expositio Missae* (1922), Wilmart suggested that *Primum in ordine* might have been a source for *Dominus vobiscum*. He observed some similarities in both texts that, according to him, could not be a coincidence. However, despite making this claim, Wilmart did not give any examples of such parallels, and - as far as I know - this hypothesis has received no further attention thus far. But there is indeed some evidence supporting Wilmart's hypothesis. While both texts certainly are quite different and give deviant explanations in the text, the structure of the texts is evidently similar, as is the focus on etymological explanations and the use of the Etymologies of Isidore as a source.

¹³⁰ Gerbert, *Monumenta veteris liturgiae alemannicae* II, 1173-1186.

¹³¹ Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle*, 181-190.

¹³² Mazzuconi, Daniela, 'La diffusione dell'expositio Missae "Primum in ordine" e l'expositio orationis Dominicae cosiddetta milanese', *Ricerche storiche sulla Chiesa ambrosiana* 11 (1982) 208-266.

¹³³ For the complete list of manuscripts, see: Mazzuconi, 'La diffusione dell'expositio Missae "Primum in ordine"', 210-211.

¹³⁴ I found out about the first two manuscripts as they also contain the *Dominus vobiscum*. The third I found thanks to an article written on this manuscript: Martin McNamara, 'The newly-identified Cambridge Apocalypse commentary and the Reference bible', *Peritia* 15 (2001) 208-260.

¹³⁵ In this version of the *Primum in ordine*, the opening sentences are missing. The incipit is "Introitum compositum nomen est". See: McNamara, 'The newly-identified Cambridge Apocalypse commentary', 257.

¹³⁶ Wilmart, 'Expositio missae', 1020.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 1021: "Du moins, serait-elle moins indigne de Théodulphe que la première".

¹³⁸ Wilmart, 'Un traité', 133-139.

including one that might indeed be the oldest witness of the *Primum in ordine*: Oxford, Bodleian library, Hatton 93. Only the year before Wilmart wrote this article, E.A. Lowe had produced a list of manuscripts prior to the ninth century.¹³⁹ He included Hatton 93 on this list, although he did acknowledge that a dating in the first decade of the ninth century was also possible for this manuscript. Wilmart, having suggested in 1922 that the *Primum in ordine* was written after the *Admonitio generalis* of 789, placed Hatton 93 in Worcester, where it was copied around the year 800.¹⁴⁰ He discusses whether the *Primum in ordine* might have had an Anglo-Saxon origin and might even have been written by Alcuin before he came to the Carolingian court, but concludes – although without a comprehensive argument – that the *Primum in ordine* has a continental origin.¹⁴¹

One of the other manuscripts that has been considered one of the oldest known versions of the *Primum in ordine* is Cambrai, Bibl. Municipale, 600 (559). According to Mazzuconi, this manuscript might have been written in the eighth century. However, more recently, Mordek has argued that this dating is inaccurate. According to him the Cambrai manuscript is probably a tenth-century manuscript.¹⁴² So if these claims on dating on Hatton 93 and the Cambrai manuscript are correct, the oldest manuscripts of the *Primum in ordine* are from the middle of the ninth century at the earliest.

The remaining manuscripts of the text show that the *Primum in ordine* was spread over a large part of the Carolingian empire; the earliest manuscripts are mainly from France and Germany. The manuscripts from the tenth century and beyond show that the text became especially popular in Italy.¹⁴³ The *Primum in ordine* was also distributed in Anglo-Saxon England. One of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts has already been mentioned: Hatton 93. There is also a copy of the *Primum in ordine* in London, British library, Royal 8.c.iii. This late ninth-century manuscript was compiled in Canterbury and also contains *Dominus vobiscum*. However, the most popular exposition on the Mass in Anglo-Saxon England was the *Liber officialis* by Amalarius of Metz and there are only a few examples of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing the *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum*.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ E.A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores. A palaeographical guide to Latin manuscripts prior to the ninth century* (Oxford 1935). In 1972, a second edition of this work was published.

¹⁴⁰ Wilmart, 'Un traité', 137-139.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 139: "Le mouvement d'échange ne s'est pas fait de l'est à l'ouest, mais selon le sens inverse." Since then there has been some discussion, most notably by Jennifer Morrish, about the dating of Hatton 93. She suggests that, if the *Primum in ordine* was only written between 789 and 802, as Wilmart proposes, there was not enough time for the text to cross the sea to Anglo-Saxon Worcester, so the dating of Hatton 93 should be later than 800. See: J. Morrish, 'Dated and Datable Manuscripts Copied in England during the Ninth Century: a Preliminary list', *Mediaeval Studies* 50 (1988) 513-514.

¹⁴² Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich*, 244.

¹⁴³ The distribution of the *Primum in ordine* in Italy is discussed in great detail by Daniela Mazzuconi, as the Italian tradition of the text was her main interest. She mentions several manuscripts from Italy, amongst which: Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Patr. 68, ff. 106r-123v (10th-11th century); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4931, ff. 136r-145v (12th century); Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, 241, ff. 75r-86r (12th century); Mantova, Bibl. Comunale, 331, ff. 1r-10r (13th century).

¹⁴⁴ David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England. Four studies. Studies in Anglo-Saxon History* 5 (Woodbridge 1992) 116.

3.2.3 *Missa celebrare*

The third Mass commentary in Corbie 230, *Missa celebrare*, should be seen in an entirely different tradition from the *Dominus vobiscum* and *Primum in ordine*. This short commentary on the Mass is largely similar to Isidore's explanation of the Mass in *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I, c. 15. In this chapter, Isidore gives a short description of seven prayers of the Mass. Is the *Missa celebrare* in Corbie 230 simply an excerpt of Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* or is it an edited version of Isidore that has had its own text tradition? There is evidence pointing towards the second option, as there are at least four other ninth century manuscripts that contain roughly the same text as the third Mass commentary in Corbie 230.¹⁴⁵ Even though the texts in these manuscripts are not exactly similar, they do show similar deviations from chapter 1.15 in *De ecclesiasticis officiis*.

The earliest of these manuscripts is probably Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 288, which was written in the first half of the ninth century, in eastern or northern France.¹⁴⁶ The other manuscripts were also written in (northern) France, except for St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 40, whose origins lie in St Gall.¹⁴⁷ Three of the manuscripts contain the commentary *Dominus vobiscum* as well, and in one of the manuscripts, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1248, the two texts follow each other in the same order as in Corbie 230.¹⁴⁸

The example below shows a comparison between the edition of *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and the *Missa celebrare* in Corbie 230, based on the fourth prayer. I also added St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 40 to the comparison. The example shows how both Corbie 230 and the St Gall manuscript are mostly similar, apart from some differences in spelling and grammar. The example also shows how the text in these two manuscripts differs from *De ecclesiasticis officiis*.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 126-127. Keefe has divided her list of Mass commentaries according to the incipits of the text. The only manuscript with the same incipit as Corbie 230, is Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Sec. Med. 387. However, three other manuscripts contain almost the same text as in Corbie 230, but with a different incipit. These manuscripts are also described by Keefe, but the similarities between the texts are not directly noted if one sorts the mass commentaries on the incipits, as Keefe has done. These other manuscripts are Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 288, ff. 15-16v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1248, ff. 23v-24v; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 40, pp. 304-305.

¹⁴⁶ Keefe suggests eastern France, maybe Laon. See: Keefe, *Water and the word*, Vol. II, 26-29. Bischoff suggests it might be northern France, but he is also not certain. See: Bernard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, Vol. II, 31-32.

¹⁴⁷ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 82. The manuscript nowadays is a composite of three separate manuscripts. What is now pp. 301-357 was an individual manuscript, which contains both the *Dominus vobiscum* (pp. 305-322) and this Isidore-excerpt (304-305), with the incipit "Missa greca lingua dicitur quod in latinum interpretatur interpellacio pro plebe".

¹⁴⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1248 was written in the middle of the ninth century somewhere in northern France. The *Dominus vobiscum* is on ff.5-23v and the Isidore excerpt on ff.23v-24v.

¹⁴⁹ Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I.15, CCSL 1113, 16.

De ecclesiasticis officiis I.15

Corbie 230, f42v

St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek,

Cod. Sang. 40, p. 305

Quarta post haec infertur pro osculo pacis ut, caritate reconciliati omnes inuicem, digne sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi consociantur, quia non recipit dissensionem cuiusquam Christi indiuisibile corpus.

Quarta pro osculo pacis ut caritatem reconciliacionis inuicem sacramentis christi in uera fide coniuncti ut perfecta caritas apud nos permaneat ·

Quarta pro osculo pacis ut caritatis · reconciliati · omnes inuicem sacramenti · christi in uere fide coniuncti · perfecta caritas apud nos permaneat ·

Although this comparison with the edition of the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* is slightly contaminated – there were many copies of the *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, undoubtedly with many variants and deviations – it does serve as a clear illustration of the possible textual tradition of the *Missa celebrare*.

The comparison with the other manuscripts also shows that the text in Corbie 230 is incomplete; it only describes five of the seven prayers originally mentioned by Isidore. These five are: an admonition to the people, an invocation to God to receive the prayers and offerings, a prayer for the dead, a prayer before the kiss of peace, and the fifth is the *Illatio*, a sanctification of the offering. The sixth and seventh prayers described by Isidore – a confirmation of the sacrament and the *Pater noster* – have not been included in the version in Corbie 230. Moreover, the text breaks off rather abruptly and the rest of the page is empty. However, the text in the Paris manuscript does include the sixth and seventh prayers of the Mass described by Isidore. The two other manuscripts, Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 288 and St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 40, also contain longer versions of the text. In the Laon manuscript, the text is referred to in the title as an *expositio mise vel orationum*.¹⁵⁰ In Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Sec. Méd. 387¹⁵¹, the text is even shorter than in Corbie 230, as it contains only the introduction of the text; the seven different prayers are not addressed at all.¹⁵²

As such, all five versions differ from each other, but they also do seem to be related to one another, and it seems not too farfetched to interpret this short text as a text with its own textual tradition. In that

¹⁵⁰ The full title is “In nomine dei summi incipit expositio mise vel orationum.” Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 288 contains expositions on the *Pater noster*, the Creed, the mass (including another exposition on the mass starting with the words *Dominus vobiscum*, but not the same as in Corbie 230), treatises on baptism, several homilies (attributed to Jerome and Augustine), etc. See: Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 26-29.

¹⁵¹ This ninth-century manuscript also contains *Dominus vobiscum*. It follows directly after *Missa celebrare* (ff. 57-78v).

¹⁵² Moreover, the last sentence in the Montpellier manuscript deviates from both the text in Corbie 230. The entire text is as follows: “Missa celebrare primo a sancto petro et a sanctis apostolis est institutus, iubente domino sicut ipse dicit, ‘Haec quotiescumque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis.’ Missa graecae lingua dicitur quod in latinum interpraetatur interpellatio pro plebe, id est, intercessio pro populo. Primum aaron demonstrat ammonitionem erga populum ut excitentur corda ad exorandum deum.”

sense, it is not simply a copy of the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 1.15 or an “Isidore-excerpt”, but it could be seen as an adaption or an attempt to “rewrite” Isidore’s text, perhaps in order to adapt the text to a new environment or audience.¹⁵³

This third exposition in Corbie 230 does show a certain continuation of the genre of the expositions; Isidore’s *De ecclesiasticis officiis* was written more than two centuries before Corbie 230 was compiled. Earlier texts were re-used, in this case a text written by a great authority, Isidore. It is of course the question whether the scribe of Corbie 230 knew that Isidore originally wrote this explanation on the Mass. We do know of at least one diocese – based on the aforementioned priest exam from Freising – where the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* was compulsory reading material for priests, but none of the five manuscripts refers to Isidore as author. On the other hand, it has been a recurring theme throughout this chapter that the question of authorship might not have been important in the case of the *Expositiones Missae*; the attributions in the manuscripts of the *Dominus vobiscum* and *Primum in ordine* are equally rare.

These five manuscripts nevertheless show us that the *Missa celebrare* had its own textual tradition, and that the texts in these five manuscripts are related to each other, as either an intentional or an accidental “rewrite” of Isidore’s *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 1.15.

3.3 The Manuscript tradition

The three Mass commentaries are all anonymous in Corbie 230; it is also not known when they were written and where they might have been written. However, we do have a great number of manuscripts that can tell us more about these texts. Perhaps they will not give us the answers as to when, where, or by whom the Mass commentaries were written, but they can tell us more about the popularity and distribution of these expositions, and about their use and function within the contexts of these manuscripts. In the last part of this chapter, therefore, I will discuss the distribution of the three Mass commentaries and their manuscripts.

¹⁵³ The term “rewriting” was introduced by Monique Goulet in her study on the “réécriture” of hagiographical texts and is further discussed by Maarten Prot in his discussion of textual variants in the *Virtutes apostolorum*. Prot argues that in the *Virtutes apostolorum* the textual variants “should not be understood as the result of an explicit concern to rewrite the language, but as to be perceived as the result of implicit rewriting strategies to adapt style and language according to the needs and demands of the audience.” The same could be said about the *Missa celebrare*, although it is interesting to note that in the case of the *Virtutes apostolorum* the author is unknown whereas the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* had a famous and authoritative author, Isidore of Seville. See: Maarten Prot, ‘New approaches to textual variants in the *Virtutes apostolorum*’, in: Els Rose, *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in Latin Christianity: Proceedings of the First International Summer School on Christian Apocryphal Literature (ISCAL), Strasbourg, 24-27 June 2012* (Turnhout 2014) 59; Monique Goulet, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques: Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l’Occident latin médiéval (VIIIe-XIIIe s.)*. Hagiologia 4 (Turnhout 2005).

3.3.1 Manuscripts

Corbie 230 is not an exception by containing more than one exposition on the Mass. Keefe describes several manuscripts that contain two or more expositions on a specific topic, such as the Mass. But there is great variety. Keefe lists 24 different expositions on the Mass, so many different combinations can be found in all the different manuscripts. Yet, there are at least four manuscripts from the ninth and tenth century that contain both the *Primum in ordine* and the *Dominus vobiscum*. Moreover, there are also at least six eleventh-century manuscripts with the same combination of texts, so the combination was not uncommon. The scheme below includes all the manuscripts that I know of thus far that contain two or more of the three Mass commentaries discussed in this chapter from the ninth and tenth century.

Manuscript	Origin	Dating	PiO	DV	MC
9th/10th century manuscripts¹⁵⁴					
Corbie 230 ¹⁵⁵	Northeastern France	IX 2/2	23v-33v	33v-42v	42v
London, British library, Royal 8.c.iii ¹⁵⁶	England	X 4/4	6v-26r	63r-81r	-
Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Sec. Med. 387 ¹⁵⁷	France	IX 2/3	-	57-78	57
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1248 ¹⁵⁸	Northern France	IXmed	-	5-23	23-24
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 40 ¹⁵⁹	St Gall	IX 2/3&3/3	-	305-322	304-305
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 446 ¹⁶⁰	St Gall	IX 3/3	50-74	85-105	-
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 294 ¹⁶¹	Trier	±1000	128r-128v	128v-136r	-

¹⁵⁴ In addition to these manuscripts from the ninth and tenth century, there are also at least five manuscripts with the combination of *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum*: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 110; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 1146, lat. 1147, and lat. 1148; Vienna, Österreichische nationalbibliothek, 914.

¹⁵⁵ See ch.2 and appendix A for the main literature on Corbie 230.

¹⁵⁶ George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, Vol. I (London 1921) 229.

¹⁵⁷ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 38-40.

¹⁵⁸ Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, 265-269; Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 70-71.

¹⁵⁹ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 82-84. See also: Gustav Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen* (Halle 1875) 18.

¹⁶⁰ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 88-90. See also: Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften*, 144-146.

¹⁶¹ Michael Kautz, 'Wissenschaftliche Beschreibung', http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/digi-pdf-katalogisate/sammlung51/werk/pdf/bav_pal_lat_294.pdf, last accessed on 8 June 2018.

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 485 ¹⁶²	Lorsch	860-875	17v-27v	27v-36v	-
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There are several important elements that can be detected from this overview. First, Corbie 230 is the only manuscript known so far with this specific combination of texts, although there are a few other manuscripts with both the *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum*. The two texts, however, are not always in the same order or placed exactly next to each other in every manuscript. The same goes for the combination of *Dominus vobiscum* and *Missa celebrare*. This list also shows that *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* were both popular in a large area: France, Germany, Switzerland, England, and especially from the eleventh century onwards, Italy. There are no manuscripts of either *Primum in ordine* or *Dominus vobiscum* found in Spain, so however popular they became in the Carolingian empire, England and Italy, the texts did not cross the Pyrenees. The area of distribution of *Missa celebrare* is much more limited: four of the five manuscripts can be traced to (northern) France.

3.3.2 Flexibility of the “genre”

Taking the manuscripts of our three Mass commentaries into account, there are a few interesting examples that show the flexibility of these texts. In some manuscripts, compilers or scribes did not simply copy the text of a Mass commentary, but they also edited – or customized – the texts so that they might perhaps better adjust to the requirements of the manuscript, as the following two examples will demonstrate.

The first example is about one of the manuscripts mentioned in the scheme above, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 294. This Vatican manuscript shows an interesting combination of two of our Mass commentaries. The manuscript is a composite, consisting of three parts. The manuscript description for Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 294 tells us that the third part of the manuscript, which was written around the year 1000 in Trier, contains both *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum*.¹⁶³ However, in this manuscript the *Dominus vobiscum* and part of *Primum in ordine* have been combined into one whole: the text starts with the prologue of *Primum in ordine* – which describes briefly the liturgy of the Mass from the *introitus* until the start of the Eucharist – and then continues with the other Mass commentary, *Dominus vobiscum* – which describes the liturgy

¹⁶² Kautz, ‘Wissenschaftliche Beschreibung’, http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/digi-pdf-katalogisate/cod.sang.sammlung51/werk/pdf/bav_pal_lat_485.pdf, last accessed on 8 June 2018. See also: Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 100-103; Paxton, ‘Bonus Liber’, 1-30.

¹⁶³ Kautz, ‘Wissenschaftliche Beschreibung’, http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/digi-pdf-katalogisate/sammlung51/werk/pdf/bav_pal_lat_294.pdf, last accessed on 8 June 2018. For a digitized version of the manuscript, see http://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/bav/bav_pal_lat_294/0263/image. The manuscript consists of three parts: part I was written in Lorsch in the second half of the ninth century and part II and III were written around the year 1000, but it is unknown where. The mass commentaries can be found in the third part (ff. 128r-136r).

from the dialogue between priest and people until the *ite missa est*. As such, parts of the two expositions have been combined into one text.

The second example concerns the *Pater noster*, or the *Lord's Prayer*. The *Pater noster* is prayed during the Mass; just before the peace, the *Agnus Dei* and the distribution of the communion. As such, the *Pater noster* is one of the fixed prayers of the Mass, and therefore the prayer is explained in *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum*. But regardless of its place in the liturgy of the Mass, the *Pater noster* had an important function in the Christian faith. The prayer had to be known and understood by every Christian: not just the clergy, but the laity as well.¹⁶⁴ This is reflected in the *Admonitio generalis* of 789, where it is written that every priest should understand the *oratio dominica*, so that they could teach the prayer to everybody.¹⁶⁵ The importance of the *Pater noster*, often in combination with the Creed, is also mentioned in many other Carolingian capitularies and synod decrees.¹⁶⁶ Repeatedly it is underlined how important it is for the clergy to know and understand the *Pater noster* and to teach this text to their congregation.

