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University of Leeds
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Feasts of Saint Michael the Archangel in the Liturgy of the Early Anglo-Saxon Church: Evidence from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries

Richard F. Johnson

Although never formally canonized by the church, St Michael enjoyed considerable popularity from the earliest days of his cult in the ancient Near East.¹ Sacred shrines and healing springs, each associated with a legend of the archangel, dotted the seismic landscape of ancient Phrygia and Pisidia. While local popularity, however one gauges it, is an important aspect of *cultus*, the true measure of a saint's *cultus* must also take into account such evidence as devotional texts (liturgical and non-liturgical alike), homilies, iconography, church dedications, and ultimately formal canonization. As Michael Lapidge has pointed out in his study of the cult of St Æthelwold, however, the process of the canonization of a saint and the development of a formal liturgical celebration of that saint on an appointed day in the early Middle Ages was 'a much less formal affair than it was to become in later centuries'.² Indeed, the process of papal canonization was not established until the late twelfth century.

The evidence of a formal celebration of St Michael's feasts in Anglo-Saxon liturgy falls into two periods. The earliest evidence is from the eighth and ninth centuries. Although there are few surviving liturgical books from this early period,³ the extant evidence consists of notices in calendars and martyrologies, mass-sets in two fragmentary sacramentaries, and a number of prayers in books of private devotion.⁴ The second period, the tenth and eleventh centuries, witnessed the development of formal liturgical celebrations as a direct result of the ecclesiastical reforms of the tenth century. Following an initial discussion of the Archangel's primary feast days in the West, this essay considers the evidence for the celebration of a liturgical feast in the early Anglo-Saxon church.

St Michael's Feast Days

At his cultic centres across Asia Minor, the Archangel was invoked in accordance with his stature as a healer long before formal liturgical festivals became the normative means of expressing devotion to him. After the Eastern church began to formalize devotions to Michael, possibly in the late fourth or early fifth centuries (i.e., in the aftermath of the first Council of Laodicea), the Archangel came to enjoy a number of different feast days in the East. For example, September 6 marks the miracle at Chonae in the Greek, Russian, and Ethiopic churches.⁵ June 8 in the Menology of Sirletus commemorates the dedication of Constantine's church to St Michael at Sosthenion.⁶ In the Ethiopic church, Michael is celebrated on June 6 and the twelfth day of every month.⁷

Traditionally in the West, however, St Michael has been celebrated on two principal feast days, May 8 and September 29, both of which originated with the cult of the Archangel in Italy. Though no longer celebrated in the Roman calendar, the date May 8 holds special significance for the cult of St Michael since it allegedly marks the day of both the Archangel's legendary apparition to consecrate his own church and his intercession on behalf of the Sipontans in their victory over the pagan Neapolitans. This date is commemorated in an early ninth-century Corbie martyrology as 'inventio sancti Michaelis archangeli in Monte Gargano'.⁸ According to Giorgio Otranto, the feast day of May 8 was introduced by the Lombards in the late eighth or early ninth century to commemorate the legendary apparitions of the Archangel on Monte Gargano narrated in the 'Liber de Apparitione'.⁹ The late ninth-century metrical calendar of Abbot Erchembert of Monte Cassino (881-904) includes the May 8 feast.¹⁰ The mention of a reading for May 8 in the late seventh-century Lindisfarne Gospels (London, BL, Cotton MS Nero D. iv; Gneuss 343¹¹), however, suggests that Otranto's dating is not entirely accurate. Since the Lindisfarne list of liturgical Gospel readings has connections with southern Italy, and especially the church of Naples, Otranto's date ought to be pushed earlier, perhaps closer to the early seventh century.¹² Although the Lindisfarne reading would seem to imply that there existed an Insular tradition of celebrating the May 8 feast, the earliest mention of this feast in Irish texts occurs in the Martyrologies of Tallaght and Oengus under May 9 (a day later than the Lombard date).¹³ The fact that these martyrologies date from the early ninth century does not entirely contradict Otranto's hypothesis, but might indicate closer ties between Ireland and Italy than has been suggested.

Although the date September 29 is the festival most frequently associated with the Archangel in the West, the earliest reference in a western liturgical text to St

Michael's autumnal feast day occurs in the so-called 'Sacramentary of Leo' at September 30.¹⁴ As the liturgist Cyrille Vogel has pointed out, the Sacramentary of Leo has been incorrectly attributed to Pope Leo the Great and is not properly a sacramentary at all; instead it is a collection of 'libelli missarum' (small booklets containing the *formulae* of one or more masses) copied into the manuscript Verona, Biblioteca capitolare, codex 85 (olim 80) in the first quarter of the seventh century.¹⁵ The entry for September 30 in the September 'libellus' of the Verona manuscript marks the fifth-century dedication of a basilica on the Via Salaria, and includes four mass-sets containing prayers in honour of St Michael (none of which, however, constitutes a complete mass) and one in honour of the angels.¹⁶ The nineteenth-century Italian scholar, G. B. de Rossi, was of the opinion that this church on the Via Salaria must have been constructed in the middle of the fifth century since before that period there is no substantive evidence of its existence.¹⁷ A church dedicated to St Michael is mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* as being enlarged during the papacy of Pope Symmachus (498-514): 'Item ad archangelum Michahel basilicam ampliavit'.¹⁸ Although the editor of the *Liber Pontificalis*, L. Duchesne, argues that this enlarged church is different from the Salarian church,¹⁹ it seems most likely that the enlargement in fact took place at the church on the Via Salaria. This church was still standing in the mid-seventh century as it is mentioned in *De locis sanctis martyrum*: 'ecclesiam sancti Michaelis vii. milliario ab Urbe'.²⁰

Despite the September 30 entry in the Leonine sacramentary, most later sacramentaries and martyrologies mark the festival at September 29. Thus, the dedication of the Salarian church is marked at September 29 in the early eighth-century *Codex Epternacensis* of the Hieronymian martyrology.²¹ Although the seventh-century Gelasian Sacramentary only marks September 29 with 'Orationes in sancti archangeli Michaelis', the eighth-century Gregorian Sacramentary commemorates the dedication of the Salarian church.²²