Theodulf wrote in his first episcopal statute (precepts for the priests in his diocese) the following about the *Pater noster* and the Creed: “The faithful must be reminded that all of them together, from the least to the greatest, should learn the Lord’s prayer and the Creed (...). For it had been established that none shall be anointed, nor baptized, nor be lifted from the water of that fountain, nor can he hold anyone before the bishop to be confirmed, unless he had committed to memory the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer, save only those whose age has not yet taught them to speak.”¹⁶⁷ As such, just as there were commentaries on the Mass or the Creed, there were commentaries on the *Pater noster* as well. Steffen Patzold identified more than twenty-five different texts in Carolingian manuscripts that explain the prayer or where the prayer is the main subject of a sermon.¹⁶⁸

As the *Pater noster* is one of the fixed parts of the Eucharist prayer, an explanation of the prayer is included in *Dominus vobiscum* as well. The text contains the *Pater noster* and the corresponding

¹⁶⁴ For the importance of the *Pater noster* in the Carolingian liturgy, see: Steffen Patzold, ‘Pater noster: Priests and the religious instruction of the laity in the Carolingian *populus christianus*’, in: Steffen Patzold & Carine van Rhijn ed., *Men in the Middle. Local priests in early medieval Europe* (Berlin/Boston 2016) 199-221.

¹⁶⁵ *Admonitio generalis* 68, *MGH Fontes iuris germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi*, 220: “et dominicam orationem ipse intellegant et omnibus praedicent intellegendam, ut quisque *sciat, quid petat a deo*”.

¹⁶⁶ Patzold, ‘Pater noster’, 204-208.

¹⁶⁷ Theodulf of Orléans, *Capitula* I, 22: “Commonendi sunt fideles, ut generaliter omnes a minimo usque ad maximum orationem dominicam et symbolum discant. (...) Constitutum namque est, ut nullus chrismetur neque baptizetur neque a lavacro fontis alium suscipiat neque coram episcopo ad confirmandum quemlibet teneat, nisi symbolum et orationem dominicam memoriter tenuerit exceptis his, quos ad loquendum aetas minime perduxit.” *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* I, 119. Trans. by McCracken and Cabaniss, *The library of Christian Classics*, Vol. IX, 99.

¹⁶⁸ For the list of manuscripts and texts on the *Pater noster*, see: Patzold, ‘Pater noster’, 211-214. Keefe also included a list of expositions on the *Pater noster* within her corpus of manuscripts in *Water and the Word*. See: Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 141-142.

explanations, starting with the incipit *Christus dixit post resurrectionem suam*.¹⁶⁹ All copies of the text contain this prayer and explanation. However, in *Primum in ordine* some copies of the Mass commentary completely omit the explanation of the *Pater noster*, including the text itself. Other manuscripts do contain an exposition of the *Pater noster*, but it means that there are various versions of explanations that are integrated in the different copies of the *Primum in ordine*.¹⁷⁰ There are some manuscripts that include a short explanation on the prayer with the incipit *Hec vox libertatis est*.¹⁷¹ Another copy of the *Primum in ordine*, Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Patr. 68, contains a set of questions and answers on the *Pater noster*.¹⁷² Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. Perg. 18, an early ninth-century manuscript from Reichenau, contains more than ten independent commentaries of the *Pater noster* within the first folios of the manuscript. One of these commentaries is the exact same commentary that we find in the *Dominus vobiscum*¹⁷³ and another of the commentaries is the same text that is included in some of the copies of the *Primum in ordine*.¹⁷⁴ As such, both of these *Pater noster* expositions were also transmitted as independent commentaries on the *Pater noster* in at least one early ninth-century manuscript.

These two examples show the flexibility of how these texts were transmitted in the ninth century; the compilers or scribes edited these texts, added other texts, or combined them. There is overlap between expositions on the Mass and the *Pater noster*, as well as a combination of two different expositions on the Mass. A more specific study to all the *expositiones* will be necessary to reveal the relationships between the different texts.

¹⁶⁹ It is interesting to note that Patzold did include the *Pater noster* commentary that we find in *Dominus vobiscum*, but his list of manuscripts is incomplete. He only mentions 5 manuscripts: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 40; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1248; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 1789; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. Perg. 18; Sélestat, Bibliothèque humaniste, 132

¹⁷⁰ For an edition of the *Primum in ordine* and these *Pater noster* expositions, see: Daniela Mazzucconi, ‘La diffusione dell’*expositio Missae "Primum in ordine"*’, 208-266.

¹⁷¹ The *Pater noster* commentary is included in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 446 and Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, 110, and therefore also in the edition by Migne in PL 138. The later Italian copies also include this same *Pater noster* commentary.

¹⁷² Friedrich Leitschuh & Hans Fischer, *Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg* (Bamberg, 1887-1912, 1966) 465-466.

¹⁷³ Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. Perg. 18, f10r: “Item expositio dominicae orationis”. This exposition on the *Pater noster* is also transmitted as an independent text in Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 27, ff25r-27v. The *Pater noster* commentary is included in the second part of this manuscript, which is dated to the second third of the ninth century. The first part of the manuscript is written by an eighth- or ninth century hand, probably in northern Italy or in Switzerland. The commentary is followed by two other expositions on the Lord’s Prayer.

¹⁷⁴ Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. Perg. 18, f10rv: “Item expositio orationis dominicae Alchuini ypodiaconi”

3.4 Conclusion

One of the most important conclusions that can be drawn from this chapter is that since the start of the Christian church there was the need to explain certain aspects of the celebration of the Mass, and as such we cannot simply speak of a Carolingian genre. But whereas the earliest commentaries on the Mass might have been more focussed on instruction and justification of the new religion and its rituals, by the time our three Mass commentaries were written, the ritual and liturgy of the Mass had taken on a relatively fixed form. This is reflected in the Carolingian commentaries on the Mass, which are mainly explanatory and focussed on the “correct” rite, instead of the innovation of rites. The number of liturgical commentaries, including Mass commentaries and manuscripts, did grow in the Carolingian age, in the form of treatises written by prominent scholars and in the form of anonymous Mass commentaries that often only appear in a few manuscripts. *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* are an exception, as they were both transmitted in a larger number of manuscripts in the ninth century, but also until the twelfth and thirteenth century. We can therefore say that explaining the Mass (and other liturgical prayers and rituals, as well as the study of the bible¹⁷⁵) was certainly deemed to be important by the Carolingians. However, the interest in and copying of these liturgical commentaries continued in the following centuries, so that is another reason why we cannot simply speak of a Carolingian genre. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the frequency of new Mass commentaries in the late eighth and ninth centuries and the number of manuscript that contain these Mass commentaries. The explanation of the Mass for instance was unquestionably deemed significant to the compiler of Corbie 230, with no less than three commentaries on the Mass in this manuscript. Therefore, in the next chapter this section on the Mass will be further examined.

¹⁷⁵ Celia Chazelle and Burton van Name Edwards, ‘Introduction: The study of the Bible and Carolingian Culture’, in: Celia Chazelle ed., *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*. Medieval Church Studies 3 (Brepols 2003) 1-16.

4. Mass commentaries in Corbie 230

In the second chapter it was established that Corbie 230 was intended to instruct the clergy, and specifically priests. In the third chapter the tradition of explaining the Mass throughout the early middle ages was addressed, and how the three Mass commentaries in Corbie reflect the popularity of explaining the Mass amongst the Carolingians. This next chapter will focus on the question of how a priest was educated about the Mass and what knowledge he might (or should) have at his disposal. What knowledge on the Mass do we find in this ninth-century pastoral compendium? What did the compiler of the manuscript think that a priest had to know about the Mass? And why was it necessary that he had access to this knowledge?

This chapter consists of three parts. In the first part I will address the appearance and structure of the three Mass commentaries in Corbie 230 and whether, based on the appearance and structure, we can say anything about the functionality and usability of the section on the Mass in the manuscript. The second part will be focussed on the question of what one could learn from these texts, based on an analysis of one particular part of the *canon missae* and how it is explained in the three Mass commentaries. In the third part of the chapter I will discuss another element that should not be ignored: the role of the laity within the Mass. Theodulf of Orléans specified in his first episcopal statute that the Mass cannot be celebrated without the response of the people (i.e. the laity). How is this element presented in the Mass commentaries in Corbie 230?

4.1 Appearance and usability

Let us first consider the section on the Mass in Corbie 230, based on the appearance of the three expositions in the manuscript, a brief overview of what is (and what is not) discussed and explained in the texts, and what this means for the usability of the three texts in this manuscript.

4.1.1 Layout and appearance

The three texts on the Mass in Corbie 230 were written by the same scribe.¹⁷⁶ The series of texts on the Mass starts with *Primum in ordine* (ff.23v-33v). This text is introduced as “Incipit tractatus super missam” in large capitals, with the first line of the text in smaller capitals underneath (starting with the words *Primum in ordine missae antiphona ad introitum*) and the first letter in a small initial of two lines (see fig. 6 in appendix C). The first paragraph of the text explains what happens from the start of the

¹⁷⁶ The first part of the manuscript, f1-45, are all written by the same hand (see also appendix C). A new hand starts on f46r (the start of Cod. Q.v.II. nr. 5).

Mass until the start of the Eucharistic Prayer. The explanation of the Eucharistic Prayer is again introduced by a line in capitals (*Deinde post orationem secreta dicitur a sacerdote dominus vobiscum*). On the next line, the words *Dominus vobiscum* are repeated, again with the first letter in a small initial of two lines (see app. C, fig. 7). In the rest of the *Primum in ordine*, there are only a few instances where part of the text is displayed by a distinguishable feature. There is, for example, no clear difference between the *canon missae* and the corresponding explanation. The only discernible features are in the form of small initials of one or two lines at the start of a certain prayer, for example a vd-ligature at the start of the *Vere dignum et iustum*, that follows after the *Sursum corda* (see app. C, fig. 8). The *Te igitur* is also introduced by a small initial, as well as the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, the *Pater noster*, and the *Agnus Dei* (see app. C, fig. 9 and 10).

The *Dominus vobiscum* (ff.33v-42v) follows immediately after *Primum in ordine*. The text is introduced by a blank line and a small initial of two lines, but no clear heading in capitals (see app. C, fig.11). The blank line is noteworthy, as it is the only instance of such a blank space in this part of the manuscript. Perhaps this line was left empty on purpose so that a rubricated heading could be added later, but as there is no other instance in the manuscript where a heading is missing, this seems unlikely. In the rest of the text, similar to *Primum in ordine*, there is no clear distinction between *canon missae* and explanation. The only discernible features are the initials at the start of the *Vere dignum et iustum* (though a bit smaller), the *Te igitur* and at the *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum* – the peace of God (see app. C, fig. 12, 14 and 15)

After the last words of *Dominus vobiscum* – *Deo gratias* – the final Mass commentary is introduced, the *Missa celebrare* (see app. C, fig. 16). There is no clear heading or blank space to introduce the text; the first letter of the text is a small initial of two lines and there are no other distinguishable features in the rest of the (very short) text. Similar to *Dominus vobiscum*, there is no clear heading, apart from the small initial. Did the small initial serve to indicate the start of a new text, or does this mean that both *Dominus vobiscum* and *Missa celebrare* lack a clear heading in the manuscript?

This short analysis of the layout of the three texts raises an interesting issue: did the scribe recognize these texts as three individual texts like we know them now, or did he regard them as one long exposition on the Mass? Should we then perhaps interpret the heading “Incipit tractatus super missam” to be intended by the scribe as a general title for one large text, i.e. all three Mass commentaries? The word *tractatus* can be translated as “treatise” or “sermon”, but also as “discussion” of a specific subject.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ Lewis Short gives as possible translations for *tractatus* “handling”, “treatment”, “management”, “consultation”, “discussion” or “reflection”, and for ecclesiastical Latin more specifically “sermon” or “homily”. According to BlaisePatristic, *tractatus* could be translated as *exposé* or *explication (de l'Écriture)*, as well as *examen (d'une affaire)* or *discussion*. As a word of the fourth declension, *tractatus* can be both nominative singular and nominative plural. The verb *incipit* is singular, which points to *tractatus* as a nominative singular noun. In this case, that could mean “discussion of the mass” which could be meant to refer to the three texts as a whole. I consulted these dictionaries in the online *Database of Latin Dictionaries* via Brepolis (<http://clt.brepolis.net.proxy.library.uu.nl/dld/pages/QuickSearch.aspx>, (last accessed on 6 June 2018).

The heading “incipit tractatus super missam” is the only one in large capitals, but if we compare this heading to other texts in the manuscript by the same scribe, we see that most texts are in fact introduced by a heading in capitals. For example, the *Ordo scrutini*, *De ordine baptismi*, and the *Interrogationes* all start with rubricated capitals (see app. C, fig. 1, 3 and 5). This is a clear contrast to the lack of headings at *Dominus vobiscum* and *Missa celebrare*. And by taking such characteristics of the scribe into account, it also demonstrates how he frequently uses small initials, such as the ones at the beginning of the *Dominus vobiscum* and *Missa celebrare*, in the middle of a text to indicate that a new section or subject begins, not to start a whole new text. In the *Ordo scrutini*, small rubrications are also used to point out subchapters, which are used frequently throughout the text (app. C, fig. 2). This comparison shows how the scribe generally did use a rubricated heading at the start of a new text, and not just a small initial.

But although *Dominus vobiscum* has no clear heading or title, the blank space does indicate that the scribe realised, or maybe consciously decided, that this was the start of a new text. Also, the scribe must have realised that he repeated the *canon missae* twice, which is also reflected in the appearance of the two texts. For example, the words *Dominus vobiscum* are in both texts highlighted by small capitals and a small initial. Also, the scribe uses the same *Vere dignum*-ligature twice (app. C, fig. 8 and 12), as well as the small initial at the *Te igitur* (app. C, fig. 9 and 14). The third Mass commentary is difficult to determine; *Missa celebrare* has no clear heading, not even a blank space like *Dominus vobiscum*, and the text is incomplete although there was plenty of room left on the page.

It is impossible for now to determine whether the scribe copied these three texts from one other manuscript in which they were in the same order, or whether he consciously selected the three Mass commentaries from different sources. In the previous chapter, it was discussed that there were many different Mass commentaries that were written or copied in the Carolingian period, but many of these are now only known from one or two manuscripts. So, we cannot assume that the compiler of the manuscript had access to a great scriptorium with a whole collection of Mass commentaries and consciously chose these three Mass commentaries from his pile with a specific purpose. It is more likely that this is simply all that he had available as a source. In the corpus of manuscripts that we know of, we cannot identify a manuscript with the exact same combination, but we do know that *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* quite often appeared in the same manuscript together (see the scheme in ch. 3.3.1), so it would not have been unlikely that the scribe simply copied from another manuscript without making any significant changes. It does remain intriguing that there are three commentaries on the Mass, and therefore it might be relevant to also take the structure of the texts into account, as it shows what is discussed in these texts and in what way.

4.1.2 The *canon missae*

The *canon missae* forms the main structure in the two first expositions on the Mass. The text of the Mass as such is fixed, and therefore the *canon missae* is explained twice. However, there are a few interesting

differences between what is and is not discussed in the texts, which might explain why the compiler did include all three texts.

One of the most notable differences between the *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* is that, although the main focus in both texts is on the fixed elements of the *canon missae*, the *Primum in ordine* starts with a description in which the main elements of the Mass before the start of the Eucharistic Prayer are briefly explained. The structure of this part is slightly different, as several of the components in this part of the liturgy belong to the *proprium* – the parts of the Mass that vary throughout the liturgical year. This first part gives short descriptions of the course of the liturgy, including the introit, *kyrie eleison* and *gloria*, readings from scripture, and offertory. It is, for example, explained how the antiphon of the introit is sung by alternating between two choirs; the word *antiphona* has a Greek origin, which in Latin means “reciprocal voice” (*vox reciproca*).¹⁷⁸ It is also mentioned how the singing of an antiphon at the introit was established by Pope Celestinus (422-432)¹⁷⁹, which is also mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis*.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, it is described how Pope Telesphorus (125-136) was the first to include the *Gloria in Excelsis Deo* in the liturgy of the Mass¹⁸¹, which is also mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis*.¹⁸²

The text of the *canon missae* is divided into 76 short sentences, phrases or words in the *Dominus vobiscum* and 88 in the *Primum in ordine*. A short part of the canon is cited, after which comes a short explanation; as such working its way through the entire *canon missae*. The text of the *canon missae* is

¹⁷⁸ A similar etymological explanation can be found in Isidore’s *Etymologiae*: “The term ‘antiphon’ (antiphona) translated from the Greek, means “reciprocal voice,” specifically when two choruses alternate in singing with their order interchanged, that is, from one to the other.” See: Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, lib 6 (*De libris et officiis ecclesiasticis*), 19.7. Trans. by S. Barney, W. Lewis, J. Beach and O. Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge 2006) 147.

¹⁷⁹ *Primum in ordine* (Corbie 230, f23v): “Antiphona autem ad introitum Caelestinus natione Campanus, pontifex, Romae constituit ut ante sacrificium caelebraretur, quod antea non fiebat nisi tantum epistula Pauli recitabatur et sanctum Evangelium.”

¹⁸⁰ *Liber pontificalis* 45: “Hic [Celestinus] multa constituta fecit et constituit ut psalmi Dauid CL ante sacrificium psalli antephanatim ex omnibus, quod ante non fiebat, nisi tantum epistula beati Pauli recitabatur et sanctum Euangelium.” Louis Duchesne ed., *Le liber pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, Vol. I (Paris 1886) 230. It is interesting to note that in many liturgical commentaries, the origins of the antiphon have been attributed to Pope Celestine, similar to *Primum in ordine*. In 2011, Joseph Dyer credited Amalarius of Metz (ca. 775-850) as being the first to attribute the introit to pope Celestine by citing the passage from the *Liber pontificalis* in his *Liber officialis* (3.5.2), which was written in ca. 835. As was discussed in the previous chapter, it is unknown exactly when and where *Primum in ordine* was written, but one of the earliest manuscripts – Hatton 93 – was probably written in or before the first decade of the ninth century, perhaps in the eighth century. So unless this dating is incorrect, the attribution of the antiphon to Pope Celestine can be found in earlier sources than Amalarius’ *Liber officialis* from 835. See: Joseph Dyer, ‘*Psalmi ante sacrificium* and the origin of the introit’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 20:2 (2011) 91-121.

¹⁸¹ *Primum in ordine* (Corbie 230, f24r): “Hymnum vero Angelicum, idest gloria in excelsis deo. Tunc angeli cecinerunt, quando natus est Dominus, quem etiam Telesphorus, pontifex, natione Grecus, statuit ut ante sacrificium psalleretur.”