The Archangel's appearance on Monte Gargano and the dedication of his church on the Salarian Way are conflated in a single commemoration at September 29 in several martyrologies. The ninth-century martyrology of Hrabanus Maurus, for example, suggests that the September feast marks the dedication of the Archangel's sanctuary on Monte Gargano: 'Dedicatio ecclesiae sancti Angeli Michaelis in monte Gargano'.²³ Similarly, Ado of Vienne (c. 800-875), in a long notice at September 29, recounts the legendary account of Michael's appearances at Monte Gargano (BHL 5948).²⁴ Usuard of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, who clearly used Ado's martyrology to compile his own martyrology sometime between 850-877, also conflates the two commemorations at September 29.²⁵

A possible solution to the conundrum of the date of Michael's September feast, however, may lie in the notices for September 29 in Ado's Martyrology and the so-called *Romanum Parvum*, or Lesser Martyrology. In addition to recounting the Gargano legend, Ado mentions at the end of his entry the dedication of a church to St Michael by a Pope Boniface on the summit of the Mole of Hadrian: 'Sed non multo post Romae venerabilis etiam Bonifacius pontifex ecclesiam sancti Michaelis nomine constructam dedicavit in summitate Circi cryptiam'.²⁶ Similarly, in a notice in the *Romanum Parvum*, a church at Rome is mentioned: 'Et Romae, dedicatio ecclesiae ejusdem archangeli, a B<eato> Bonifacio papa constructae in circo, qui locus inter nubes dicitur'.²⁷ From these entries, it seems that a second church to St Michael was constructed and became associated with the date September 29. Such a church is mentioned in a list of urban churches appended to the text of the *De locis sanctorum martyrum*.²⁸ Given the mid-seventh-century date of the *De locis* and the description of the church in the two martyrologies, it seems likely that this second church is to be identified with the chapel dedicated to the Archangel on the summit of the Moles Hadriani, the construction of which the legend attributes to Pope Boniface IV (608-615). Although there is some debate as to which Boniface actually built the summit chapel (Boniface III, IV, or V),²⁹ Boniface IV is the most likely candidate since he is credited with another major construction project involving the christianization of a major pagan monument. In 609, Pope Boniface IV converted into a Basilica dedicated to St Mary and the Martyrs the Roman Pantheon and in the process instituted the feast of All Saints.

The legendary association of the Archangel with the Moles Hadriani, however, begins in the early days of the pontificate of Gregory the Great. According to this legend, Gregory led a procession through the streets of Rome for three days, praying for the cessation of a plague and singing what would later become known as the Greater Litanies. On the third day, as the procession approached the Moles Hadriani, St Michael appeared in full view of the procession at the summit of the mausoleum, sheathing a bloody sword. According to the legend, the plague ceased to ravish the city after this apparition.³⁰ Although the legend is most likely a later invention, it is not implausible that Gregory first began the efforts to christianize this pagan monument by perhaps dedicating a chapel in its summit to St Michael, or by replacing the image of the Emperor on the summit with one of the Archangel.³¹

Despite these many confusions, however, it seems plausible to suggest the following scenario. September 30 seems originally to have marked a local celebration at Rome of the dedication of the Archangel's church on the Salarian Way. The dedication of the Salarian church became superseded by that of the summit chapel on

the Moles Hadriani, perhaps because of the more recent chapel's proximity to the center of the city. Over time the actual dedications became confused, and September 29 became associated with the Salarian dedication. The September 30 date seems to have been abandoned in favour of September 29 sometime between the composition of the *Veronensis* (scholarly opinion on the date of composition of the so-called Sacramentary of Leo varies from the mid-fifth century to the late sixth century),³² and the early eighth-century date of the Hieronymian martyrology.

Ultimately, the local festival commemorating the dedication of the fifth-century Salarian church became overshadowed by the celebration of the more spectacular alleged apparition on Monte Gargano in the late fifth century. Although it is impossible to say with any certainty why the September 29 date ultimately prevailed over the May 8 feast day, it may be that the Roman church, in an effort to shape an ecclesiastically sanctioned liturgical devotion to the Archangel, felt compelled to honour the date of an actual church dedication in lieu of a legendary apparition. Thus, while the May 8 feast would not have been copied into later sacramentaries and martyrologies, the persistent popular appeal of the legend of the apparitions on Monte Gargano would eventually cause it to be conflated with the celebration of the church dedication at the single September 29 date.

St Michael in Anglo-Saxon Liturgy: the Eighth and Ninth Centuries

The earliest Anglo-Saxon evidence of a liturgical feast of St Michael is found in calendars and martyrologies dating from the eighth and ninth centuries. Although calendars and martyrologies are not strictly books of the liturgy, they are organized according to the liturgical year and list saints who are commemorated by feasts during the year. Calendars and martyrologies were also important reference tools for those who composed and arranged liturgical texts, and thereby made an indirect contribution to the liturgy. Together these texts provide early evidence of a formal liturgical *cultus* of St Michael in Anglo-Saxon England. Furthermore, as Michael Lapidge has shown, calendars and other paraliturgical texts considered in conjunction with more formal liturgical books (such as sacramentaries and missals) suggest the degree of liturgical veneration a particular saint enjoyed.³³

The first calendar to mark September 29 is the early eighth-century calendar of St Willibrord (658-739).³⁴ The sole manuscript of the calendar (Paris, BN, MS Lat. 10837; Gneuss 897) is thought to have been written in Northumbria for Willibrord's own use and to contain a marginal entry in his own hand.³⁵ As in the Gelasian

Sacramentary, the notice for September 29 in Willibrord's calendar makes no mention of a church dedication. At this early date, it seems that St Michael's feast day was recognized in northern England as simply a day in honour of the Archangel, with no connection to the dedication of the church on the Salarian Way.³⁶

At the end of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, Bede mentions among his completed works a 'martyrologium de nataliciis sanctorum martyrum diebus'.³⁷ The manuscripts of Bede's Martyrology fall into two recensions, designated 'Bede' and 'Bede²' by the first editor, Dom Henri Quentin.³⁸ The first recension was written around the year 725 and consists of notices ending at July 25th. This recension does not mark the Michael feast at May 8. The second recension, 'Bede²', was written slightly later than the first, but was completed before Bede's death in 735. Although this recension clearly commemorates the dedication of a church to St Michael, it does not specify a particular church, either at Rome or Monte Gargano.³⁹ By the early ninth century, however, the Martyrology of Florus, which has been shown to be based in part on the recensions of Bede, specifically designates the dedication of the church at Rome: 'Romae, dedicatio basilicae sancti Michaelis archangeli'.⁴⁰ Such a development suggests that by the early ninth century Roman efforts on the continent to establish an ecclesiastically sanctioned feast commemorating the dedication of the Salarian church had extended to the northern regions of the Frankish realm.