¹⁸² *Liber pontificalis* 9: “Hic [Telesphorus] constituit ut septem ebdomadas ante Pascha ieiunium celebraretur, et natalem Domini noctu missas celebrarentur: nam omni tempore, ante horae tertiae cursum nullus praesumeret missas celebrare, qua hora Dominus noster ascendit crucem; et ante sacrificium hymnus diceretur angelicus, hoc est: « Gloria in excelsis Deo ».” Duchesne ed., *Le liber pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 129.

similar in both Mass commentaries, although there are a few mostly minor deviations. In one of the prayers of intercession, the *nobis quoque peccatoribus*, for example, the names of several saints are commemorated. In *Dominus vobiscum* the text of the *canon missae* is: “cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus uel omnibus sanctis.”¹⁸³ None of the saints are actually mentioned by name here, which differs from *Primum in ordine* in Corbie 230: “cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martitibus cum Iohanne, Stephano et ceteris sanctis, et cum omnibus sanctis tuis.”¹⁸⁴

One other significant difference is the lack of an explanation of the *Pater noster* in the *Primum in ordine*. The *Primum in ordine* in Corbie 230 does not contain the text of the prayer or corresponding explanation of the prayer, while other copies of the *Primum in ordine* do contain the prayer, as discussed in the previous chapter. In Corbie 230 only the words “pater noster” are included and then the text immediately continues with the embolism: “Deliver us, Lord, we pray, from every evil, past, present and future.”¹⁸⁵ The *Dominus vobiscum*, however, does contain the *Pater noster*, the prayer as well as an explanation to the prayer. The original chapter from Isidore that was the basis for the *Missa celebrare* also contained a short explanation on the *Pater noster*, as it was the last of Isidore’s seven prayers. However, in the *Missa celebrare* only the first five prayers are mentioned, thus also omitting the explanation on the Lord’s Prayer.¹⁸⁶ As such, *Primum in ordine* and *Missa celebrare* were transmitted in Corbie 230 (and several other copies) without the *Pater noster*. The absence of an explanation for the prayer did not seem to be a problem for the scribe of the manuscript. Perhaps the *Pater noster* was deemed to be solid knowledge; knowledge that the user of the manuscript was already expected to have. And, if not, there was an explanation of the *Pater noster* in the other Mass commentary, *Dominus vobiscum*. As such, this is one example that shows that the texts complement each other well. There is overlap, but there is also enhancing knowledge in the three texts that enrich the explanation of the Mass in this manuscript.

4.1.3 Usability

Corbie 230 is a relatively small manuscript, and throughout the manuscript there are no decorations or illuminations, except some rubricated headings and subheadings. This is reflected in the section on the

¹⁸³ Corbie 230, f40r.

¹⁸⁴ Corbie 230, f31v. This list is still short though; many other copies of *Primum in ordine* contain a list of as much as fifteen saints, such as in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 485 (f25v, lin. 22-25): “cum tuis sanctis apostolis et martyribus cum Iohanne, Stephano, Mathia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetuae, Agathae, Lucia, Agnen, Cecilia, Anastasia et cum omnibus sanctis tuis.” According to the edition by Daniela Mazzuconi, there are only four other copies where the complete list is omitted (all manuscripts from the tenth century or later. See: Mazzuconi, ‘La diffusione dell’*expositio missae* “*primum in ordine*”’, 244.

¹⁸⁵ *Primum in ordine* (Corbie 230, f32r): “Libera nos quesumus, domine, ab omnibus malis preteritis, presentibus et futuris.”

¹⁸⁶ In the other manuscripts with the same Isidore excerpt in which all seven prayers are included (Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 288; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 40; Paris, Bibliothèque humaniste, 132, Lat. 1248), the Lord’s Prayer is mentioned as the seventh prayer and there the text ends without any further explanation.

Mass, where there are no subheadings and only a few prayers are introduced by small initials. How does the layout and appearance reflect the usability of these texts within this manuscript, and what might that tell us about how the texts might have been (or not been) utilized?

Visual aids such as subheadings, initials, blank spaces or rubrications all contribute to the legibility of a text. In some of the manuscripts of the *Dominus vobiscum*, for example in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 14532 (northeastern France, late ninth century), the structure of the text is reflected in the layout of the manuscript, as the parts of the canon are all rubricated. The *Dominus vobiscum* is also further divided into small parts with their own subheadings. These subheadings further reflect the structure of the *canon missae*, for example “Hinc incipit expositio de sursum corda” or “expositio de pater noster” (see app. D, fig. 2).

In Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 485, the *canon missae* in *Dominus vobiscum* is also capitalized, but in *Primum in ordine* (which precedes *Dominus vobiscum*) the *canon missae* and corresponding explanations are not distinguishable, similar to Corbie 230. However, sometimes the margins contain an important indication of the lines that actually contain the words of the *canon missae*: there is a small symbol, a small little note in the shape of an *s*, in the margins in front of those lines. These *s*-signs were meant as a quotation sign.¹⁸⁷ The *s*-signs start just after the start of the *Te igitur* and continue until the end of *Primum in ordine* (app. D, fig. 5), as well as parts of *Dominus vobiscum* (app. D, fig. 3). These *s*-signs indicate the use of a quotation (from the *canon missae*), but they also improve the legibility of the text by distinguishing between *canon* and explanation.

In St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 446 every phrase of the *canon of Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* starts with a small initial, which still makes it difficult to distinguish between where the phrase of the *canon* stops and the explanation begins, but at least it is visible where every phrase of the *canon missae* starts (app. D, fig. 6). Such a layout certainly contributed to the legibility and thus the usability of these texts, especially for someone for whom *canon missae* was relatively new.

In Corbie 230, the text of the Mass is not distinguishable in appearance from the explanations, except, as mentioned above, now and then a small initial. The visual aids in Corbie 230 as such are very minimal, which makes it difficult to recognize at first glance where one part of the explanation ends and the next section of the *canon missae* starts. It would probably prove to be difficult if someone would want to use this section in Corbie 230 to learn about the text of the Mass without knowing the *canon missae* by heart, or at least being able to recognize the text. He would probably not be able to clearly distinguish *canon missae* from the explanatory texts. Thus, this way of structuring in Corbie 230 requires that the reader and user of the manuscript already had reasonable knowledge of the canon of the Mass. The purpose of *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* in this manuscript was therefore not meant to assist a young priest in memorizing the prayers of the Mass. On the contrary, if this section in Corbie 230 was

¹⁸⁷ Evina Steinova, *Notam superponere studii: The use of technical signs in the early Middle Ages*, PHD Dissertation, University of Utrecht, 2016, 288.

used to educate the young clergy on the Mass, we can assume that they already were familiar with the canon of the Mass.

4.2 Education of the priest

What should a local priest know about the Mass? What sort of knowledge should he have access to? In the second part of this chapter I will analyse the way in which the three expositions explain the Mass, in order to answer the question why the compiler thought these texts to be useful within the context of this manuscript. As *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* are both quite extensive, I will take one part of the *canon missae* as a case study, the *Te igitur*. First, I will briefly discuss the text of the prayer and its place in the liturgy in the Early Middle Ages, and then I will analyse how the prayer is explained in Corbie 230, which techniques and sources are used, and how the explanations in the Mass commentaries relate to each other.

The *Te igitur* is, like many of the prayers in the *canon missae*, known by its opening words, “You, therefore”.¹⁸⁸ The prayer consists of two parts: a prayer for the acceptance of the offering and a prayer of intercession:

We, therefore, humbly ask and beseech you, most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ, your son, our Lord, that you will accept and bless these gifts, these presents, these holy unspotted sacrifices, which we have offered to you for your holy Catholic church, which you will grant to pacify, guard, unite, and govern throughout the whole world, together with your servant, our Pope and our (arch)bishop.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ Strictly speaking, the *Te igitur* can be regarded as the opening of the canon of the Mass. The canon then ends at the doxology just before the *Pater noster*. Nevertheless, both our Mass commentaries, *Dominus vobiscum* and *Primum in ordine*, start their explanation with the dialogue between priest and congregation and the preface, *Vere dignum*, followed by the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*, and then the *Te igitur*. Roger Reynolds, ‘Mass, liturgy of the’, in: R. Strayer ed., *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, Vol. VIII (New York 1986) 191. See also: Enrico Mazza, *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite*, trans. by Matthew J. O’Connell (New York 1989) 53-57.

¹⁸⁹ This translation is based on the *canon missae* in *Dominus vobiscum* and *Primum in ordine* as it was transmitted in Corbie 230. The text of the *Te igitur* in *Primum in ordine* is as follows: “Te igitur, clementissime pater, per ihesum christum filium tuum dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus et petimus uti accepta habeas et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia inlibata, in primis quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum una cum famulo tuo papa nostro et antestite nostro.” The text of the *Te igitur* in *Dominus vobiscum* differs once: instead of “una cum famulo tuo papa nostro et antestite nostro” the reading in *Dominus vobiscum* is “ut una cum famulo tuo illo et antestite nostro”. All translations of either *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* are of the version in Corbie 230, unless otherwise stated.

In both *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum*, the *Te igitur* starts with a small initial (see also ch. 4.1.1). The use of this initial at the start of the *Te igitur* could reflect the custom in sacramentaries to start the *Te igitur* with an initial T, sometimes even the size of an entire page.¹⁹⁰

The comparison below shows the presentation of the *Te igitur* in both texts, although the actual explanations are omitted from this comparison, as it merely shows the *canon missae* as it appears in the expositions. In both instances the prayer *Te igitur* is not explained as a whole, but subdivided into small sentences, phrases, or even individual words. This phrase or word is then explained, after which the next phrase follows. The subdivisions differ from text to text, as the comparison demonstrates. For example, the phrase “quam pacificare, custodire, adunare, et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum” is explained as a whole in *Dominus vobiscum*, but in *Primum in ordine* the same phrase is divided into five small parts, all with their own corresponding explanation.

<i>Primum in ordine</i>	<i>Dominus vobiscum</i>
Te igitur clementissime pater <i>per ihesum christum</i> filium tuum <i>dominum nostrum</i>	Te igitur clementissime pater per <i>ihesum christum</i> filium tuum <i>dominum nostrum</i>
supplices	supplices rogamus <i>et petimus</i>
rogamus <i>et petimus</i> uti accepta habeas	uti accepta habeas <i>et benedicas</i>
<i>et benedicas</i> · haec dona · haec munera · haec <i>sancta</i> sacrificia	haec dona · haec munera · haec <i>sancta</i> sacrificia inlibata
inlibata	
in primis quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua <i>sancta</i> catholica	in primis quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua <i>sancta</i> catholica
quam pacificare	quam pacificare custodire adunare <i>et regere</i> digneris toto orbe terrarum
custodire	
adunare	
<i>et regere</i> digneris	
toto orbe terrarum	
una <i>cum</i> famulo tuo papa <i>nostro</i>	ut una <i>cum</i> famulo tuo illo
<i>et antestite</i> <i>nostro</i>	<i>et antestite</i> <i>nostro</i>

The comparison shows how the *canon missae* is almost literally the same in both *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum*, even when taking small variants in spelling into account. The only minor difference

¹⁹⁰ Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian era. Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge 2001) 86-99.

is in the prayer of intercession concerning the pope, or *papa*. The *canon missae* in *Primum in ordine* mentions the pope: “una cum famulo tuo papa nostro et antestite nostro”. In *Dominus vobiscum* in Corbie 230, however, the pope is not actually mentioned as such: “una cum famulo tuo illo et antestite nostro”. Instead of “papa nostro”, *Dominus vobiscum* simply refers to “illo”. Is this done on purpose to fill in the correct name of the pope at that time?¹⁹¹ However, from the corresponding explanation it does become clear that “illo” indeed refers to the pope, or the bishop of Rome: “that is, together with him that holds the seat of the apostle Peter.”¹⁹² “Antestite nostro” refers to the local bishop. This prayer of intercession was subject to change in the Carolingian period. Before the ninth century most sacramentaries would only include “una cum tuo Papa”. The word *papa* could refer to the pope, but it was also used to refer to the local bishop before the word was reserved for the bishop of Rome from the sixth century onwards.¹⁹³ Therefore the phrase “et antestite nostro” was added, for the local bishop. From the ninth century onwards some sacramentaries could also mention the king, and from the late ninth century onwards also “all the believers”.¹⁹⁴

4.2.1 Explaining the *Te igitur* in the Mass commentaries

One of the main questions in this chapter is what the compiler thought that the priest should know about the Mass. In that context, how do the *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* explain this prayer from the *canon missae*? As becomes apparent from the comparison above, in both texts the prayer is subdivided into small phrases. *Primum in ordine* takes the first part as a whole, “*Te igitur, clementissime pater, per ihesum christum filium tuum dominum nostrum*”, after which follows a brief explanation of the phrase: “Rightfully through Jesus Christ, God is also beseeched as father, because through him everything is made, and without him nothing is made and through him we are saved. It is right and just so that through this same father, from whom Jesus is begotten, we will implore.”¹⁹⁵

In *Dominus vobiscum*, this phrase is subdivided into three parts. The first word to receive attention in the explanation is “igitur”, a relatively straightforward word, but the text ensures that the reader knows its meaning by giving a synonym, “certe”. The text proceeds by explaining why the prayer does not simply speak of “You, therefore, Father”, but that he is the “most merciful Father” (*clementissime*): “He

¹⁹¹ Not every copy of the *Dominus vobiscum* omits the word *papa*, though. For example, in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1012 (f43v) it reads: “una cum famulo tuo papa illo”.

¹⁹² *Dominus vobiscum* (Corbie 230, f37r): “hoc est, simul cum illo qui sedem apostolo petri tenet.”

¹⁹³ Mazza, *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite*, 63.

¹⁹⁴ Ildar Garipzanov included an overview of all the changes in the *Te igitur* in the ninth century in his book *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World*. He argues that these changes were designed at the court of Charles the Bald (823-877), especially the introduction of the name of the king in the mass (“et rege nostro”), as a renewal of late Roman and early Byzantine liturgical traditions. For his overview on changes, see: Ildar H. Garipzanov, *The symbolic language of authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751-877)*. Brill’s Series on the Early Middle Ages 16 (Leiden 2008) 341-342. See also p. 93-97.

¹⁹⁵ *Primum in ordine* (Corbie 230, f27v): “Recte per ihesum christum, deus etiam pater supplicatur, quia per ipsum omnia facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil, et quia per ipsum saluati sumus. Dignum et iustum est etiam ut per ipsum patrem a quo genitus est omploremus”

is called ‘merciful’ (*clemens*) like a ‘clear mind’ (*clara mens*). And ‘most merciful’ (*clementissime*) like the ‘most clear mind’, because he, the father, is the most clear in mind and the most merciful in heart.”¹⁹⁶ With the next phrase, “per ihesum christum”, *Dominus vobiscum* takes the opportunity to explain the origins of the Greek word “Ihesus”: it means either “salvator” or “salutaris” in Latin, because he saved his people from their sins (the text refers to one of the gospels, Mark 2,10). In the explanation of the last phrase, “filium tuum dominum nostrum”, is emphasized that Jesus is the only-begotten son of the Father, and hence we can pray through the father.¹⁹⁷

In this exposition of the first line of the *Te igitur* in *Dominus vobiscum* each word is seen as equally important and equally relevant to the prayer itself. The explanation is focussed on the meaning of the words of the prayer: a synonym to the word *igitur*, an etymological explanation of the word *clemens*, the origins and translation of the Greek word *ihesus*. On the other hand, the text does not contain an explanation of the prayer itself, for example why the prayer as a whole is relevant to the *canon missae* and the celebration of the Mass.

In the next section of the *Te igitur*, *Primum in ordine* also uses the same technique of going into every word of the phrase. The *Te igitur* continues with: “that you will accept and bless these gifts, these presents, these holy unspotted sacrifice”¹⁹⁸ The last part of the phrase (“haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia inlibata”) could be seen as a rhetorical device, a series of three words or phrases to strengthen its meaning.¹⁹⁹ In *Primum in ordine*, the etymological origin of all words is put under the microscope. *Dona* comes from *dando* (“to give”); *munera* comes from *muniendo* (“to strengthen” or “to protect”); *sacrificia* comes from *sacra facta* (“made holy”).

The word *inlibata*, spelled as *inlibata* in Corbie 230, also receives much attention in both texts. The word refers to *sacrificia*, the sacrifices, which should be “undiminished” or “unspotted”. The explanation in *Dominus vobiscum* described the meaning of *inlibata* as “unstained, and strange to all spots of malice.”²⁰⁰ Both *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* mention that the *sacrificia* should be acquired out of just efforts.²⁰¹ *Dominus vobiscum* ends its explanation of the word *inlibata* with an interesting referral to another source: “Read seven *collationes patrum* and in the second *collatione* [of Theonas] in the ninth chapter you will find what are *inlibata*.”²⁰²

¹⁹⁶ *Dominus vobiscum* (Corbie 230, f36r): “clemens dicitur quasi clara mens (...) et clementissime quasi clarissima mente (...), quia ipse clarissimus est mente et misericordissimus corde pater.”

¹⁹⁷ *Dominus vobiscum* (Corbie 230, f36v): “filium suum unigenitu quia ipse est unigenitus ex substantia patris”.

¹⁹⁸ “Supplices rogamus et petimus uti accepta habeas et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia inlibata.”

¹⁹⁹ There are several theories on the original meaning of these three terms. See: Mazza, *The Eucharistic Prayers of the Roman Rite*, 59.

²⁰⁰ *Dominus vobiscum* (Corbie 230, f36v): “Inlibata, id est immaculata et ab omni livore malitiae aliena.”

²⁰¹ *Primum in ordine* (Corbie 230, f27v): “Inlibata etenim tunc sunt sacrificia si de propriis pure [corda] dantur et iuste labore adquiruntur.” *Dominus vobiscum*: “Tunc sunt dona et sacrificia inlibata, quando absque scandalorum maculis sunt allata, et iustorum labore acquisita.”

²⁰² *Dominus vobiscum* (Corbie 230, f37r): “Lege septem collationes patrum et in secunda collatione in nono capitulo inuenies quae sunt inlibata.” In other copies of *Dominus vobiscum*, including Vatican City, Biblioteca

An edition of *Dominus vobiscum*, from the seventeenth century, already referred to “Cassian. collat. 22”.²⁰³ Indeed, the twenty-second *collatio* in the *collationes patrum* by John Cassian, or Johannes Cassianus (ca. 360-435), is known as the second *collatio* by abbot Theonas. In the ninth chapter of this *collatio*, Theonas discusses the question of who is worthy to partake in the holy sacrament with two friends, Cassianus and Germanus. Germanus says that none but the holy can partake in the sacrament of Eucharist, but who are the holy? Theonas answers: “There is a great difference between being holy and being immaculate. It is one thing for someone to be holy- that is, consecrated to divine worship. (...) But it is another thing to be without sin. This belongs to the dignity of one man alone, our lord Jesus Christ, of whom the Apostle declares as being remarkable and special: ‘He did not sin’.”²⁰⁴ Theonas continues by describing how, even though Christ is the only person who is immaculate, righteous people can still receive the Eucharist, which might explain the referral in *Dominus vobiscum* to this particular chapter. This note in *Dominus vobiscum* also provides an interesting insight not only into the works that the author had at his disposal, but perhaps also what texts or books he expected the readers of *Dominus vobiscum* to have access to.

Another frequently used source is Isidore’s *Etymologia*. The following passage from *Primum in ordine*, the explanation of the word *sacrificia*, is very similar to the corresponding explanation of the same word in book six of the *Etymologiae* by Isidore of Seville.

Corbie 230, f27v

Sacrificia, *id est* sacra facta,
quia prece mistica consecrantur in memoriam
pro nobis dominicae passionis. Unde *ob* hoc
iubente corpus et sanguinem dicimus,
quod dum sit ex fructibus terrae sanctificatur
et *sit* sacramentum operanti *haec* invisibiliter

Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, lib. 6.19.38²⁰⁵

Sacrificium *dictum quasi* sacrum factum,
quia prece mystica consecratur in memoriam
pro nobis dominicae passionis; unde hoc *eo*
iubente corpus *Christi* et sanguinem dicimus.
Quod dum sit ex fructibus terrae,
sanctificatur et *fit* sacramentum, operante

Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 485, f30v-31r, the reading is “in secunda conlatione theone in nono capitulo”, but the word *Theone* is omitted in Corbie 230.

²⁰³ I. Prevot, *Ioannis Abrincensis episcopi deinde Rotomagensis archiepiscopi, Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis* (Rouen 1679) 370.

²⁰⁴ Johannes Cassianus, *Collationes Patrum* 22, the second conference of Abbot Theonas, on nocturnal illusions: “Multos quidem esse sanctos ac iustos negare non possumus, sed inter sanctum et immaculatum multa distantia est. Aliud est enim esse quempiam sanctum, id est diuino cultui consecratum. (...) Aliud est autem esse absque peccato, quod unius domini nostri Iesu Christi singulariter conuenit maiestati, de quo etiam apostolus uelut praecipuum quid ac speciale pronuntiat dicens: “Qui peccatum non fecit.” M. Petschenig ed., CSEL 13 (Vienna 1886) 627. Trans. by Boniface Ramsey, *John Cassian, the conferences*. Ancient Christian writers 57 (New York 1997) 772. See also: Joseph Wawrykow, ‘The Heritage of the Late Empire: Influential Theology’, in: Ian Levy, Gary Mace and Kristen van Ausdall, *A companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*. Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 26 (Leiden 2011) 80-82.

²⁰⁵ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, lib 6 (*De Libris et officiis ecclesiasticis*), 19.38. W.M. Lindsay ed., *Etymologiarum sive originum* (Oxford 1911).

spiritum Dei. Cuius panis et calicis
sacramentum Graece eucharistiam dicunt,
quod Latine bona gratia interpretatur. Et quid
melius sanguine et corpore Christi?

invisibiliter Spiritu Dei; cuius panis et calicis
sacramentum Graeci Eucharistian dicunt,
quod Latine bona gratia interpretatur. Et quid
melius sanguine et corpore Christi?

This comparison can, of course, only serve as an illustration, as it is a comparison to the edition of the *Etymologiae*. However, it does show that apart from some minor variations, the explanation of *sacrificia* in *Primum in ordine* is similar to Isidore's explanation in the *Etymologiae*. This is especially relevant because the very essence of the sacrament of the Eucharist is explained here by Isidore, as well as the importance of the prayer *Te igitur*: "The *sacrificium* is so called as if it were a 'sacred deed' (*sacrum factum*), because by a mystic prayer it is consecrated in commemoration of the Lord's suffering for us, whence we call this sacrifice, at his command, the body and blood of Christ. Although it consists of the fruits of the earth, it is sanctified and made a sacrament with the Spirit of God invisibly working."²⁰⁶ In this explanation, perhaps the most important meaning of the *Te igitur* and the Eucharist comes to the surface; it explains the word *sacrificium* and how the offering is sanctified, the fruits of the earth are turned into a holy sacrament. The author of *Primum in ordine* did not use his own words to explain this important notion, but instead he quoted Isidore, an important authority.

This analysis thus far has been mostly focussed on *Dominus vobiscum* and *Primum in ordine*, but what about *Missa celebrare*? As shown in the previous chapter, the short *Missa celebrare* has a different approach to the other two Mass commentaries, as the text does not consist of a word-for-word explanation, but rather a short description of five (out of the original seven) prayer. Isidore discusses the meaning of these seven prayers within the Mass, but he does not mention the literal prayer text itself.²⁰⁷ As such, the *Missa celebrare* does not follow the *canon missae*, which makes the structure and method fundamentally different from the other two Mass commentaries: a short description of the prayer versus literal explanations of the exact text of the prayer.

4.2.2 What should a priest know about the Mass?

Although the *Te igitur* is only a small part of the *canon missae*, the analysis of the way in which this prayer is explained in the Mass commentaries gives a clear illustration of the methods used in this section

²⁰⁶ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, lib 6 (*De Libris et officiis ecclesiasticis*), 19.38 (see the comparison above for the Latin text). Trans. by Barney, Lewis, Beach and Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, 148.

²⁰⁷ One of described prayers in Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* prayers seems to have a similar meaning to the *Te igitur*, although it is not sure whether Isidore meant to refer to the *Te igitur* (or if he was familiar with the *Te igitur*): "Next there follows the sixth prayer, which is the confirmation of the sacrament, so that the oblation that is offered to God, sanctified through the Holy Spirit, might be conformed to the body and blood of Christ." Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I.15, trans. by Knoebel, *Isidore of Seville: De ecclesiasticis officiis*, 40. However, this is the sixth prayer described by Isidore, while *Missa celebrare* in Corbie 230 only contains the first five prayers, as discussed in the previous chapter.

on the Mass in Corbie 230. Based on the analysis of the *Te igitur*, a few important aspects come to the surface about what the compiler of the manuscript thought that a priest had to know about the Mass.

One of the first elements that reflects the purpose of the expositions is the way in which the *canon missae* is subdivided and thus explained in *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum*. Each prayer is not explained as a whole, but subdivided into small parts and phrases. By using this method, almost every word of the *canon missae* has its own small definition and exposition. This method also allowed the respective authors of *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* to reflect on relatively simple terms or phrases, such as *Jesus*, *deacon*, or *Amen*. These are all words of which you would expect a priest to know the definition, but that did not stop the authors from still giving an explanation. As was discussed in the third chapter, this straightforward method of explaining the Mass might have contributed to the popularity of the *Dominus vobiscum*, and to a lesser extent, *Primum in ordine*. But when taking the context of the texts into account, that was perhaps not the intention of the authors. The purpose of explaining these terms is not to inform the reader on who Jesus was or what a deacon is, but explain these words within the context of the *canon missae* and how they relate together as a whole.

Isidore spoke of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew as the *tres linguae sacrae*: “Here are three sacred languages – Hebrew, Greek, and Latin – which are preeminent throughout the world. On the cross of the Lord the charge laid against him was written at Pilate’s command in these three languages (John 19:20). Hence – and because of the obscurity of the Sacred Scriptures – a knowledge of these three languages is necessary, so that, whenever the wording of one of the languages presents any doubt about a name or an interpretation, recourse may be had to another language.”²⁰⁸ This is reflected in the etymological approach of both Mass commentaries and the recurring mention of Greek or Hebrew translations. In *Dominus vobiscum*, the Latin and Greek translations are given for the words *Christus*, *Pater*, *Angelus*, *Jesus*, *Ecclesia* and *Diaconus*. For example the word *angelus*: “angelus enim grece, latine nuntius interpretatur”. The *Primum in ordine*, on the other hand, does the same for the words *christus*, *archangelis* (*archon* in Greek), *eucharistiam*, *catholica* and *evangelium*, and moreover also for the following words with a Hebrew origin: *sabaoth*, *alleluia* and *osanna*. For example the word *catholica*: “catholica autem dicitur universatis, quia grece catholicon, latine universalitas dicitur”²⁰⁹. It is interesting to note, though, that the only word with a Greek origin that is mentioned in both expositions is *Christus* (meaning “the anointed”²¹⁰).

²⁰⁸ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, lib 9 (*De linguis, gentibus, regnis, militia, civibus, affinitatibus*), 1.3: “Tres sunt autem linguae sacrae: Hebraea, Graeca, Latina, quae toto orbe maxime excellunt. His enim tribus linguis super crucem Domini a Pilato fuit causa eius scripta. Unde et propter obscuritatem sanctarum Scripturarum harum trium linguarum cognitio necessaria est, ut ad alteram recurratur dum siquam dubitationem nominis vel interpretationis sermo unius linguae adtulerit.” Lindsay ed., *Etymologiarum sive originum*. Trans. by Barney, Lewis, Beach and Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, 191.

²⁰⁹ *Primum in ordine* (Corbie 230, f37r), in the explanation of the phrase “inprimis, quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica.”

²¹⁰ *Primum in ordine* (Corbie 230, f25r), in the explanation of the phrase “per christum dominum nostrum” after the *Vere dignum*: “Grece enim christus, latinae unctus interpretatur”. *Dominus vobiscum* (Corbie 230, f34v), also

As such, the focus is not so much on the meaning of the prayers of the *canon missae* as a whole, but on the words of the prayers itself. The expositions do not go into theological discussions and practical issues or instructions are hardly discussed at all; it is pure meaning of the words of the Mass. Rosamond McKitterick wrote on the language of the Mass: “A form of language was demanded which rose above that of ordinary everyday speech in order that the words and ritual in themselves be a work of art as well as a form of worship. In short, the words of the liturgy were a form of worship in themselves.”²¹¹ This is reflected in the way that *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* process the language of the canon of the Mass. The language in which the ritual is celebrated is in a way presented to be of similar importance to the act with which the ritual is performed. A priest might know the exact *choreography* of the ritual, in this case the celebration of the *Eucharist*, but can the performance of the ritual be fully accomplished if the priest uses the wrong words, or if he does not know exactly what he is praying, which words he is using? The words of the *canon missae* produce and shape the liturgy of the sacrament and therefore there should be no room for faults or misinterpretation.²¹²

The purpose of these expositions therefore is primarily to fully understand the words of the ritual. And one of the essential elements to understand the meaning of the words (and thus the prayer), was to know the origins of the words, which explains the emphasis on etymology. The way in which the *canon missae* is presented in *Dominus vobiscum* and *Primum in ordine* is as if the words are chosen with full intent, the text of the *canon missae* is fixed and the words itself have a ritual strength. Some of the etymological explanations might seem farfetched to us now, but it still served its purpose, because – whether correct or not – the value of the words is increased in the context of these expositions. The etymological approach therefore served a twofold purpose. On the one hand it offered an explanation to the words itself, so that the reader could learn and understand its meaning. On the other hand, it also increases the sacredness of the *canon missae* and its function within the ritual of the Mass.

Even though the way of explaining is rather straightforward, the knowledge that is presented in these Mass commentaries is not. Complex concepts such as the Trinity and the nature of the Eucharist are interpreted and explained within the context of the *canon missae*. As such, the section on the Mass in Corbie 230 can be interpreted as an instructional and didactic explanation of the *canon missae* with the intended purpose to provide a (young) priest with the required knowledge to be able to celebrate the Mass. It is therefore unjustified to speak of simple or unsophisticated clergy or to critique the “simple”

in the explanation of “per christum dominum nostrum” after the *Vere dignum*: “Christus grece, unctus dicitur latine.”

²¹¹ McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms*, 148.

²¹² Mayke de Jong said about the importance of the *correct* language and text: “For how could God be honoured by faulty ritual? A strong belief in the efficacy of correctly performed ritual underpinned these strenuous efforts to improve the knowledge of Latin grammar in all those concerned with liturgy.” Mayke de Jong, ‘Carolingian monasticism. The power of prayer’, Rosamond McKitterick ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. II: c.700-c.900* (Cambridge 1995) 630.

Latin.²¹³ The sacrament of the Eucharist was, from the start of Christianity, one of its most significant rituals and as such it was important that the priests – who frequently had to perform Mass in their parishes – were sufficiently educated.

4.2.3 “Nescio a quo doctore”

There is one other aspect about the explanation of the *Te igitur* in Corbie 230 that deserves to be mentioned. The copy of *Dominus vobiscum* in Corbie 230 contains an extra paragraph, which appears on f36v - between the discussion of the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* and the *Te igitur* - and discusses the *Te igitur*. Although the paragraph is integrated in the text of the *Dominus vobiscum* in Corbie 230 and is not directly discernible in appearance from the main text of the exposition (it is written in the same hand as the rest of the text), this paragraph does not appear in any of the other known copies of the *Dominus vobiscum*.²¹⁴ Hence the question: what reason might there be for this extra paragraph in Corbie and what does that mean for our interpretation of the discussion and exposition of the *Te igitur* and its meaning in Corbie 230? The complete text of the extra paragraph is:

Orationem uero te igitur expositam inuenimus nescio a quo doctore · qua propter non oportebat nos usquequaque haec tangere quae a doctore preuenta sunt sed ex parte · et ipsam expositionem in libro nostro · id est ordinatorio officiorum ponere non frustra duximus · quoniam repperimus in eodem opere congrua et utili · quae forte ille non curauit tangere ubi nobis uidetur oportere aliquem sensum ponere et [et *add.sup.l.*] ex ipsis quae ipse exposuit aliqua et ita intellegimus ut dixit · et tamen uidetur nobis alter sensus posse addi · Aliqua uero neque ita intellegimus unde fecimus paruam retractati unculam in qua posuimus et nostram capacitatem per loca et suam · ut lectoris arbitrio discernatur · quod potius eligendum sit · posuimus primo ipsam expositionem quam inuenimus nihil mutatam · nisi forte aliquot uerbum uitiatum esse scriptoris uitio et illud corrigendum duceremus et postea nostram retractationem · quae si alicui digna uidebitur · agamus deo gratias · Sin autem paupertatem nostram ne dispiciat · quia nos ex omni penuria nostra pragma caritatis misimus totum trofum nostrum.

In Corbie 230, the paragraph starts with a small initial, which is remarkable, as there are only a few instances – mostly to indicate the start of an important prayer like the *Te igitur* – in the text where the scribe uses initials (see appendix C, fig.13). In the paragraph, it is described how the author of the text found this explanation of the prayer *Te igitur*, by a doctor, although the author claims that he does not

²¹³ Paxton, ‘Bonus liber’, 13; Wilmart, ‘Expositio Missae’, 1020.

²¹⁴ In his edition of the *Dominus vobiscum*, J.M. Hanssens does not use Corbie 230 and as such does not mention this extra paragraph. Nason does refer to this extra section in his article on the *Dominus vobiscum* as “additional text of minor importance”. He only mentions the place in the manuscript where the section can be found (fol. 36r, lines 5-19) and makes no further comments on the content or interpretation of the section. See: Corey M. Nason, ‘The mass commentary *Dominus vobiscum*’, 76.

know who this doctor is (“nescio a quo doctore”, i.e. the author of *Dominus vobiscum*). The author explains how he considered it a good idea to place the explanation in this book, the *ordinatorio officiorum*, as it contained useful and suitable matters. On the other hand, there were also instances where the author of this paragraph thought that another meaning could be possible or should be given. Hence, he revised the explanation where necessary. He has set out both explanations in his work, so that the reader can decide by his own judgment which of the two is preferred. As such, he first placed the explanation by the unknown doctor, without inserting any alterations, unless there were flawed words by the fault of the scribe that should be corrected. He then placed his own revision. The author concludes with a polite and humble account on his own revision: If the revision will be perceived as worthy, he will thank the Lord. If otherwise, he asks the reader not to despise him, because he conveyed his revision as an act of charity.

While the intention of the author of the paragraph is quite clear, it does not seem to apply to the situation in Corbie 230. Indeed, there is more than one explanation on the Mass in the manuscript, and thus on the *Te igitur*, but these are both part of existing texts without any clear revisions. Moreover, as was analysed previously, there are no major controversies to be found between the two expositions on the *Te igitur*. Their ways of explaining differs, but without clear disagreement. As such, it might be more plausible to assume that in an earlier manuscript of the *Dominus vobiscum* unknown to us, someone wrote this text in the margins as a comment and that a scribe who copied that text, perhaps accidentally, inserted this gloss into the main text. This would explain why in Corbie 230 the extra paragraph appears as a seamless part of the main text. It is interesting, though, that the paragraph starts with a small initial, but if the scribe of Corbie 230 had written the paragraph himself, would he not have distinguished his own comments and opinions from the main text in a more obvious fashion?

This example shows us that someone was critical, although it is not directly clear what he was critical about. The paragraph demonstrates that there was discussion, and a critical demeanour that even found its way into this manuscript. This person found an explanation (i.e. *Dominus vobiscum*), by an unknown doctor, but apparently still an authority that he accepted, although he did not agree on every aspect of the explanation. Instead of simply revising the explanation as he preferred, he decided to add both the explanation by the unknown doctor and his own revision, and let the reader decide for himself. That also implicates that the author of the paragraph/gloss wrote for a learned audience, who were adequate to choose for themselves which explanation they preferred. Unfortunately, it remains unclear which two explanations were meant by the author: he refers to two contradictory expositions on the same prayer, but only one is actually given.

However, the *Te igitur* is an important prayer in the *canon missae*, it deals with an essential matter: the sacrifices, the fruits of the earth, come to represent the body and blood of Christ. We know for instance of an important debate on the essence of the Eucharist that took place largely in Corbie in the

second quarter of the ninth century, between Ratramnus of Corbie and Paschasius Radbertus.²¹⁵ Ratramnus argued that the bread and wine only served as a commemoration or remembrance of the body and blood of Christ, not (as Paschasius Radbertus advocated) that the bread and wine actually became the body and blood of Christ.²¹⁶ This example does show how in the ninth century theologians are still debating the correct meaning and interpretation of the sacrifice of Christ. But based on the information given in this extra paragraph in Corbie 230, it cannot be determined which matter, debate or contradictory expositions lead to this paragraph. Unfortunately, only this explanatory paragraph seems to have found its way into Corbie 230, not the two explanations itself.

4.3 The priest's flock

The analysis of the *Te igitur* gave a clear idea of what the compiler of the manuscript wanted the user to know about the Mass: *Dominus vobiscum* and *Primum in ordine* serve to explain the *canon missae*. On the other hand, there are other important elements of the celebration of Mass that are not addressed in this section on the Mass. The section on the Mass in Corbie 230 does not provide practical instructions to educate young priests on how to perform this sacrament. And yet, the ritual of the Mass is a performance, an expression not of the written word, but of the spoken word, in combination with ritual acts, objects, space, and the interaction between the celebrant and other members of the clergy and the laity. The absence of such instructions shows that the purpose of these written expositions therefore is not to instruct the priest on how to perform the Mass. It could suggest that these “practical” matters were not taught by means of the written word. There are, however, a few instances in *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* where the texts refer to the interaction between the priest and the laity, and the role division between the priest and other members of the clergy that might be present during the celebration of Mass. In the remainder of this chapter, I wish to explore this interaction between the priest and his lay community within the context of the Mass commentaries in Corbie 230, but first I will shortly address the historiography of the role of the laity within the Mass.