In addition to the notice in Bede's Martyrology, corroborating early evidence of an established celebration of Michael's feast day at September 29th is found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Both the Parker and Laud (Peterborough) Chronicles contain a notice for the year 759 [761] which marks the consecration of Bishop Bregowise as taking place at Michaelmas (September 29).⁴¹

Perhaps best described as a paraliturgical 'metrical martyrology', an early English metrical calendar offers similar testimony to a formal celebration of Michael's feasts in the eighth and ninth centuries.⁴² The late eighth-century Metrical Calendar from York consists of 82 hexameter lines, commemorating only selected days of the liturgical year.⁴³ The fact that it contains a notice for the Archangel's September 29 feast underscores the importance of this liturgical celebration: 'Michaelis ternas templi dedicatio sacrat'.⁴⁴ As in Bede's Martyrology, however, the notice marks a dedication commemoration but does not specify a particular church. Furthermore, the Mercian provenance of the oldest manuscript of this calendar (London, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian B. vi; Gneuss 385) reiterates the significance of this festival in the northern, and generally Celtic, regions of England in the eighth and ninth centuries.

The only early English text to include both feasts of St Michael is the ninth-century *Old English Martyrology*.⁴⁵ The entry for May 8 is brief, consisting of only

42 words, and unremarkable:

On ðone eahteþan dæg þæs monðes bið þæt S<an>c<t>e
Michaheles cirice ærest funden wæs on ðæm munte Gargano,
þær se mon wæs ofscoten mid his agenre stræle, mid þy þe he
wolde ðone fearr sceotan se stod on þæs scræfes dura.⁴⁶

The entry abstracts the barest essentials of the Monte Gargano legend from the popular Latin account (BHL 5948). The use of the verb *findan* (to find, discover), however, suggests a familiarity with certain continental descriptions of the May feast. In a Corbie martyrology of the early ninth century, May 8 is marked as 'inventio sancti Michaelis archangeli in monte Gargano'.⁴⁷ Similarly, a manuscript of the *Liber Pontificalis* describes the discovery of the church of St Michael using the term *invenire* (to discover, find), the verbal form of *inventio*: 'Huius temporibus inventa est aecclesia sancti angeli in monte Gargano'.⁴⁸ According to the Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon dictionary, the Old English verb *findan* can gloss the Latin term *invenire*.⁴⁹ Given the essential 'Latinity' of the Old English Martyrologist, to borrow a phrase from J. E. Cross,⁵⁰ it is not unlikely that the author was familiar with such continental sources as the Corbie martyrology and the *Liber Pontificalis*.⁵¹

The notice for September 29, however, is infinitely more illuminating. Not only does this entry shed some light on the martyrologist's method of composition,⁵² but it also provides an interesting point of comparison with the anonymous St Michael homily in CCC MS 41, a manuscript with abundant Irish connections.⁵³

On ðone .xxviii. dæg þæs monðes bið S<an>c<t>e Michaelis
cirican gehalgun in Tracla þære ceastre in Eraclę ðære mægðe.
Feonda menigo com to þære ceastre ond hy ymbsæton. Pa
ceasterware þurh þreora daga fæsten ánmodlice bædon [God]
fultumes, ond bædon þæt he him þone ætywde þurh S<an>c<t>e
Michahel. Da ðy þridan dæge stod S<an>c<t>e Michahel ofer
ðære ceastre gete ond hæfde fyren sweord in his honda. Pa
wæron ða fynd abregede mid þy egesan ond hy gewiton ónweg,
ond þa ceasterwara wunedon gesunde. Ond þær wæs getimbred
S<an>c<t>e Michaheles cirice, ond seo wæs gehalgod on ðone
dæg þe we mærsiað S<an>c<t>e Michaheles gemynd.⁵⁴

Although George Herzfeld, the first English editor of the text, assumed that

this notice derived from the sources of BHL 5948,⁵⁵ J. E. Cross has shown that the account printed under September 29 differs in significant details from the Latin account of the legend. Cross has pointed out that while the *Old English Martyrology* notice for September 29 and the St Michael homily in Corpus 41 (§ 23)⁵⁶ relate the same story, they each present new information not found in the other. Cross therefore concludes that they are each independently derived from an 'unrecorded story about St Michael (very probably in Latin) which was circulating in England by the ninth-century date of the Martyrology'.⁵⁷

A closer examination of the text, however, reveals that the notice is slightly more complex than either Herzfeld or Cross suggest. The notice is comprised of three distinct layers of narrative (see Figure 1 below). The first layer (M¹ and M²) is typical of other entries in this martyrology and serves as introduction and conclusion for the entry. The second layer (S¹ and S²) comprises the details of the legendary account of the battle of the Sipontans against the pagan Neapolitans found in BHL 5948. The two S-layers envelope the third layer (G) which consists of an image from the legend of Michael's appearance on the summit of the Moles Hadriani before the procession led by Gregory the Great. Thus, the entry can be visualized in the following envelope pattern: M¹-S¹-G-S²-M² (see Figure 1 below).