4.3.1 Laity and the Mass in the early middle Ages

The role of the laity in the liturgy, and specifically during Mass, has received ample consideration in the last decades. In these studies, we find two contrasting views on the role of the laity in the liturgy, which I shall discuss briefly. In one of the most important studies on the liturgy and development of the Mass in the Early Middle Ages, first published in 1950, Joseph Jungmann wrote: “Thus in the Carolingian empire the Mass-liturgy, so far as understanding its language was concerned, became a clerical reserve.

²¹⁵ Mazza, *The Celebration of the Eucharist*, 183-186; Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, 31-35.

²¹⁶ Celia Chazelle, ‘Figure, character, and the glorified body in the Carolingian Eucharistic controversy’, in: *Traditio* 47 (1992) 1-36. This debate took place after *Dominus vobiscum* and *Primum in ordine* were written, so it could not have been of influence on these texts.

A new kind of *disciplina arcani* or discipline of the secret had developed, a concealment of things holy, not from the heathen (...) but from the Christian people themselves.”²¹⁷ The image presented here is that the liturgy of the Mass became more and more incomprehensible for the lay people, who therefore were nothing more than a passive audience, instead of active participants. This process has been referred to as the “clericalisation of the Eucharist”.²¹⁸

In 1999, Donald Bullough suggested that “one of the paradoxes of ‘Carolingian reform’ is that the more successful it was in training the clergy in ‘good Latin’, with a traditional syntax and carefully articulated in ways that served clearly to distinguish it from the ‘Romance’ vernaculars in a direct line of descent from earlier spoken Latin (...), the less accessible the liturgy of Mass and office became to the ordinary faithful in both Romance and Germanic regions.”²¹⁹ As such, the reason that the liturgy of the Mass became difficult for the laity to understand should, according to this argument, precisely be sought in the growing need for higher education of the clergy itself; the “clericalisation of the Eucharist” can be interpreted as a result of the growing need of more education for the clergy.

But on the other hand, in 1977 Rosamond McKitterick emphasized the role of the local priest in educating the laity: “The emphasis on the parish priest’s responsibility to instruct the people in the rites and prayer of the new religious thus assumes a special significance, for it was not simply a matter of continuing established Christian customs and observances, but also one of eradicating long held pagan beliefs and introducing and establishing new and Christian ones.”²²⁰ McKitterick presents the parish priest who should educate his local community in the Christian liturgy and rituals as a way of instruction. She does propose that the value of the liturgy as a means of instruction was mainly in the symbolic meaning of the ritual, not the literal meaning itself.²²¹ However, McKitterick also recognized that it was still through the medium of the written word, as interpreted and instructed by the clergy, that the laity was educated.²²²

But this element, the role and importance of the laity in the Christian liturgy, is unfortunately easily overlooked, as the beliefs and activity of the laity cannot be found directly in our sources. Carol Symes touched upon this very recently, as she wrote in 2016: “The presence, engagement and responses of the laity were crucial to (...) the formation of Western Christendom. If this is not explicit in surviving texts,

²¹⁷ Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite. Its origins and development*, Vol. I (New York 1951) 81.

²¹⁸ This term was first used by Dom Gregory Dix. See: Gregory Dix, ‘The Idea of the Church in the Primitive Liturgies’, in: Arthur Gabriel Hebert ed., *The Parish Communion* (London 1937) 95-143; *The shape of liturgy* (London 1945) 7.

²¹⁹ Donald Bullough, ‘The Carolingian liturgical experience’, *Studies in Church History* 35 (Continuity and Change in Christian Worship) (1999) 52.

²²⁰ McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian reforms*, 122.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 147: “If the people had had explained to them the symbolic meaning of the rituals they observed and in which they participated, it was sufficient for them to receive and participate in the Eucharist.” See also pp. 139-154 for her complete argument against liturgy as “exclusive expression of the clergy”.

²²² McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge 1989) 270: “Through the medium of the written word, lay devotion was shaped. (...) It was a literate piety; religious observance as much for the laity as for the clergy was defined and directed by the written word.”

it is because the makers of those texts were trying to promote the interests and authority of a small class of professionalized clergy.”²²³ There are several references to the participation of the laity to be found in Carolingian *capitularia* and episcopal statutes. One of the issues in the *Admonitio generalis* was the notion that the people should be able to sing the *Gloria patri* and that the priest himself should sing the *Sanctus*, together with the people.²²⁴ Thus, the priest should understand these texts in order to explain and teach them to his congregation. Theodulf writes in his first episcopal statute, the precepts for the priests of his diocese, that each Christian must come to the holy Mass with offerings.²²⁵ In the same text he also writes: “The people must be admonished to approach the most sacred and holy sacrament of the Lord’s body and blood with no delay and never to refrain from it.”²²⁶

No one denies that there are many Carolingian sources in which it is emphasized that the laity should both attend Mass as well as be educated, not only on the Mass but especially on important prayers such as the *Pater noster* and the Creed. But in recent scholarship, the laity is still often presented as a passive audience, or as “silent majority.”²²⁷ Language is not the only factor, but it is also argued that the architecture of churches seems to have contributed to this process, according to some studies.²²⁸

In one of the most recent studies on this topic, Els Rose presented the Mass as a corporate ritual, in which the laity and clergy were equally dependent on each other.²²⁹ She bases her research on several different sources, such as historical narratives, liturgical manuals and Mass commentaries, including *Dominus vobiscum*. There are several elements to be found in *Dominus vobiscum* where the participation and importance of the laity is emphasized, including in the dialogue at the start of the text, the use of the word *amen*, as well as the *Deo gratias* at the end of the Mass. On the explanation to the section *Unde et memores*, Rose writes: “This passage presents the priest as the one who celebrated Mass, but that is not

²²³ Carol Symes, ‘Liturgical Texts and Performance Practices’, 263.

²²⁴ *Admonitio generalis* 68, *MGH Fontes iuris germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi*, 220: “et ut *Gloria patri* cum omni honore apud omnes cantetur, et ipse sacerdos cum sanctis angelis et populo dei communi voce *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus* decantet.”

²²⁵ Theodulf of Orléans, *Capitula* I, cap. 24: “Conveniendum est sabbato die cum luminaribus cuilibet christiano ad ecclesiam. Conveniendum est ad vigiliis sive ad matutinum officium. Concurrentum est etiam cum oblationibus ad missarum sollempnia.” *MGH Capitula Episcoporum* I, 121. Trans. by McCracken and Cabaniss, *The library of Christian Classics*, Vol. IX, 99.

²²⁶ Theodulf of Orléans, *Capitula* I, cap. 44: “Admonendus est populus, ut ad sacrosanctum sacramentum corporis et sanguinis domini nequaquam indifferenter accedat nec ab hoc nimium absteineat.” *MGH Capitula Episcoporum*, 140. Trans. by McCracken and Cabaniss, *The library of Christian Classics*, Vol. IX, 105.

²²⁷ Bullough, ‘The Carolingian liturgical experience’, 30.

²²⁸ Hans H.L. Jorgensen, ‘Cultic Vision—Seeing as Ritual: Visual and Liturgical Experiences in the Early Christian and Medieval Church’, in: N.H. Petersen, M.B. Bruun, J. Llewellyn, E. Oestrem ed., *The appearance of Medieval Rituals. The play of construction and modification*. Disputatio 3 (Turnhout 2004) 173-197. See also: Bullough, ‘The Carolingian liturgical experience’, 38-43.

²²⁹ Els Rose, ‘Plebs sancta ideo meminere debet. The Role of the People in the Early Medieval Liturgy of Mass’, in: Uta Heil ed., *Formation of European Christianity in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Berlin, forthcoming).

all. Both priest and people share in the anamnestic act of Mass as the commemorative repetition of Christ's passion, "for Christ did not die for the priests only, but also for the people".²³⁰

4.3.2 *Vox fidelium et credentium*

Although there are few instances where the laity is mentioned in *Dominus vobiscum* and *Primum in ordine*, these sections do give an interesting insight in the role of the laity in the Mass and the role division between clergy, the lay people, and the other clergy that might be present during the Mass, as is also shown in the recent study by Rose. In *Missa celebrare*, there is no mention of the laity or the congregation nor their presence during the Mass, but this absence can be explained by the relative brevity of the text. However, a comparison between the relevant passages in *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* presents some interesting differences between the role of the clergy and the laity. The interaction between congregation and priest is notably present in the dialogue to which the Mass commentary *Dominus vobiscum* owes its name:

Dominus vobiscum.	The Lord be with you.
Et cum spiritu tuo.	And with your spirit.
Sursum corda.	Lift up your hearts.
Habemus ad dominum.	We lift them up to the Lord.
Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.	Let us give thanks to the Lord our God.
Dignum et iustum est.	It is right and just.

This dialogue is between the celebrant and the people. After the priest greets the people and prays that the Lord be with them, in the *Dominus vobiscum* the response by the people ("and with thy spirit") is interpreted as: "This is the response of the people, and also a prayer, that as the priest prayed that God be with the people, so too the people pray that the Lord be with the spirit of the priest."²³¹ Similarly, in the explanation belonging to "It is right and just", it is mentioned how the people and the priest together give thanks to the Lord.²³² Also the word *amen* is explained as "the confirmation of the prayer by the people".²³³ Based on this dialogue, Rose states that "the effectiveness of the prayer recited by the priest is dependent on the people's plea that God's spirit is with him"²³⁴, thus showing that both the participation of the laity and of the priest are equally important.

²³⁰ Rose, 'Plebs sancta ideo meminere debet'. Rose uses the copy of *Dominus vobiscum* in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 40, p. 315, where it reads: "plebs sancta ideo meminere debet quia Christi non solum pro sacerdotibus passus est sed et pro plebe."

²³¹ *Dominus vobiscum* (Corbie 230, f33v): "Responsio populi atque oratio, ut sicut sacerdos oravit ut dominus esset cum populo, ita et populus orat ut dominus sit cum spiritu sacerdotis."

²³² *Dominus vobiscum* (Corbie 230, f34r) "Populus cum sacerdote simul gratias agit domino."

²³³ *Dominus vobiscum* (Corbie 230, f33v): "Confirmatio orationis est a populo."

²³⁴ Rose, 'Plebs sancta ideo meminere debet'.

In the *Primum in ordine*, the significance of the dialogue is also brought up: “He for them, and they for him, because the apostle teaches: “pray in alternation so that they be saved”.²³⁵ And as the laity answers “it is right and just”, this answer increases the “giving of thanks”.²³⁶ However, the role division in *Primum in ordine* is presented slightly different from *Dominus vobiscum* regarding the congregation, i.e. the people. In the example below, the explanations on the greeting *Dominus vobiscum* are put side by side.

Primum in ordine

Dominus vobiscum

Sacerdos orat salutando populum pro clero et plebe, et clerus et plesb²³⁷ ut participes sint pariter cum domino reciprocaciter exorando respondent.²³⁸

(translation)

The Lord be with you.

The priest prays by greeting the people on behalf of the clergy and the laity, and both the clergy and the laity respond that they are with the Lord in the same way in praying in return.

Dominus vobiscum

Dominus vobiscum

Salutat sacerdos populum et orat ut dominus sit cum illo.²³⁹

(translation)

The Lord be with you.

The priest greets the people and prays that the Lord be with them.

What is striking here is the distinction that is made between clergy and laity in the *Primum in ordine*. Both texts mention how the priest greets the people (*populum*), but then the *Primum in ordine* specifies between clergy (*clerus*) and laity (*plebs*). Although the word *plebs* can also refer to “the people” and the words *plebs* and *populus* are often used interchangeably, in this case I would propose to interpret the word *plebs* as the laity, in contrast to *clerus*, the clergy. Moreover, in the gloss to the response *habemus ad dominum*, the *Primum in ordine* states the following: “From here the clergy confirms the

²³⁵ *Primum in ordine* (Corbie 230, f24v): “Ipse pro illis, et illi pro illi, quia apostolus docet “in uicem orate ut saluentur.”” The quotation is from James 5,15, although the text deviates from the Vulgate. In the Vulgate the complete verse is: “confitemini ergo alterutrum peccata vestra et orate pro invicem ut salvemini multum enim valet deprecatio iusti adsidua.”

²³⁶ *Primum in ordine* (Corbie 230, f25r): “Et haec responsio plebis augmentum acumulat gratiarum actionis.”

²³⁷ “Plesb” appears to be a scribal error in Corbie 230. The correct reading should probably be “plebs”, and I have translated it as such. But for reasons of accuracy, I have not corrected the transcription.

²³⁸ Corbie 230, f24v.

²³⁹ Corbie 230, f33v.

encouragement of the priest, responding: We lift them [our hearts] to the Lord.”²⁴⁰ Also at the end of the Mass, when the deacon says the *Ite missa est*, again the clergy responds by saying *deo gratias*. And when the priest gives the Peace of God, before the distribution of the communion, the text points out how the clergy and laity both respond by saying in one harmony (*concordia*): “and with thy spirit”.²⁴¹

This distinction between clergy and laity is not reflected in a similar way in *Dominus vobiscum*, where these responses are described to be said by the people (*populus*), without distinguishing between clergy and laity. The word *clerus* in the *Primum in ordine* might refer to a choir (i.e. *schola*), as the text also mentions that the *clerus* sing the *Agnus Dei* during Communion.²⁴² However, this is also described in the *Dominus vobiscum*.²⁴³ And the question is how this would be put into practice; not every small parish church would have had a choir (or extra members of the clergy who would sing). The importance of the dialogue – praying in alternation – is emphasized in both *expositiones*, but with a significant difference in interpretation in the two treatises.

Could these differences indicate a different origin or purpose, for example between an urban/monastic and rural environment? The situation presented in *Primum in ordine* could maybe be understood in a monastic or urban church, where there would be a bigger chance of a choir or at least, more members of the clergy, whereas in a rural environment the priest would maybe be the only member of the clergy present during Mass. However, that concerns the origins of these texts, and not the situation in Corbie 230, a manuscript written probably in the second half of the ninth century. And despite the difference in role division, both texts present the laity as an important part within the ritual. Perhaps not a large part, but an essential part. At the *amen* at the end of the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* the *Primum in ordine* present the *amen* as the “*vox fidelium et credentium*”, the voice of the faithful and the believers. The ideal situation and underlying idea of the importance and participation of the laity is presented in *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum*.

However, in what way the ideal situation was implemented in practice, remains ambiguous on the basis of these sources and it is difficult to say anything at all with relative certainty. The three Mass commentaries in Corbie 230, especially *Dominus vobiscum* and *Primum in ordine* are written from and for the perspective of a priest, they are the main audience for texts such as these. And yet, several sources, including the *Admonito generalis* and Theodulf’s episcopal statute, do say that it is the task of a priest to educate the laity on the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, the Mass, etc. And if the laity had an active

²⁴⁰ *Primum in ordine* (Corbie 230, f25r): “hinc clerus sacerdotis exortationis roboratur, respondit: Habemus ad dominum.”

²⁴¹ *Primum in ordine* (Corbie 230, f32v): “Deinde sacerdos pacem populis habendam de nuntiat, dicendo: “pax domini sit semper uobiscum”. Et clerus et plebs in eadem concordia respondendo subiungit: “et cum spiritu tuo”.”

²⁴² *Primum in ordine* (Corbie 230, f33r): “*Agnus dei* vero dum corpus et sanguis Christi sumitur a clero modulando decantatur.” See also: Charles M. Atkinson, ‘The earliest *Agnus Dei* melody and its tropes’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30 (1977) 7.

²⁴³ This is the only instance where the word *clerus* appears in the *Dominus vobiscum*: “Tunc orat clerus, cantando: “*Agnus dei* qui tollis peccata mundi misere nobis”.”

role in the Mass, through confirming the priest's actions, should they not also know the meaning of the prayers? Corbie 230 was compiled to provide (young) priests with the knowledge needed in their (future) work, within the context of pastoral care, so that they in turn could also educate and instruct the lay people in their parishes. It does not seem implausible that priests could have used the knowledge presented in *Dominus vobiscum* and *Missa celebrare* to educate the laity on the prayers of the Mass, as they ought to do, for instance through the medium of sermons. However, again the lack of sources prevent us from giving a clear answer to this compelling question.

4.4 Conclusion

Three main issues were raised in this chapter, and I will briefly go into each of these questions. First, what knowledge on the Mass do we find in this manuscript? Or, as I asked myself when I started my research: why place three commentaries on the Mass in one manuscript? Why would someone include a double, or even triple exposition on the same topic? However, whilst the Mass commentaries *Primum in ordine* and *Missa celebrare* apply the same method and discuss the same part of the *canon missae*, they do not repeat the exact same information. Some elements are indeed discussed twice, but in the same sense the texts could be viewed as complementary, which is also reflected by the explanation in *Primum in ordine* of the first part of the Mass, and also the lack of an explanation of the *Pater noster*. This question also entails the usability of the three texts in the manuscript; the appearance and structure require the reader to have pre-existing knowledge of the canon of the Mass, which makes this section on the Mass suitable for a priest to use.

The second question in this chapter is what a priest could learn from these Mass commentaries and therefore what the compiler of the manuscript think that a priest had to know about the Mass. Essentially, the principle element was that the priest could learn and understand what exactly he prayed during Mass. One could not learn how to perform a Mass simply by reading *Dominus vobiscum* or *Primum in ordine*. These expositions on the Mass are meant to explain the deeper meaning behind the *canon missae*, not to learn about the performance of the ritual itself. A priest needed to know what he was saying during Mass and why, as well as being able to explain the sacrament and its prayers to his parish.

The last issue, closely related, is the role of the laity within the Mass and the interaction between the priest and the people. While the purpose of the section on the Mass in Corbie 230 is not to instruct the people on how to celebrate Mass, there are a few instances where the role division between priest, clergy and the people is addressed. The role of the laity within the Mass cannot be ignored in *Dominus vobiscum* and *Primum in ordine*. The interaction between priest and people and the importance of praying in alternation is emphasized at several points in these texts. And if it was so important for the ritual of Eucharist to be performed correctly by the priest, should the same standard not also be applied to the laity? Although the number of sources is limited, perhaps further research to the *Expositiones Missae*

and their manuscripts could give some clarifications to the possible implementation of such texts towards the education of the laity.

5. Conclusion

In this thesis, Corbie 230 served as a case study to improve our understanding of the use of *Expositiones Missae* in pastoral compendia, and to see how that reflects on the study of the education of the priests in the Carolingian period. Although there have been several previous studies to the *Expositiones Missae*, most notably by Wilmart, there is still much that can be learned by studying these texts within the context in which they are found, since such studies will provide us with details not necessarily on the authorship or origin of the texts, but especially on how these texts were used. The ongoing research to pastoral compendia in the Carolingian era have shown how *Expositiones Missae* are a frequent appearance in these manuscripts. Expositions on the Mass were deemed relevant to the expertise of the clergy, especially within a pastoral context. However, there was great diversity, as shown by the research of Keefe and her corpus of manuscripts.

But expositions on the Mass are not a Carolingian invention, as was discussed in the third chapter. So how do the three Mass commentaries, *Primum in ordine*, *Dominus vobiscum* and *Missa celebrare* fit into the tradition of explaining the Mass? Yitzhak Hen pointed out that the Carolingian way of explaining the Mass was rather traditional, not focussed on presenting new ideas or reforms, but rather on clarification and explaining the *correct* liturgy. There are exceptions, such as Amalarius, but our three Mass commentaries seem to fit into this interpretation, especially *Dominus vobiscum* and *Primum in ordine*. The text of the *canon missae* is fixed in these texts, leaving no room for alteration or faults, at least not where the language is concerned, which makes these expositions stand out from other Carolingian commentaries on the Mass.

The texts are written from and for the perspective of a priest, although the idea that the author himself, as stated by Wilmart, was a “simple” priest was justly contested by Nason. However, perhaps it is also time to rethink the idea that a text such as *Dominus vobiscum* was written for the “unsophisticated clergy.”²⁴⁴ Young members of the clergy, perhaps, but not unsophisticated. The clerical order of priests form a larger part of the clergy in the Carolingian church than bishops, archbishops, or famous theologians and liturgists such as Hrabanus Maurus and Amalarius of Metz. An even larger part of the daily religious life takes place in the parish communities. These local priests had to be educated on the celebration of the Mass, both to be able to be the celebrant in the Mass as well as to be able to in turn educate the clergy.

Mass commentaries such as *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* provide (young) priests with the knowledge to learn and understand the deeper meaning and significance of the *canon missae*. The text of the Mass in essence becomes a ritual in itself. As such, perhaps we should not regard these two

²⁴⁴ This term was quite recently used by Paxton in his discussion of Pal. Lat. 485. See: Paxton, ‘Bonus Liber’, 13.

texts as commentaries on the Mass, but rather commentaries on the canon of the Mass, as the explanation of the language of the *canon missae* is their main purpose. The compiler of Corbie 230 regarded these texts with that purpose as necessary knowledge for the user of this manuscript to have access to.

The required knowledge that is needed to understand these Mass commentaries remains an interesting issue. Insight into the elementary foundations of the Christian faith is required, as well as prior knowledge to the canon of the Mass and an understanding of the performance of the ritual of Mass. The knowledge presented in the section on the Mass in Corbie 230 is about content and meaning, and the large number of ninth-century manuscripts containing these Mass commentaries show the significance that was attributed to the meaning of the *canon missae*, not just for the celebration of Mass in monasteries, cathedral churches or at the court, but also for the celebration of the Mass by local priests. While explaining the Mass is not necessarily a Carolingian phenomenon, the large distribution of these Mass commentaries is significant. However, this thesis only discussed three of the Carolingian expositions on the Mass in detail, where there are many more expositions, on the Mass or on other elements of the liturgy, covering the entire early Middle Ages. It would especially be interesting to study other manuscripts with a section on the Mass in the same way.

This compelling material deserves an extensive study of its own, in which the whole corpus of texts is included, with specific attention for the manuscript context. More research is necessary to further our understanding of how exactly education on the Mass worked in the early Middle Ages. This research should not only regard the historical and historiographical context, but also address the theological and liturgical perspective, as well as consideration of the context and character of the manuscripts. Hopefully this study of Corbie 230 and its section on the Mass can be a useful contribution to such a study, which hopefully will be made in the not too distant future.

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Appendix A: Corbie 230

Reconstruction of the manuscript

The manuscript known as Corbie 230 is now divided over three manuscripts that once belonged together. All three parts of the manuscripts have been in St Petersburg in Russia ever since 1805. The shelfmarks are: St Petersburg, Publicnaja Biblioteka, Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34; Cod. Q.v.II. nr. 5; Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 56. The reconstruction of these three manuscripts to the original manuscript is as follows :

Shelfmark	Modern foliation	Reconstruction Corbie 230 ²⁴⁵
Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34	ff. 1-45	ff. 1-45
Cod. Q.v.II. nr. 5	ff. 1-56	ff. 46-101
Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34	ff. 46-88	ff. 102-145
Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 56	ff. 1-10	ff. 146-156

Description of the manuscript

Shelfmark(s): St Petersburg, Publicnaja Biblioteka, Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34; Cod. Q.v.II. nr. 5; Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 56

Date of origin: Second half of the ninth century²⁴⁶

Place of origin: Northeastern France, Cambrai?²⁴⁷

Provenance: From Corbie (Picare-abbey) to St-Germain des Prés in 1638 (shelfmark 663 and 686). In 1791 the manuscript came into possession of Pierre Dubrowski, secretary of the Russian embassy in Paris. In 1805 into possession of Russian state.²⁴⁸

Material: Parchment

²⁴⁵ Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle*, 73.

²⁴⁶ Michel Andrieu suggested that the manuscript was written in the ninth or tenth century, same as Raymund Kottje (although Kottje did place f44-88 of Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34 specifically in the ninth century). Mordek and Kéry date Cod. Q.v.II. nr. 5 to the end of the ninth century, as was also proposed by Bernard Bischoff. Arno Borst is more specific on the dating of the calendar (Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 56), which he claims was produced between 855 and 877. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, 348; Kottje, *Die Bussbücher Halitgars*, 33; Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta*, 698; Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages*, 166-167; Bernard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen*, Vol. II, nr. 2323; Arno Borst, *Schriften zur Kompustik im Frankenreich*, 293-294.

²⁴⁷ Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta*, 698. See also ch. 2.1.2.

²⁴⁸ Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, 348.

Dimensions:	ca. 255x190 mm
Binding:	Modern binding
Number of pages:	156 ff.
Languages:	Latin
Script:	Carolingian minuscule
Hands:	Several different hands/types of script can be found in this manuscript.
Number of columns:	1
Number of lines:	23
Decoration:	Hardly any decorations, apart from some rubricated titles and small initials (all in one colour).

List of contents

In this concise overview, I have included the main texts of Corbie 230.²⁴⁹ The texts are structured according to the reconstruction of the manuscript, but with the modern foliation (see the scheme above).

Folia	Contents	Description
<i>Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34</i>		
1r-8v	<i>Ordo Scrutini</i>	<i>Ordo</i> for the scrutiny of catechumens in the third week of Lent, based on <i>Ordo Romanus XI</i> . ²⁵⁰ The text in this manuscript is edited by Staerk. ²⁵¹
8v-22r	Theodulf of Orléans, <i>De ordine baptismi</i>	Exposition on baptism, written by Theodulf of Orléans in ± 812 for archbishop Magnus of Sens, on the request of Charlemagne. An exposition of the ceremonies of baptism in 18 chapters. Known from more than twenty manuscripts. Edited by Susan Keefe. ²⁵²
22v-23v	Interrogationes de Trinitate et unitate patris et filii et spiritus sancti	Questions and responses on the Creed and the Trinity, which uses the Athanasian Creed as a source. Edited by Staerk. ²⁵³
23v-33v	<i>Primum in ordine</i>	Mass commentary. See chapter 3.2.2 of this thesis. Most recent edition by Mazzuconi. ²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹ For this overview of the contents of the manuscript, I used the descriptions of Corbie 230 by Andrieu, Keefe, Mordek, and Staerk. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, Vol. I, 348-351; Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 30-31; Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta*, 698-702; Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle*, 173-207.

²⁵⁰ Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, Vol. II, 418-445. See also: Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 30.

²⁵¹ Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle*, 174-180.

²⁵² Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 279-321. Susan Keefe does not use Corbie 230 in this edition, although she is aware of the existence of Corbie 230. Her edition is based on eight of the manuscript. For a discussion on the text and the liturgy, see: Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. I, 62-65.

²⁵³ Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle*, 180.

²⁵⁴ Mazzuconi, 'La diffusione dell'expositio missae "primum in ordine"', 225-248.

33v-42v	<i>Dominus vobiscum</i>	Mass commentary. See chapter 3.2.1 of this thesis. Most recent edition by Hanssens. ²⁵⁵
42v	<i>Missa celebrare</i>	Mass commentary. See chapter 3.2.3 of this thesis.
43r-44v	<i>Aetas luna et de signis Zodiaci</i>	A lunar calendar and an explanation of the constellations. ²⁵⁶ Edited by Staerk. ²⁵⁷
<i>Cod. Q.v.II. nr. 5</i>		
1r-2r	Council of Aachen, cc. 116, 124, 115 and 131.	Edited by MGH. ²⁵⁸
2v-4v	List of chapters from the <i>Collectio canonum Laudunensis</i>	See <i>Collectio canonum Laudunensis</i>
4v	<i>Excarpsus Cummeani</i> VII, 10 / <i>Paenitentiale Parisiense simplex</i> 23.	<i>Excarpsus Cummenai</i> is an eighth-century penitential, which also served as the main source for the <i>Paenitentiale Parisiense simplex</i> . The origins of this penitential might be found in the monastery of Corbie, but it has been (falsely) attributed to the Irish abbot Cummean in the past, hence the name of the penitential. ²⁵⁹
5r-52v	<i>Collectio canonum Laudunensis</i>	This collection is known as the “Collection of Laon” or <i>Collectio canonum Laudunensis</i> . ²⁶⁰ The collection consists of excerpts from works of the church fathers, penitentials, conciliar canons, papal decrees, etc. This canon law collection has been described by Mordek and later by Lotte Kéry and is known from one other manuscript: Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 201 (hence the name of the collection). ²⁶¹
52r-52v	Horologium	Edited by Staerk. ²⁶²

²⁵⁵ Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, 284-338.

²⁵⁶ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 30.

²⁵⁷ Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle*, 190-191.

²⁵⁸ Albert Werminghoff ed, MGH *Concilia* 2.1 (Hanover and Leipzig 1906) 398, 405, 397, 408.

²⁵⁹ Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe*, 108-111; Ludger Körntgen, ‘Der Excarpsus Cummeani, ein Bußbuch aus Corbie?’, in: Oliver Münsch ed., *Scientia veritatis: Festschrift für Hubert Mordek zum 65. Geburtstag* (Ostfildern 2004) 59-75.

²⁶⁰ For an extensive overview on the contents of this canon law collection, see: Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta*, 699-702.

²⁶¹ Mordek argued that the version of this text in the Corbie manuscript was a direct or indirect copy from the Laon manuscript. This Laon manuscript was probably written in the middle of the ninth century, maybe in Cambrai, during the bishopric of Thierry of Cambrai (831-863). Mordek actually preferred the name “Cambrai collection”, as he places the origins of this collection at Cambrai, maybe even compiled by bishop Thierry of Cambrai. See also: Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich*, 164; Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages*, 166.

²⁶² Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle*, 201.

53v-56v	<i>Ordo Corbeiensis de lectione librorum catholicorum</i>	This text contains a list of readings for the Sundays of Lent and Pentecost. It is first referred to as “Ordo Corbeiensis de lectione librorum catholicorum” by Stark in 1910. ²⁶³ However, there does not seem to be a clear link to Corbie.
<i>Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34</i>		
45r-88r	Penitential of Halitgar	Penitential, written by Halitgar, bishop of Cambrai, commissioned by archbishop Ebo of Reims. Written in the late 820s, which makes it one of the latest texts in the manuscript. Edited by H.J. Schmitz ²⁶⁴
88r	Apuleian Sphere	A device to calculate the outcome of an illness, based on the letters of the name of the one who is ill. ²⁶⁵ Text consists of a diagram, a set of letters and their numerical values, with a short explanatory text: “computa numerum singularum litterarum quae in nomine eius currunt quae grotat et adde quota luna fuerit sub numerum nominis eius.” ²⁶⁶ Text and diagram are a later addition, but also Carolingian.
<i>Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 56</i>		
1r-9v	Computus, including calendar.	This calendar is called “Calendarium Corbeense” by Staerk, although the provenance of the calendar is not at all clear. The calendar does contain at least three references to Corbie (the obituary of one of the bishops of Corbie, and the feast days of the dedication of two churches in Corbie), but all these references were added to the calendar. In the calendar are also references to Egyptian days, two for every month. Edited by Staerk. ²⁶⁷
10r-10v	Diet calendar and text on Egyptian Days	The prescription for diets is structured by month, starting with the month of March. ²⁶⁸

²⁶³ Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle*, 201-205.

²⁶⁴ Edited by H.J. Schmitz: *Paenitentiale Halitgarii*, Hermann Joseph Schmitz ed., *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren* (Düsseldorf 1898) 252-300.

²⁶⁵ Chardonnens, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, 65-75.

²⁶⁶ The text and diagram are included in Staerk’s description of the manuscript, see: Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle*, 192.

²⁶⁷ Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du Ve au XIIIe siècle*, 205-213.

²⁶⁸ For more information on the Diet Calendar, see: H. Stuart, ‘A Ninth-Century Account of Diets and Dies Aegyptiaci’, 237-244.

Appendix B: List of manuscripts

This appendix contains an overview of the manuscripts containing either *Primum in ordine*, *Dominus vobiscum* or *Missa celebrare*. In this appendix, I only included ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts. An overview of the manuscripts that also contain a copy of one of the other two Mass commentaries can be found in ch. 3.3.1.

Primum in ordine

The most complete list of manuscripts of *Primum in ordine* can be found in the edition by Mazzuconi.²⁶⁹ She found a total of 21 manuscripts and nine of these manuscripts are from the ninth or tenth century:

- Bamberg, Staatliche bibliothek, Lit. 131, ff. 31r-50v
- Bamberg, Staatliche bibliothek, Patr. 68, ff. 106r-123v
- Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, 600 (559), ff. 1r-17v
- Oxford, Bodleian library, Hatton 93, ff. 2r-41v
- Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 26 (A.292), ff. 126r-134v
- St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 446, pp. 50-74
- St Petersburg, Publicnaja biblioteka, Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34, ff. 23v-33r
- Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 485, ff. 17v-27v
- Vienna, Österreichische nationalbibliothek, 958, ff. 3v-8v

In addition to these nine manuscripts, I found three other manuscripts that contain *Primum in ordine* during my research. Two of these manuscripts also contain *Dominus vobiscum*. I found the third manuscript (from Cambridge) thanks to an article on this manuscript by Martin McNamara.²⁷⁰

- Cambridge, University library, Dd X 16
- London, British library, Royal 8.c.iii, ff. 6v-26r²⁷¹
- Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 294, ff. 128r-128v²⁷²

Dominus vobiscum

Keefe found the Mass commentary *Dominus vobiscum* in the following sixteen Carolingian manuscripts.²⁷³

²⁶⁹ Mazzuconi, 'La diffusione dell'expositio missae "primum in ordine"', 210-212.

²⁷⁰ McNamara, 'The newly-identified Cambridge Apocalypse commentary', 208-260.

²⁷¹ In this version of the *Primum in ordine*, the opening sentences are missing. The incipit is "Introitum compositum nomen est". See: McNamara, 'The newly-identified Cambridge Apocalypse commentary', 257.

²⁷² This manuscript only contains the first part of *Primum in ordine*, in which the first part of the Mass is explained (from the *introitus* to the dialogue between the priest and the people. The manuscript then continues with the Mass commentary *Dominus vobiscum*. See: Kautz, 'Wissenschaftliche Beschreibung', http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/digi-pdf-katalogisate/sammlung51/werk/pdf/bav_pal_lat_294.pdf, last accessed on 8 June 2018.

²⁷³ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 126-127

Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, S 184, ff. 123-135 (western France, IX 2/3)
 El Escorial, Real biblioteca de San Lorenzo, L.III.8, ff. 14-15 (Senlis, ca. 860-870)
 Merseburg, Bibliothek des Domstifts, hs. 136, ff. 2-15 (Fulda, ca. 820-840)
 Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Sec. Med. 387, ff. 57-78 (France, IX 2/3)
 Monza, Biblioteca capitulare, e-14/127, ff. 44-56 (northern Italy, IX 3/4)
 Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 166, ff. 11-20v and 88-105v (northern France, IX 3/4)
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1008, ff. 1-15 (France, IX-X)
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1012, ff. 36v-55v (IX 1/3)
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 1248, ff. 5-23v (northern France, IXmed)
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 2328, ff. 109v-115v (southern France, IX 2/4)
 Sélestat, Bibliothèque humaniste, 132, ff. 1-16v (Mainz, IXmed)
 St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 40, pp. 305-322 (St Gall, IX 2/3&3/3)
 St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 446, pp. 85-105 (St Gall, IX 2/3)
 St Petersburg, Publicnaja biblioteka, Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34, ff. 33v-42v (northeastern France IX 2/2)
 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 485, ff. 27v-36v (Lorsch, ca. 860-875)

Nason found *Dominus vobiscum* in four additional manuscripts from the ninth or tenth century.²⁷⁴

Budapest, Széchényi national-bibliothek, Cod. Lat. 316 (Salzburg, ca. 825)
 London, British library, Royal 8.c.iii (Canterbury, X 4/4)
 Montpellier, Bibliothèque municipale, 12 (Gellone, IX 2/4)
 Oxford, Bodleian library, Bodl. 572 (northern France, IX 1/2)

Missa celebrare

There is no edition of *Missa celebrare*, but Keefe does mention four other manuscripts that have similarities to *Missa celebrare* in Corbie 230.²⁷⁵ Two of the five manuscripts start with the incipit *missa celebrare primum a sancto petro et a sanctis apostolis* (including Corbie 230):

Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, Sec. Med. 387, f. 57 (France, IX 2/3)
 St Petersburg, Publicnaja biblioteka, Cod. Q.v.I. nr. 34 ff. 42v (northeastern France IX 2/2)

The three other manuscripts are:

Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, 288, ff. 15-16v (eastern France, IX 1/3)
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 1248, ff. 23-24 (northern France, IXmed)
 St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 40, pp. 304-305 (St Gall, IX 2/3&3/3)

²⁷⁴ Nason, 'The Mass Commentary *Dominus vobiscum*', 90-91.

²⁷⁵ Keefe, *Water and the Word*, Vol. II, 126-127 (see also p. 30, n. 6; p. 26, n. 4; and p. 82, n. 8).

Appendix C: Headings and titles in Corbie 230

In this appendix I have given an overview of the use of (rubricated) headings, capital letters and initials in Corbie 230. I have focussed on the first 44 folia of the manuscript, as they were all written in the same hand. The focus is of course on the three Mass commentaries on ff.23v-43v, but I have added the other folia as well to give a good insight in the characteristics of the scribe in how he starts a new text and when he used capitals and initials.

Fig. 1 (f1r): Heading for the *Ordo scrutini* on the first folium of the manuscript. “Incipit ordo scrutini” is written in large capitals, and then the first line in smaller capitals.