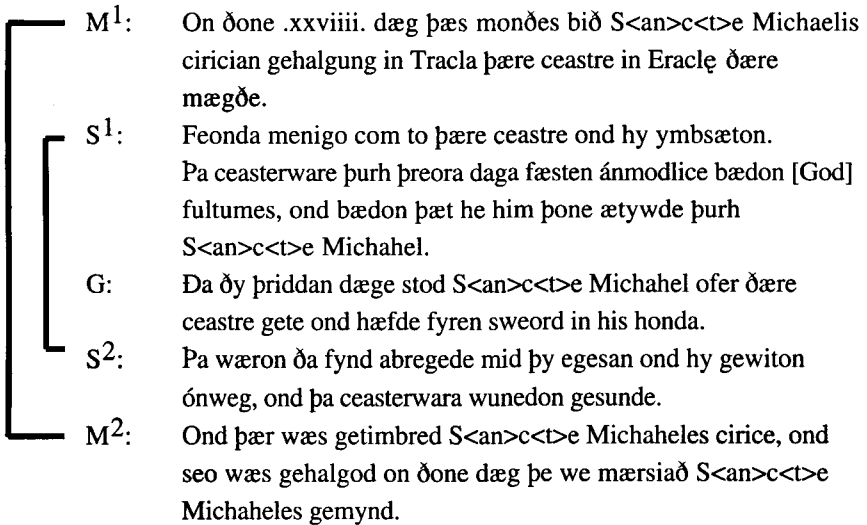


Figure 1. Narrative Layers of *Old English Martyrology* for 29 September.

M¹, which opens the notice, contains two anomalies: the names of the town, Tracla, and of the province, Eraclæ. In his note to this entry, Herzfeld suggests that this might be a confusion resulting from a misreading of a source martyrological entry.⁵⁸ Herzfeld cites the Hieronymian martyrology and that of Usuard as two possible sources of the anomaly.⁵⁹ Perhaps the most likely source of the confusion, however, would be an entry similar to that found in the roughly contemporary martyrology of Hrabanus Maurus. The relevant portion of the entry for September 29 reads, 'Dedicatio ecclesiae sancti Angeli Michaelis in monte Gargano in Thracia civitate Eraclæa natale Eutici [Eutichii] Plautii'.⁶⁰ The order of the two elements of the entry (i.e., the mention of the dedication of Michael's church *before* the mention of the *martyrdom of Eutichus and Plautus*) suggests the possibility of the misunderstanding. Thus, despite Cross's objection to Herzfeld's conclusion, it is possible that even a skilled reader of Latin might conflate the two elements of this entry.

As Cross suggested, the sources of BHL 5948 clearly inform this entry. The S¹ and S² portions of the entry are abstracted from those sources, summarizing details found in the 'Liber de Apparitione'.⁶¹ Another legendary apparition, however, seems to have influenced the central image of the entry. Michael and his fiery sword in the G section are almost certainly related to the legend of Michael's appearance above the Moles Hadriani in which Michael is seen sheathing a bloody sword atop the mausoleum. M², the conclusion of the entry, is typical of other endings in the Martyrology in reminding the reader of the significance of the feast day.

In his exemplary work on the sources of the Old English Martyrology, J. E. Cross has shown that the Martyrologist was a fluent scholar of Latin and an excellent abstracter of details 'who often echoed snatches of speech verbatim, and who reflected images from [his] sources'.⁶² Although the entry for September 29 does not contain any 'snatches of speech verbatim', the composite nature of the notice is certainly in keeping with the Martyrologist's method of composition and suggests to this reader the use of at least two, if not three, separate sources.

Although there is a relative abundance of Michael material in calendars and martyrologies from this early period, the evidence of massbooks is extremely slight since there are very few extant copies of this type of book.⁶³ There are six fragmentary books from the eighth century, but none of these contains a mass for September 29.⁶⁴ The earliest massbook which contains a mass for the September feast is the Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579; Gneuss 585), a composite codex comprised of three layers of liturgical material.⁶⁵ The core of the manuscript, Leofric A, is a Gregorian sacramentary thought to have been composed in northeast France (most likely in the Arras-Cambrai region) shortly before A.D. 900.⁶⁶

For the September 29 feast, the Leofric Missal contains only three prayers: an opening *Collecta*, a *Super Oblata*, and a *Præfatio*. The opening Collect acknowledges the Lord's perfect ordering of the activities of angels and of men, and beseeches the Lord for the protection of the angels.⁶⁷ Although Michael is not mentioned by name, his leadership among the angels is understood. The second prayer once again does not mention Michael by name and continues the theme of angelic intervention and protection.⁶⁸ The Preface mentions Michael by name, honouring his status as chief of the celestial host.⁶⁹

The second layer of liturgical material, Leofric B, was added after the manuscript came to England in the early tenth century.⁷⁰ Leofric B consists of a tenth-century calendar and computistical material, and will be discussed in the next section. The third group of additional material, Leofric C, is more problematic. Although Warren dates Leofric C to the eleventh century and assigns it to Exeter, recent work has suggested that some of the material Warren designated C does not properly belong to that group of additions.⁷¹ Among the group of masses in Leofric C, however, there occurs a 'Missa de sancto Michahela' which differs considerably from the Leofric A mass-set. Although the masses in Leofric C are generally more complete than those in A, this is not true of the mass for Michael. The mass-set for Michael in Leofric C consists only of an opening *Collecta*, a *Secreta*, and a *Postcommunio*. In general, however, these prayers are more specific to Michael: two mention his name and his traditional roles as intercessor and protector of the faithful. Given Exeter's connections with Irish devotional traditions, the specificity of the Michael prayers should not be surprising.

Perhaps the most abundant body of evidence in the early Anglo-Saxon period of devotion to Michael is found in a number of prayers in four private devotional books composed ca. 800. Although private devotional texts such as prayers were rarely intended for liturgical use, prayers were often borrowed, in part or whole, directly from mass or Office and therefore contribute to an understanding of the formation of a liturgical cult of Michael in Anglo-Saxon England. The four devotional books are wholly English in origin, but are each clearly influenced by the Irish tradition of private prayer:⁷² London, BL, MS Harley 7653; London, BL, MS Royal 2. A. xx (Royal Prayer-Book); London, BL, MS Harley 2965 (Book of Nunnaminster); Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll.1.10 (Book of Cerne).