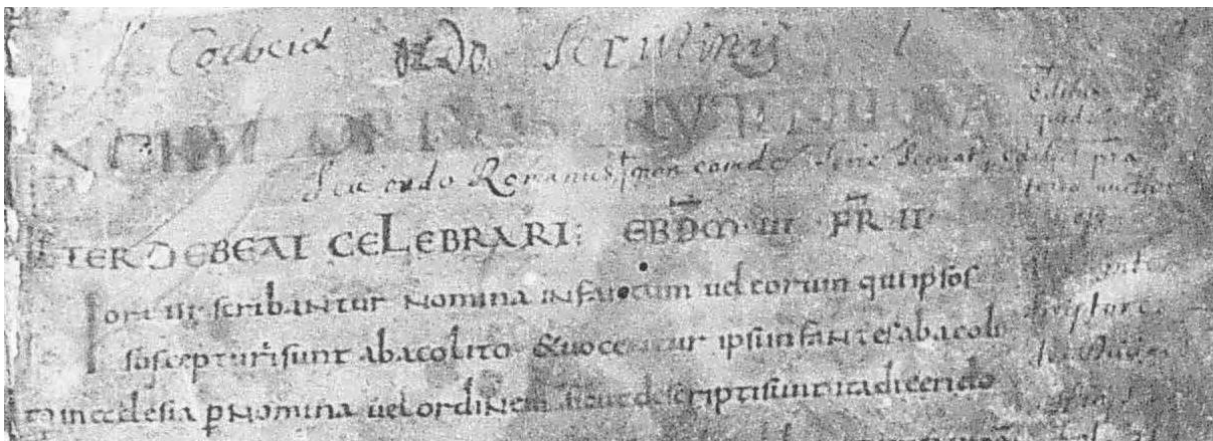


Fig. 2 (f4v): In the *Ordo scrutini*, rubrication (?) and small initial to point out one of the subchapters. These are quite frequent throughout the entire text.

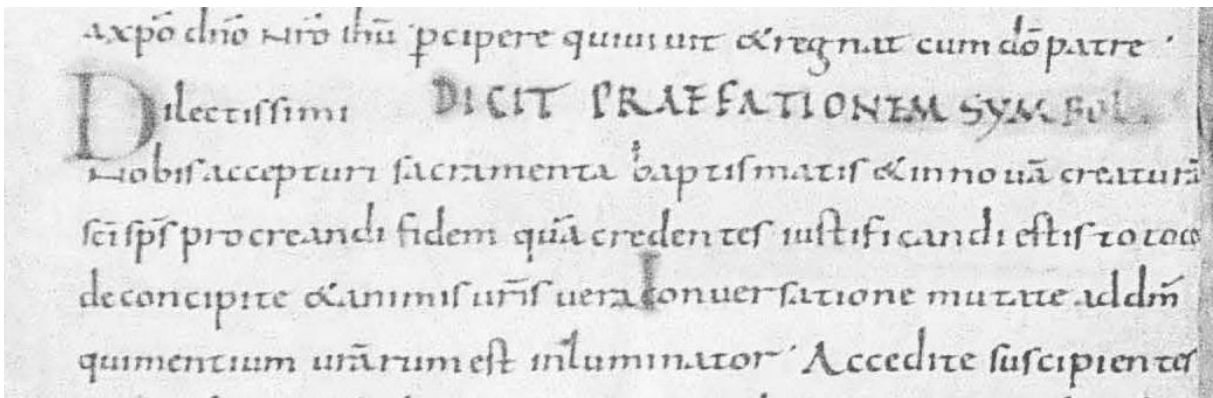


Fig. 3 (f8v): Start of Theodulf of Orleans' *De ordine baptismi*. The first line "reverentissimo atque carissimo fratri iohannis" is in small capitals.

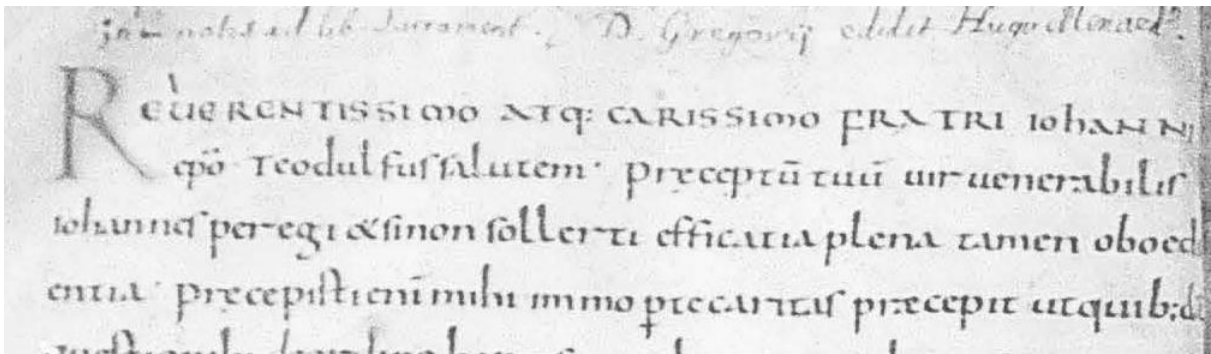


Fig. 4 (f11r): In de *De ordine baptismi*, start of new subchapter with a small initial.

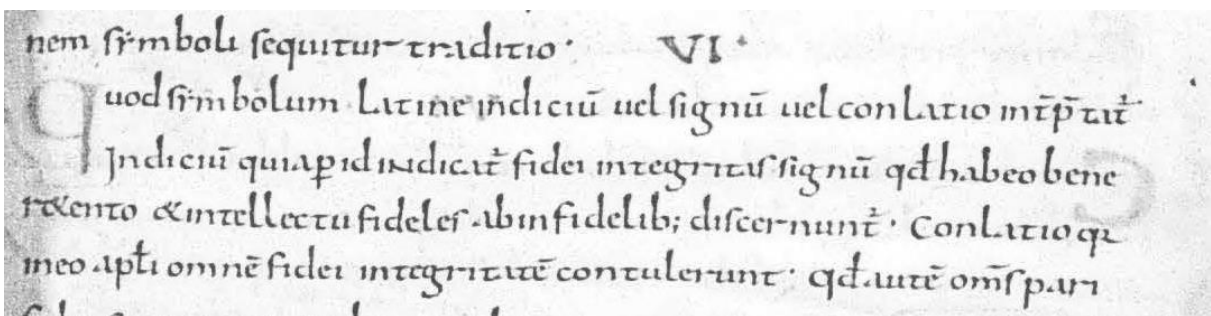


Fig. 5 (f22r): Heading of the *Interrogationes de trinitate et unitate patris et filii et spiritus sancti*. There are no other small initials or possible rubrications in this text, apart from the Q at the start of the text.

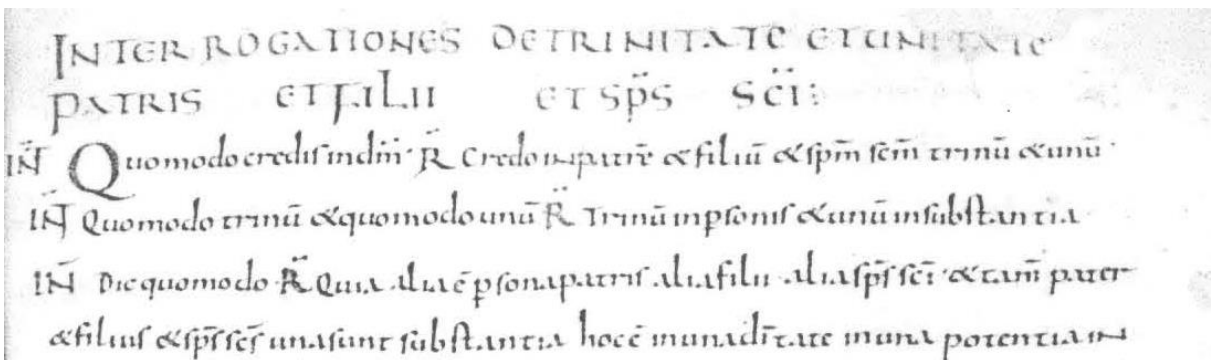


Fig. 6 (f23v): “Incipit tractatus super missam” in capitals. The first line of the text, “primum in ordine misse antiphona ad introitum”, is in small capitals and starts with a small initial of two lines.

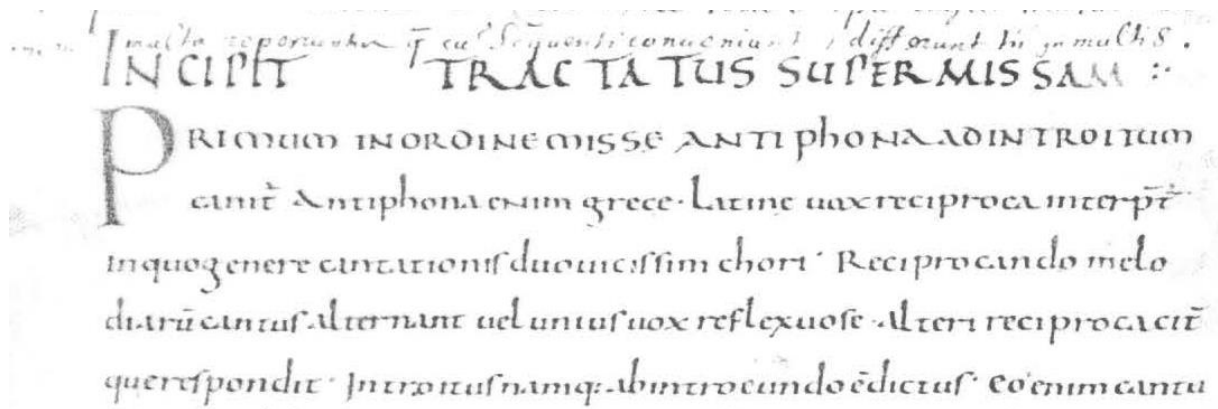


Fig. 7 (f24v): Here starts the explanation of the Eucharistic prayer. The first line is in small capitals: “Deinde post orationem secreta dicitur dominus vobiscum”. The words “dominus vobiscum” are then repeated, starting with a small initial of two lines.

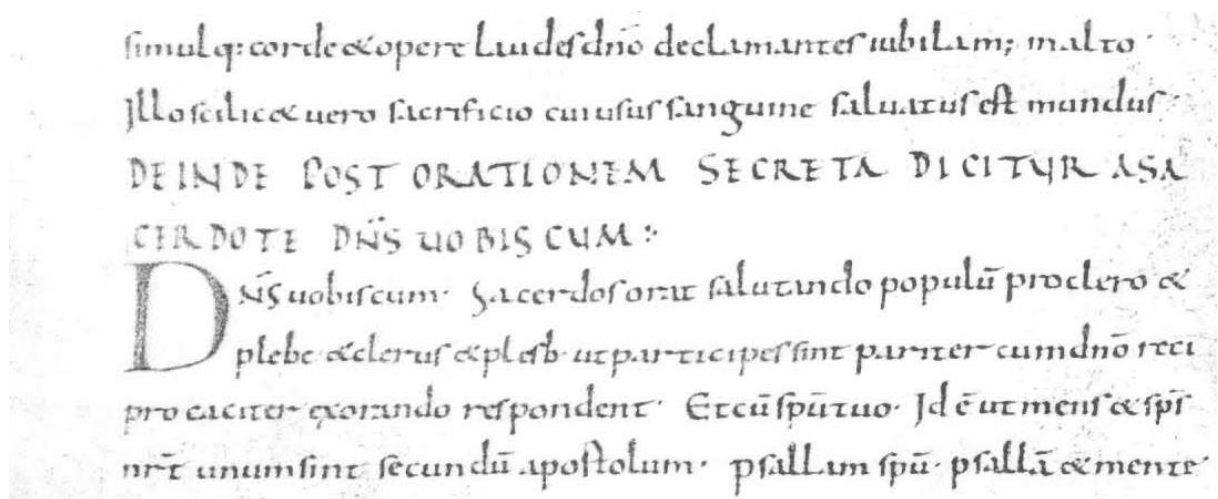


Fig. 8 (f25r): The prayer *Vere dignum et iustum est* starts with a ligature.

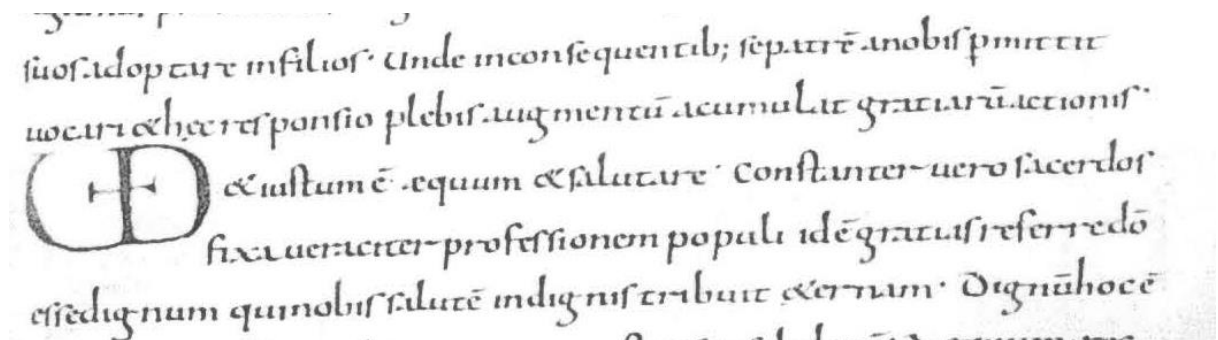


Fig. 9 (f27v): The prayer *Te igitur* also starts with a small initial of two lines.

in benedictione spiritali in celestibus; in xp̄o ih̄u d̄no n̄ro
Te igitur clementissime pater p̄ ih̄m xp̄m filium tuum d̄nm
 n̄m. Ra te p̄ ih̄m xp̄m d̄s celum pat̄ supplicat̄. qui p̄ ipsum om̄ia
 factus sunt & sine ip̄so factum ē nihil & qui p̄ ipsum saluti sumus.
 Dignum & iustum ē & iū ut p̄ ipsum patrem a quo genitus ē implorem;

Fig. 10 (f32r): There are a few more prayers that start with a small initial of one line: *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, the *Pater noster* (although the actual text of the prayer is missing) and the *Agnus Dei*.

Sicut enim a diuina institutione formati fuerimus tunc recte
 dicere audebimus nobis ab ip̄so predicta orationem subsequenti
Pater noster. Libera nos q̄s d̄ne ab omnib; malis p̄teritis p̄
 sentib; & futuris & hoc celum nobis postulandū & supplicat̄ p̄
 om̄s d̄s a nobis exorandus est ut nos ip̄sentib; idē nunc instantib;

Fig. 11 (f33v): Here starts the mass exposition *Dominus vobiscum*. There is no heading in capitals, simply an initial of two lines and a blank line. Perhaps the blank space was supposed to be filled by a rubricated heading, although this is the only instance of this part of the manuscript where there is such a blank line.

distime offerunt potestati. his enim pactis & participatio in
 sacramento gratulatio actio cuncta concludit quā in his & in uer
 bis ultimū commendauit apostolus.
 sequitur
 loquitur tractus videt differre a p̄cedenti
Dominus vobiscum. Salutat sacerdos populum & orat ut d̄ns sit cum
 illo. Et cum sp̄ tuo. Responsio populi atq; oratio. ut sicut
 sacerdos orat ut d̄ns sit cū populo. ita & populus orat ut d̄ns sit cum sp̄
 sacerdotis. Dū dicit sacerdos oramus. rogat om̄s orare. ut oratio et ad n̄o
 exaudiat̄. & quando dicit p̄ d̄nm n̄m ih̄m xp̄m filium tuum. ad d̄nm
 patrem orat.

Fig. 12 (f34r): The prayer *Vere dignum et iustum* starts with a similar (though smaller) ligature in the *Dominus vobiscum*.

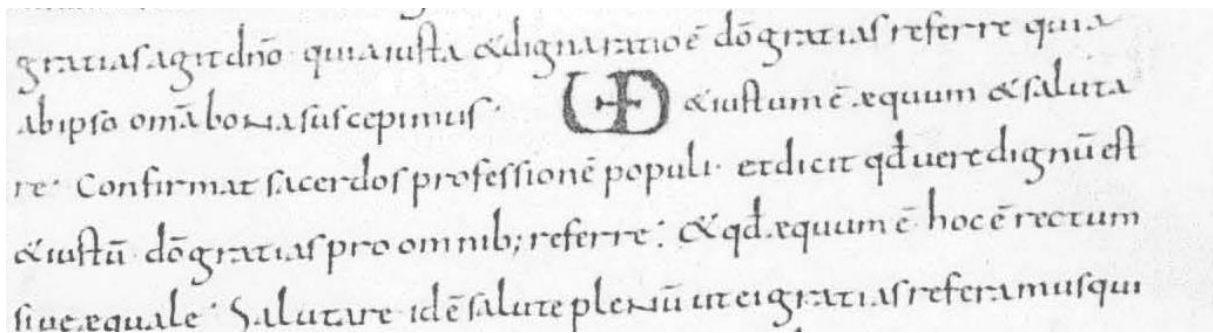


Fig. 13 (f36r): The word *Orationem*, with a small initial, is the first word of the extra paragraph in the *Dominus vobiscum*, commenting on the explanation of the *Te Igitur*. It is interesting that the paragraph is one of the few places where the scribes uses an initial. These initials usually only occur at the start of an important prayer.

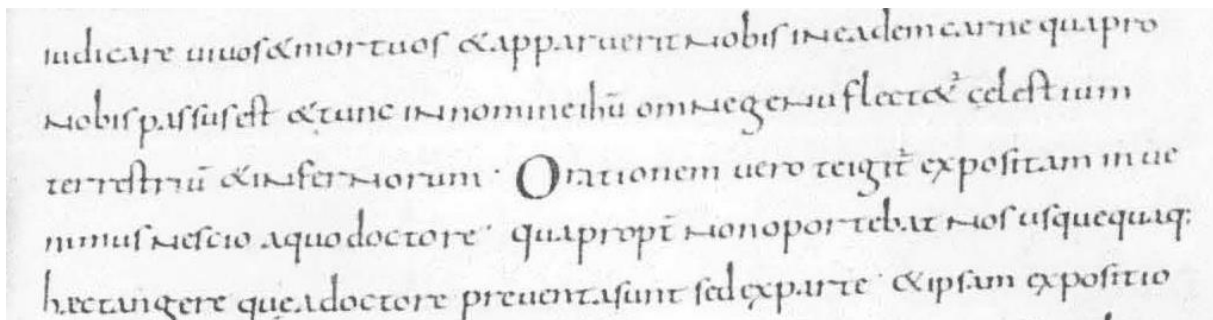


Fig. 14 (f36r): This is the end of the paragraph, and the start of the *Te Igitur* prayer, with an initial.