Harley 7653 (Gneuss 443) survives as a fragment of seven folios.⁷³ It contains an acephalous litany and seven prayers. It seems likely that Michael was included in his usual place at the head of the archangels after the Virgin in the litany, but since the beginning of the litany is missing, it is impossible to say. Although there is not

a prayer addressed to the Archangel individually, Michael is mentioned in one of the prayers, at the head of a list of archangels:

Michaelem s<an>c<tu>m et gloriosu<m> deprecor
Rafael et Uriel Gabriel et Raguel
Heremiel et Azael ut suscipiant anima<m> mea<m> . . . ⁷⁴

Despite the Irish affinities of this manuscript, this particular list of archangels has little if any connection with similar Irish lists. While the names of the first four archangels agree with the Irish lists,⁷⁵ the last three do not. As Warren points out, Raguel, Heremiel, and Azael are each found in the following apocryphal books of the Old Testament: Raguel and Azael are in I Enoch 20:4 and 8:1 (spelled Azazel) respectively; Heremiel in II Esdras (i.e., the Fourth Book of Ezra) 4:36.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, it should be noted that Michael is clearly the leader of the archangels who as a group are honoured in this prayer as psychopomps.

The Royal Prayer-Book (Gneuss 450) includes gospel extracts, canticles, prayers, hymns, and a litany.⁷⁷ As in the Harley 7653 fragment, the Royal manuscript contains no prayer to Michael alone. The Archangel is, however, mentioned in the long prayer 'Oratio sancti Hygbaldi abbatis'.⁷⁸ In the passage on Michael, the Archangel is honoured as guardian and conveyor of the souls of the faithful to heaven. The Michael passage occurs within a larger segment of the 'Oratio sancti Hygbaldi abbatis', beginning at the top of folio 18r of the Royal Prayer-Book and continuing to the bottom of folio 19v. This very same segment is found in the Book of Cerne as an 'Item alia' prayer (Kuypers 1).⁷⁹ Although Mary Clayton pointed to the Marian reference in this passage as being part of the long 'Oratio',⁸⁰ it is likely that the passage is a separate text that is in fact a copy of the Cerne prayer.⁸¹ In the Royal Prayer-Book, St Michael is also found in the litany, just after Christ and before Gabriel, Raphael, John the Baptist, and Mary.

The third collection of prayers is found in the Book of Nunnaminster (Gneuss 432), which also includes a series of prayers on the life and Passion of Christ.⁸² An individual prayer to St Michael occurs in this manuscript, followed by one to the Virgin and one to John the Baptist. The Nunnaminster prayer to Michael, 'Orat<io> ad s<an>cti mich[aelis]', invokes the Archangel as a powerful intercessor before the Lord and as psychopomp.

S<an>c<t>e michael archangele qui uenisti in adiutoriu<m>
populo d<e>i, Subueni mihi apud altissimu<m> iudice<m>,

ut mihi peccatori donet remissionem delictorum meoru<m>, Propter magna<m> miserationu<m> tuaru<m> clementia<m>. Exaudi me s<an>c<t>e michael inuocante<m> te, Adiuua me maiestatem tuam adorante<m>. Interpelle p<ro> me gemescente Et fac me castu<m> ab omnib<u>s peccatis. Insuper ob[se]cro te pr<ae>clarum atq<ue> decore<m> summæ diuinita[tis] ministru<m>, Ut in nouissimo die benigne suscipi[as] anima<m> mea<m> in sinu tuo s<an>c<t>issimo, Et per[du]cas ea<m> in locu<m> refrigerii pacis et lucis et q<ui>etis, [ubi] s<an>c<t>oru<m> animae cum laetitia et innumerabili [ga]udio futuru<m> iudiciu<m> et gloria<m> beatae resur[re]ctionis expectant. P<er> eum qui uiuit et reg[na]t in sae<cu>loru<m>. Amen.⁸³

The prayer first beseeches the Archangel to intercede with the Lord in order that He might cleanse the sinner of his transgressions. After several more appeals to the Archangel's compassion, the prayer then implores Michael to conduct the sinner's soul to paradise on the Last Day. André Wilmart discusses this prayer briefly as an early form of a fourteenth-century prayer in CCCC MS 284.⁸⁴ This prayer is also found in the Book of Cerne (Kuypers 53), and two eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: Arundel 155 (the so-called Eadui Psalter), where it is glossed in Old English, and Arundel 60 (the Arundel Psalter).⁸⁵ In the Book of Nunnaminster, Michael is also mentioned in the so-called Lorica of Laidcenn, a prayer which is found in two other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts where it is glossed in Old English: Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll.1.10 (the Book of Cerne); and London, BL, MS Harley 585 (the so-called *Lacnunga*; Gneuss 421).⁸⁶

The Book of Cerne (Gneuss 28) contains a collection of gospel extracts, an acrostic poem spelling the name 'Æthilwald', a series of prayers, a Breviate Psalter, and a text of the Harrowing of Hell.⁸⁷ Although there has been some debate over the subject since Kuypers' diplomatic edition of the text appeared, the manuscript is generally thought to date from the early ninth century and to be of Mercian origin.⁸⁸ Of the seventy-four prayers in the Book of Cerne, only one is addressed to St Michael alone (Kuypers 53: 'Oratio ad archangelum Michaheli'). This is the same prayer found in the Book of Nunnaminster under the rubric 'Oratio ad s<an>c<t>i Mich[aelis]'. Michael is also mentioned in passing in five other prayers: 1, 4 (the Lorica of Laidcenn), 18, 29, and 54. As has already been discussed above, Cerne 1 refers to

Michael primarily in his role as psychopomp.

Cerne 4 is the so-called *Lorica of Laidcenn* (or *Gildas*), a Latin text known to have originated in Ireland,⁸⁹ with an Old English interlinear gloss. The *Lorica* invokes Michael, together with Gabriel and the Cherubim and Seraphim, for protection against foes. Of these four angelic beings, Michael's name alone is not glossed in Old English in the Cerne version of the *Lorica*. Gabriel is glossed as '3odes stren3u' (the strength of God); Cherubim as 'wisdomes 3efylnes' (the fulfillment of God's wisdom); and Seraphim as '3odes lufu onbernes' (the fervor of God's love).⁹⁰ In the *Lacnunga Lorica*, however, Michael's name is glossed as 'swa swa 3od' (just like God).⁹¹ As the Grattan/Singer edition of the *Lacnunga* text points out, the Old English gloss suggests a familiarity with the interpretation of the angelic names found in Isidore's *Etymologiae*.⁹² According to Isidore, 'Michael interpretatur, Qui sicut Deus'.⁹³ Since there are Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of Isidore from the eighth century and the earliest manuscripts in which the *Lorica of Gildas* appear are of the ninth century (the Books of Nunnaminster and the Book of Cerne), it is possible that the Anglo-Saxon glosses reflect a degree of Isidorean influence. Thus, although the *Lorica* itself is clearly a product of the Irish imagination, the glosses suggest a familiarity with the Mediterranean Roman culture represented by the works of Isidore of Seville.

Cerne 18 is an 'Oratio ad Dominum' which once again honours Michael in his role as guardian and conveyor of the souls of the faithful. This prayer has analogues in Alcuin's *De psalmodum usu Liber*,⁹⁴ the Eadui Psalter (London, BL, MS Arundel 155, fol. 177v), and the Galba Prayer-Book (London, BL, Cotton MS Galba A.xiv, fol. 48v).

Cerne 29 is a close variation of the prayer in Harley 7653 which includes a list of the archangels. Aside from other differences in the contents of the prayer, the list of archangels in the Harley manuscript includes the names Raguel, Heremiel, and Azael. These names do not occur in any Irish lists of archangels, and it is noteworthy that they are suppressed in the list in Cerne 29. As in the Harley prayer, Michael heads the group of archangels and they are deemed worthy of praise for their roles as psychopomps at the final judgment.

Cerne 54 includes another list of archangels and attaches to each special devotion:

Gabrihel esto mihi lurica.
Michaehel esto mihi baltheus.
Raphahel esto mihi scutum.
Urihel esto mihi protector.

Rumihel esto mihi defensor.
Phannahel esto mihi sanitas.⁹⁵

The names of the archangels are wholly Irish in spirit, corresponding exactly with other lists in Irish sources.⁹⁶ This prayer also appears in the so-called *Collectanea* of Pseudo-Bede, where the last two names are spelled 'Rumiel' and 'Paniel'.⁹⁷

The significance of the Michaeline prayers in these four collections lies in the strong Irish affiliations of the manuscripts and in the sheer number of prayers which either address or invoke the Archangel. Neither the Harley nor the Royal Prayer-Book contains a prayer to St Michael, but both contain prayers which invoke the Archangel, often in conjunction with the other archangels. As Mary Clayton has suggested in connection with the development of prayers to the Virgin Mary,⁹⁸ it is possible that prayers to Michael alone began as extracts from prayers whose devotional scope included other saints and archangels. Such a process perhaps can be seen occurring with the separation of the segment of the 'Oratio sancti Hygbaldi abbatis' from the Royal Prayer-Book and its installation as an independent prayer in the Book of Cerne. In the Books of Nunnaminster and Cerne, an independent prayer to Michael is found. Of the sixty-four prayers in the Book of Nunnaminster, only three are addressed to individual saints: one prayer each to the Virgin, Michael and John the Baptist. Although only one of the seventy-four prayers in the Book of Cerne is addressed to St Michael (there are three each to the Virgin and John the Baptist), his frequent mention in other prayers suggests his importance as an intercessor.

Conclusion

From the liturgical evidence of the eighth and ninth centuries, two conclusions can be drawn. First, in this early period, Irish influence is clearly discernible in the calendars and prayers. The calendars suggest the *cultus* of the Archangel in the eighth and ninth centuries was strongest in the northern regions of England and generally in the Celtic areas of the realm. The prayers of the era are clearly inspired by Irish devotional traditions and the Irish affiliations of the manuscripts corroborate this hypothesis. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, however, discernible Irish influence will be diffused as general devotion to the Archangel becomes the norm in the aftermath of the tenth-century Benedictine reforms. Secondly, it is also evident, especially in the prayers, that devotion to St Michael is undergoing in this period a process of selectivity. The Archangel is being singled out from the group of

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archangels and being recognized independently as a powerful intercessor and psychopomp. The number of prayers devoted to the Archangel independently underscores this process, which will evolve in the next period with the development of liturgical hymns to the Archangel.⁹⁹

NOTES

¹ The issue of the canonization of an angel would, of course, be a problematic one. Although there could not possibly be any bodily relics since the Archangel is an incorporeal being, Mont Saint-Michel claimed to possess the Archangel's sword and shield (on which, see Jean Laporte, 'L'Épée et le Bouclier Dits "De Saint Michel"', in *Millénaire Monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, 6 vols., ed. by J. Laporte and others (Paris: Bibliothèque d'histoire et d'archéologie chrétiennes, 1966), II, 397-410). Despite his asomatic nature, St Michael has been provided with a *vita*-of-sorts in the hagiographical foundation myth of Monte Gargano (BHL 5948, under the heading 'Michael archangelus' in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, ed. by Bollandists, Subsidia Hagiographica 6, 2 vols (Brussels, 1898-1901), II, 868-69 and *Novum Supplementum*, ed. by H. Fros, Subsidia Hagiographica 12 (Brussels, 1986), pp. 644-46).

² M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester: Life of St Æthelwold* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. cxii-cxliii (p. cxii).

³ The most comprehensive single work on the vast field of Anglo-Saxon liturgical materials is *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Richard Pfaff, *Old English Newsletter, Subsidia* vol. 23 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995). For discussion of the extant evidence, see H. Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English terminology', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. by M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 91-141 (p. 94); and David Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1992), especially chapter four, 'Liturgical Books from late Anglo-Saxon England: A Review of Some Historical Problems' (pp. 96-152).

⁴ Although such paraliturgical texts as calendars and private devotional books do not form part of the official liturgy, these texts are included in this discussion for two reasons. First, there seems to have been a parallel relationship in practice between formal liturgical texts (such as missals, sacramentaries, and graduals) and paraliturgical texts (such as calendars, legendaries, and prayer-books), especially in the eighth and ninth centuries. Furthermore, Helmut Gneuss includes such paraliturgical texts as calendars, legendaries, and private prayer-books in his seminal discussion of Anglo-Saxon liturgical books (see the previous note). And secondly, paraliturgical texts are included in this discussion because they serve as valuable witnesses to the practice of devotion.

⁵ *Acta Sanctorum quotquot orbe coluntur* . . . (hereafter AASS), *Septembris*, ed. by Ioannes Bollandus and others (Antwerp, 1643; reprinted Brussels: Greuse, 1865-70), VIII,

7.