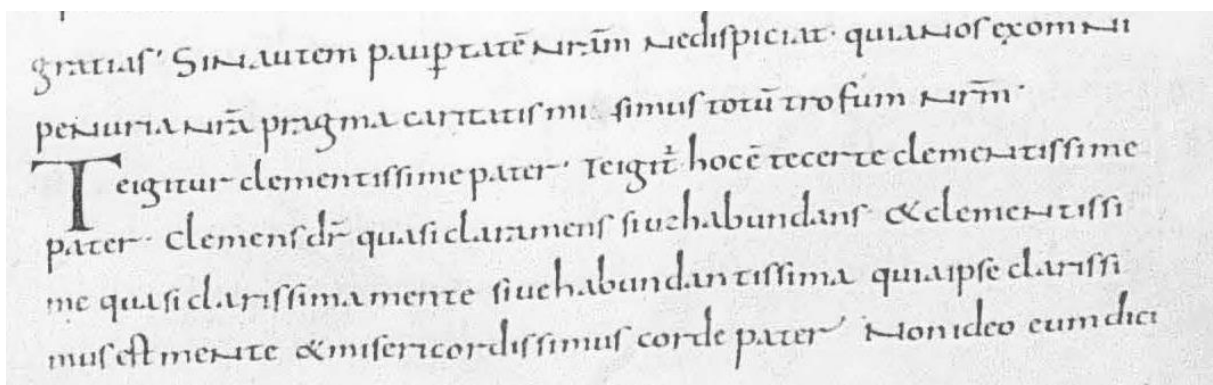


Fig. 15 (f41r): There are just a few instances in the *Dominus vobiscum* where a prayer starts with an initial. Apart from the *Vere dignum*, the *Te Igitur* and the gloss on the *Te Igitur*, the *Pax domini sit semper vobiscum* – the peace of God – is the only instance where a small initial is used.

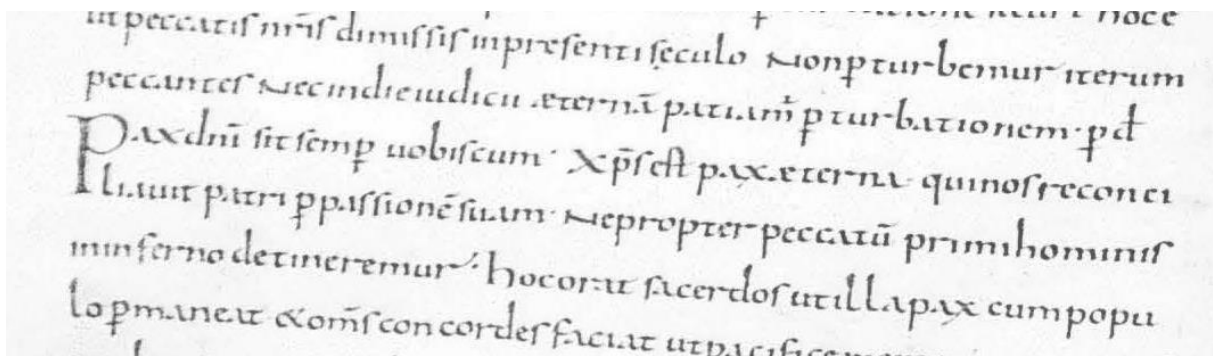


Fig. 16 (f42v): This is the end of the *Dominus vobiscum* and the start of the *Missa celebrare*. There is no blank line, only a small initial of two lines to indicate that a new text might be starting. However, as we have seen throughout the *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum*, these initials are generally used to indicate a new and important prayer, not to indicate a new text.

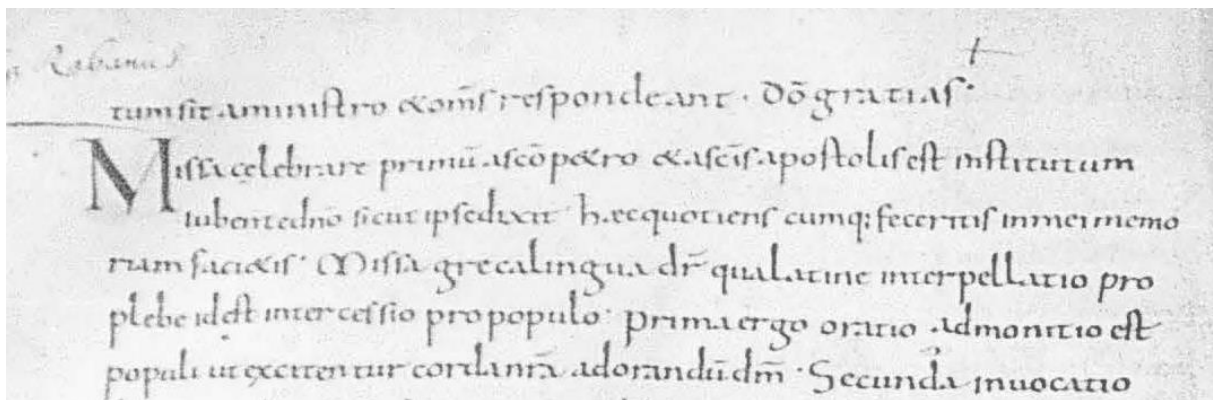


Fig. 17 (f43r): This is the text that follows after the mass commentaries. There is a heading in initials: “Quota sit luna per singulas kalendas per XVIII annos”.

Quota sit luna per singulas kalendas per XVIII annos.

IAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
viii	x	viii	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiiii	xvi	xvi	xviii	xviii

Appendix D: Visual aids and legibility

This appendix contains a few examples from copies of the Mass commentaries *Primum in ordine* and *Dominus vobiscum* to show how visual aids can improve the understanding of the structure of these texts, in comparison with Corbie 230. The three fragments from *Dominus vobiscum* are from the explanation of the *Sursum corda*, including the start of the *Vere dignum*. The three fragments from *Primum in ordine* are from the explanation of the *Supplices te rogamus*.

Dominus vobiscum

Fig. 1: Corbie 230, f33v-34r

These fragments in Corbie 230 show how there is no clear distinction between *canon missae* and explanation. There is interpunctuation, and some use of capitals, and only a few instances of a larger initial (such as the vd-ligature).

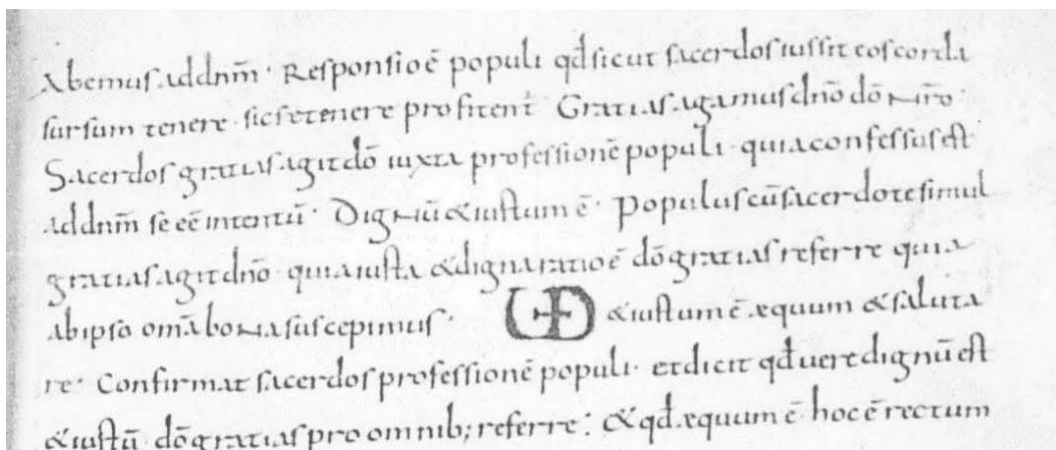
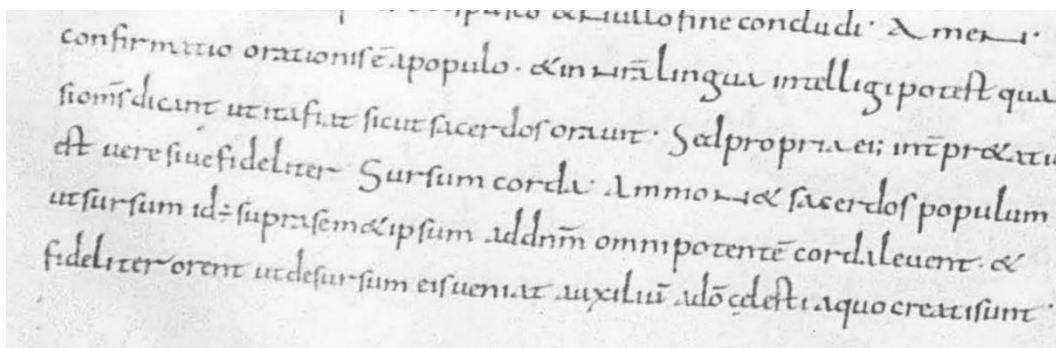


Fig. 2: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 14532, f78v

The *canon missae* in this manuscript is rubricated, making it easy to distinguish from the explanation. The text is also further divided in subdivisions with their own subheadings. Two of them can be seen on this fragment.

dos orauit' Sed propria ei interpretatio e uere
siue fideliter' **HIC INCIPIT EXPOSITIO**
DE SURSUM CORDA
Sursum corda. Ammon & sacerdos populū
ut sursum: id est sup̄ sem & ipsū addn̄m omnip̄m
corda leuent & fideliter orent'. Et quod de
sursum eis ueniat auxiliū addō celesti a quo cre
ati sunt'. **HABEMUS ADDN̄M**: Responsio po
puli qđ sicut sacerdos iussit eos corda sursum te
nere sic retinere p̄ficiuntur'. **GRATIAS AGAM**
DN̄O DN̄RO: Sacerdos gratias agit dō iuxta
p̄fessionē populi. quia confessus ē addn̄m se
eē intentū'. **DIGNŪ & IUSTŪ EST**: Populus
cū sacerdote simul gratias agit dō. quia iusta
& digna oratio ē. dō gratias ^{referre} quia ab ipso
om̄a suscepimus'. **EXPOSITIO DE UERE**
DIGNŪ ET IUSTŪM EST.

Fig. 3: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 485, f28r

In this manuscript, the *canon missae* is in capitals. The small s-signs in the margins also point out that those lines contain a citation, hence also improving the readability of the text.

ut. Sed propria eius interpretatio est uere siue fideliter .
s **SURSUM CORDA**. Admon & sacerdos populū ut sursum
id est ut sup̄ se met ipsum addn̄m omnipotentem
corda leuent & fideliter orent. quod de sursum eis ueni
s at auxilium ad dō celesti a quo creati sunt'. **HABEMUS**
s **AD DN̄M**. Responsio populi est quod sicut sacerdos iussit
s eos sursum corda tenere. sic se tenere p̄ficiuntur'. **GRATIAS**
s **AGAMUS DN̄O DN̄RO**. Sacerdos gratias agit dō
iuxta professionem populi. quia confessus est addn̄m
s se eē intentum'. **DIGNŪ ET IUSTŪM EST**. Populus
cum sacerdote simul gratias agit dō. quia iusta &
digna oratio ē. dō gratias ^{referre} quia ab ipso om
nia bona suscepimus'.
QUOD IUSTŪM EST AEQUUM ET SALUTARE. Confirmat sacer
dos p̄fessionem populi & dicit. quod uere dignū est &
iustum dō gratias referre p̄ omnib'. & quod aequum est

Primum in ordine

Fig. 4: Corbie 230, f31r

Although the text on this fragment contains two citations from the *canon missae*, it is indistinguishable from the corresponding explanation (search, for example, for *ut quotquot*, the first words from one of the citations from the *canon missae*).

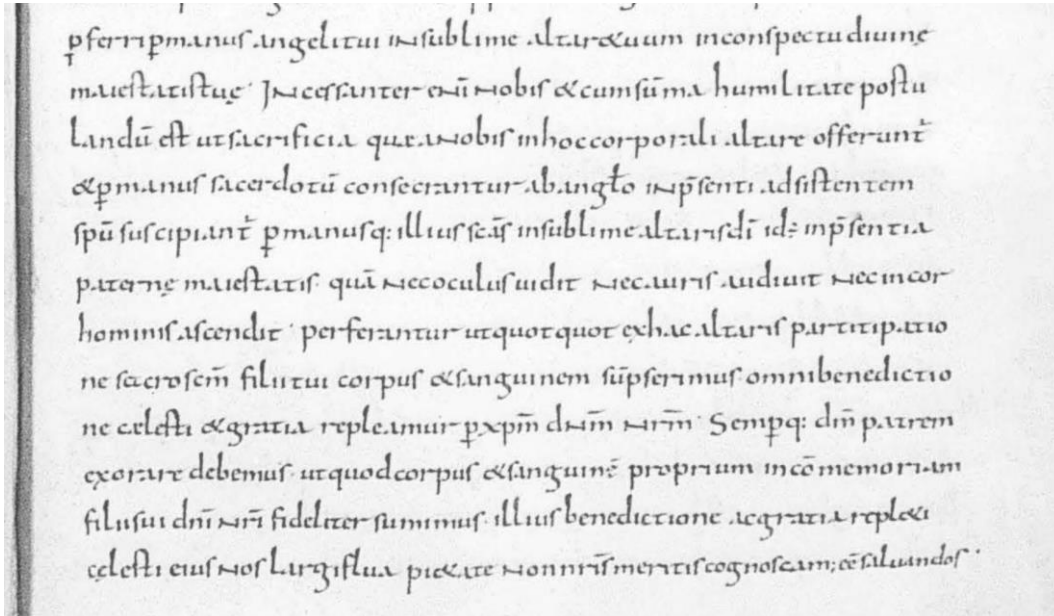


Fig. 5: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 485, f25v

In *Primum in ordine* in this manuscript, the *canon missae* is not in capitals (like the *Dominus vobiscum* in the same manuscript, see fig. 2). The small s-signs in the margins point out that those lines contain a citation.

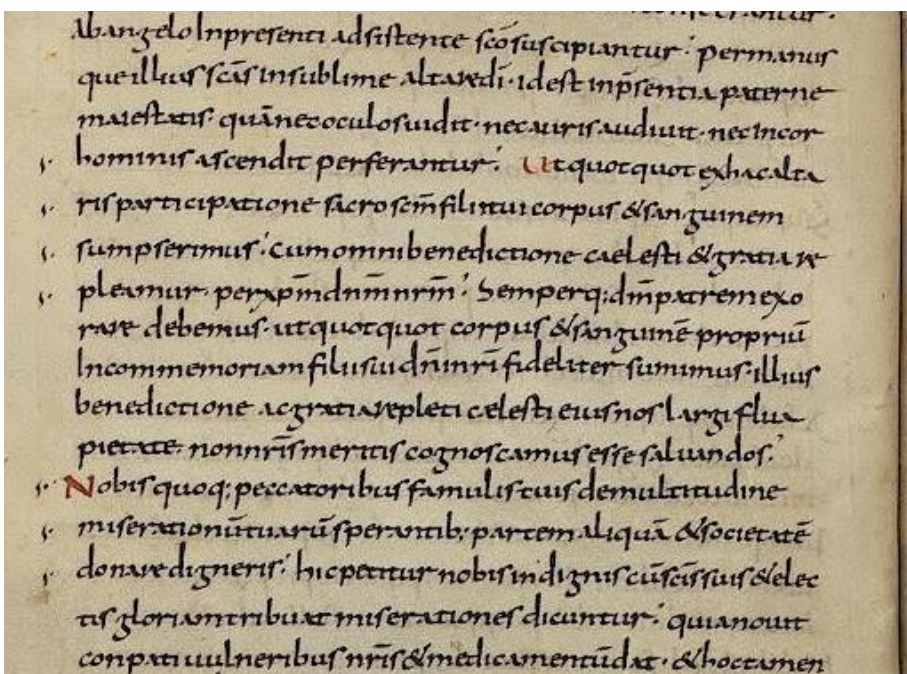
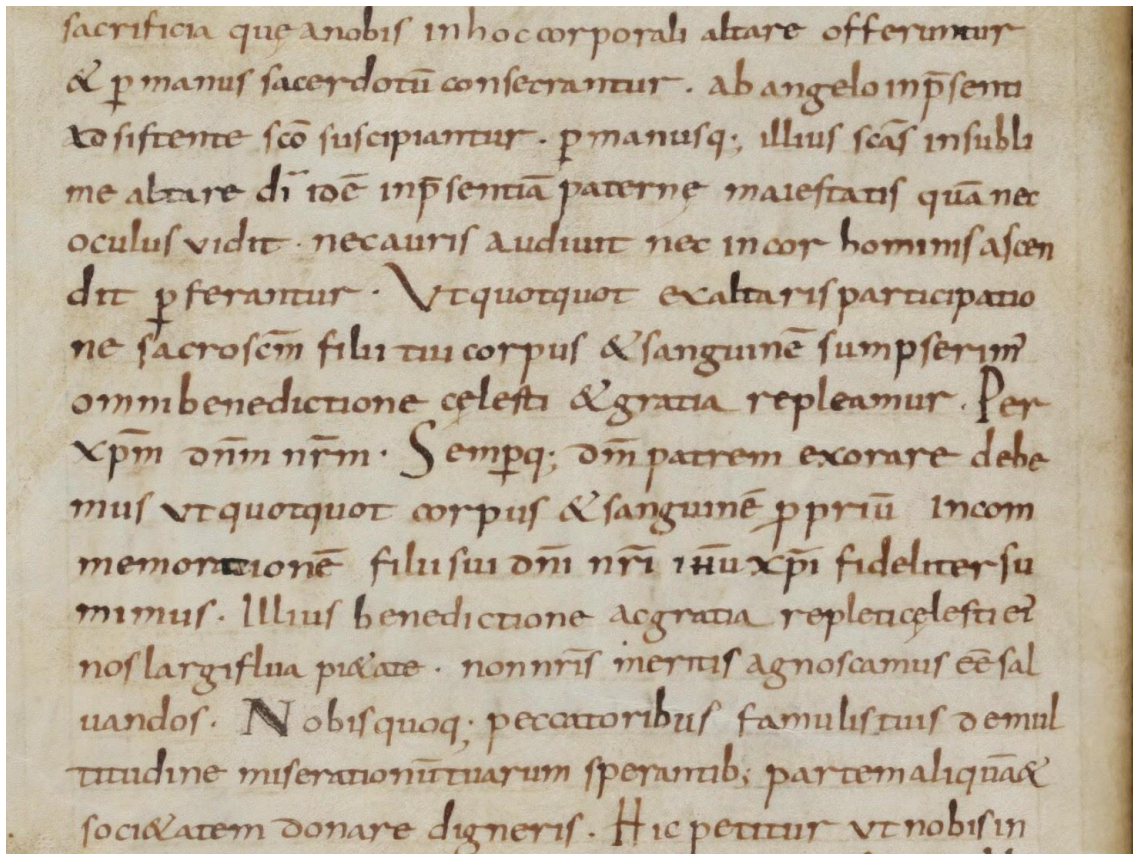


Fig. 6: St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 466, p. 70.

Although this manuscript shows less visual aids, the use of capitals at the start of a citation from the *canon missae* and at the start of the explanation do offer some visual indication to the structure of the text of *Primum in ordine*.



The three manuscripts, apart from Corbie 230, are all available online.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 14532

<https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&lv=1&bandnummer=bsb00086192&pimage=00086192&suchbegriff=&l=nl>

St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 466

<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0446>

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 485

http://bibliotheca-laureshamensis-digital.de/bav/bav_pal_lat_485