⁶ AASS, *Septembris*, VIII, 7

⁷ AASS, *Septembris*, VIII, 7. See also E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), IV, 986-92 (June 6); and each volume for the twelfth day of the month.

⁸ 'Discovery of St Michael the Archangel at Monte Gargano', AASS, *Septembris*, VIII, 6. The term 'inventio' (finding, discovery) with regard to St Michael seems to refer to the 'discovery' of the mountaintop sanctuary on Monte Gargano as narrated in BHL 5948 (on which see note 1).

⁹ 'Il "Liber de Apparitione" e il culto di S. Michele sul Gargano nella documentazione liturgica altomedievale', *Vetera Christianorum*, 18 (1981), 423-42 (p. 440).

¹⁰ I would like to thank Prof. Gordon Whatley for bringing this calendar to my attention. Abbot Erchembert's calendar is a redaction of the so-called Metrical Calendar of York (on which see below), and is discussed by A. Wilmart in his article, 'Un témoin anglo-saxon du calendrier métrique d'York', *Revue Bénédictine*, 46 (1954), 41-69 (p. 69). This continental calendar is also discussed by M. Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey', *Revue Bénédictine*, 94 (1984), 326-69 (pp. 339-41).

¹¹ The designation 'Gneuss' refers to the number assigned to the manuscript by Helmut Gneuss, 'A preliminary list of manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 9 (1981), 1-60.

¹² For the Italian connections of the list, see G. Morin, 'La liturgie de Naples au temps de saint Grégoire d'après deux évangélistes du septième siècle', *Revue Bénédictine*, 11 (1891), 481-93, 529-37.

¹³ Tallaght commemorates the 'Revelatio Michaelis archangeli', most likely a reference to his apparition on Monte Gargano (Best and Lawlor, *Martyrology of Tallaght*, Henry Bradshaw Society (hereafter HBS) 68 [London: Harrison, 1929], p. 41). Similarly, Oengus marks 'Foillsigud mór Michéil don bith' [The great manifestation of Michael], with some manuscripts adding a reference to Monte Gargano (Stokes, *Martyrology of Oengus*, HBS 29 [London: Harrison, 1905], pp. 123, 130-31).

¹⁴ *Patrologiae cursus complete, Series Latina* (hereafter PL), ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: Garnier, 1844-65), vol. 55, cols. 22-156 (col. 105): 'Pridie Kalendas Octobres. Natale Basilicae Angeli in [Via] Salaria' [Eve of the Kalends of October. Feast of the Basilica of the Angel on the (Via) Salaria].

¹⁵ Vogel also advocates the use of the term *Veronensis* to refer to this particular collection. For a discussion of the chronology of the Verona manuscript, see Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction*, trans. by William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1986), pp. 38-46.

¹⁶ For a brief description of the Michael entry in the Veronensis (Sacramentary of Leo), see D. M. Hope, *The Leonine Sacramentary: A Reassessment of its Nature and Purpose* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 32.

¹⁷ 'Epitome libri de locis sanctorum martyrum,' *Bulletino di Archeologia*, 2 (1871), 146.

¹⁸ L. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis*, 2 vols. (Paris: Ernst Thorin, 1886), I, 262.

¹⁹ *Le Liber pontificalis*, I, 268, n. 36.

²⁰ 'Church of St Michael at the seventh milestone from the city'. PL 101, col. 1365.

²¹ AASS, *Novembris* II, 532: 'Romae via Salutaria [sic] miliario VI dedicatio sancti Michaelis' [At Rome (on the) via Salaria at the sixth milestone the dedication (of the church) of St Michael].

²² Both sacramentaries are printed in PL 74. The entry in the Gelasian sacramentary is at col. 1177. The notice in the Gregorian sacramentary reads, 'Dedicatio basilicae sancti Michahelis' [Dedication of the basilica of St Michael] (col. 134).

²³ 'Dedication of the church of the angel St Michael on Monte Gargano'. PL 110, col. 1171.

²⁴ PL 123, cols 368-69.

²⁵ PL 124, col. 518. See also Dom Jacques Dubois, *Le Martyrologe d'Usuard*, Subsidia Hagiographica 40 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1965), p. 311.

²⁶ 'But not much later [presumably not long after the Gargano apparition], at Rome the venerable pontiff Boniface dedicated a church constructed in the name of St Michael on the summit of the Circus crypt'. PL 123, col. 569.

²⁷ 'And at Rome, the dedication of a church to the archangel, which the Blessed Pope Boniface constructed in the circus which place was called "among the clouds"'. PL 123, col. 170.

²⁸ PL 101, col. 1565.

²⁹ Boniface III was pope for nine months in 607. Boniface V was pope from 619-625. For a summary of the various positions in this debate, see AASS, *Septembris* VIII, 70-71.

³⁰ The legend is summarized in many places, the most accessible of which is AASS, *Septembris* VIII, 70-71.

³¹ Western Catholicism long recognized the didactic value of images and was even known to exploit pagan art forms in its evangelizing efforts. Pope Gregory's letter to Abbot Mellitus, whom Gregory had sent to Anglo-Saxon England to aid Augustine in his evangelizing mission, is perhaps the most famous exposition of this pope's approach to the dilemma of pagan monuments, shrines, idols, and images (*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 106-09). In the letter, Gregory declares that the temples of the British should

not be destroyed, only the idols within them. For if the temples are well-built, he argues, they can be made to serve the worship of the true God. It does not seem improbable that such a process may have taken place with regard to Hadrian's mausoleum.

³² See above, note 15.

³³ Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester*, p. cxl.

³⁴ H. A. Wilson, *The Calendar of St Willibrord*, HBS 55 (London: Harrison, 1918).

³⁵ *Calendar of St Willibrord*, fol. 38b.

³⁶ It is interesting to note that in the ninth-century metrical Irish *Martyrology of Oengus*, the notice for September 29 in the principal manuscript also suggests a general festival in honour of the Archangel. Although a secondary manuscript mentions the dedication of a "basilicae Michaelis," the entry in the primary Oengus manuscript commemorates St Michael's battle with the dragon of Revelation 12:7-9 and his slaying of Antichrist (Stokes, *Martyrology of Oengus*, pp. 197, 212-13).

³⁷ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, pp. 570-71.

³⁸ H. Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques du Moyen Age. Etude sur la formation du martyrologe romain* (Paris: Gabalda, 1908), pp. 18-20.

³⁹ The entry reads, 'Dedicatio ecclesiae sancti Michaelis archangeli' (Dom Jacques Dubois and Genevieve Renaud, *Edition Pratique des Martyrologes de Bède, de l'Anonyme Lyonnais et de Florus* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1976), p. 33.

⁴⁰ Dubois and Renaud, *Edition Pratique*, p. 33.

⁴¹ G. N. Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London: Dent, 1953; rpr. 1984), p. 50. All other notices in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle marking this feast are from the eleventh and twelfth centuries: 1011, 1014, 1066, 1086, 1095, 1097, 1098, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1106, 1119, 1125, 1126, and 1129.

⁴² The terms 'metrical' or 'poetical' martyrology were first used by J. Hennig, 'Studies in the Literary Tradition of the "Martyrologium Poeticum"', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 56 C (1954), 197-226. In a collection of his essays, David Dumville continues the usage (see especially 'Liturgical Books from Late Anglo-Saxon England: A Review of Some Historical Problems', in *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1992), pp. 96-152 (p. 112)).

⁴³ The calendar has been edited by André Wilmart, 'Un témoin anglo-saxon du calendrier métrique d'York', *Revue Bénédictine*, 46 (1934), 41-69. It should be noted that the 'Martyrologium Poeticum' Hennig refers to in his article (see previous note) is in fact this same Metrical Calendar from York. Michael Lapidge has suggested that 'a date . . . in the third quarter of the eighth century would best suit the available evidence' ('A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey', *Revue Bénédictine*, 94 [1984], 326-69 [p. 331]).

⁴⁴ Wilmart, 'Un témoin anglo-saxon', p. 65.

⁴⁵ Günter Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, 2 vols., Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen, N.F. 88/1,2 (Munich, 1981).

⁴⁶ *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, II, 96: 'On the eighth day of this month is [the day] when Saint Michael's church was first found [i.e., discovered] on the mount Gargano, where the man was shot with his own arrow, with which he would shoot that bull that stood in the door of the cave.'

⁴⁷ 'In this time the church of the holy angel on Monte Gargano is discovered.' AASS, *Septembris VIII*, 6B.

⁴⁸ L. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis*, I, 255, n. 2.

⁴⁹ Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954).

⁵⁰ J. E. Cross, 'The Latinity of the Ninth-Century Old English Martyrologist', in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. by P. Szarmach (Binghamton, NY: SUNY Press, 1982), pp. 275-99.

⁵¹ J. E. Cross, 'On the library of the Old English martyrologist', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. by M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 227-49 (p. 243).

⁵² See J. E. Cross, 'An Unrecorded Tradition of St Michael in Old English Texts', *Notes & Queries*, n.s. 28, no. 1 (February, 1981), 11-13; and 'The Latinity of the Ninth-Century Old English Martyrologist' (see above, n. 50).

⁵³ Raymond J. S. Grant, *Three Homilies from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41* (Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1982).

⁵⁴ Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, II, 223-24: 'On the twenty-ninth day of this month is [the day] the consecration in the town of Tracla in the province of Eraclae. A host of enemies came to the town and surrounded it. The citizens through a three-days' fast steadfastly prayed to [God] for help and prayed that he reveal [His will] to them through Saint Michael. Then on the third day St Michael stood over the gate of the town and had a fiery sword in his hand. The enemies were gripped with terror, and they withdrew, and the citizens remained unhurt. And there was built [at that place] St Michael's church, and it was consecrated on the day when we honor the memory of St Michael.'

⁵⁵ *Old English Martyrology*, EETS OS 116 (London: Kegan Paul, 1900), p. xli, p. 236. Herzfeld refers to the version printed by B. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu Vitae Sanctorum*, 2nd ed., 2 vols (Paris, 1910), I, 219.

⁵⁶ Grant, *Three Homilies*, p. 63.

⁵⁷ Cross, 'An Unrecorded Tradition', p. 13.

⁵⁸ Herzfeld, *Old English Martyrology*, p. 236.

⁵⁹ *Old English Martyrology*, p. 236. The eleventh-century Ricemarch psalter and martyrology, which is one of the variant manuscripts of the Hieronymian martyrology consulted by the Bollandists, could represent an entry similar to the Old English Martyrologist's source (H. J. Lawlor, *The Psalter and Martyrology of Ricemarch*, HBS 47 (London: Harrison, 1914)). The entry for September 29 reads, 'In Tracia civitate Eraclae natale Eutici et Plauti et dedicatio basilicae beati archangeli Michaelis' [In Thracia the city of Eraclae the birth (into eternal life; i.e., the death) of Eutichus and Plautus and the dedication of the basilica of the holy archangel Michael] (*AASS, Novembris* II, 532). Less likely is Herzfeld's suggestion of the martyrology of Usuard (PL 124, cols 517-18).

⁶⁰ 'Dedication of the church of the angel St Michael in Monte Gargano in Thracia in the city of Eraclae the birth (i.e., the death) of Eutichus and Plautus.' PL 110, col. 1171.

⁶¹ See the edition by G. Waitz, in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum* (Hanover: Hahn, 1878), pp. 540-43 (p. 541 (§ 2)).

⁶² J. E. Cross, 'On the library of the Old English martyrologist', p. 229.

⁶³ The term 'massbook' is used here to refer to both sacramentaries and missals, since these two forms were not generically distinct in the Anglo-Saxon period.

⁶⁴ For a discussion of all extant massbooks from the Anglo-Saxon period, see Richard Pfaff, 'Massbooks', in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by R. Pfaff (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995), pp. 7-34 (p. 9).

⁶⁵ The manuscript has been edited by F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1883).

⁶⁶ *Leofric Missal*, pp. xl-xliii. Derek Turner and Christopher Hohler, however, suggest that Leofric A was written in southwestern England by a continental scribe in the early tenth century (Turner, *The Missal of New Minster* (London, 1962), pp. vi-vii; and Hohler, 'Some service-books of the later Saxon Church', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. by D. Parsons (Chichester, 1975), pp. 69-70, pp. 78-80).

⁶⁷ *Leofric Missal*, p. 162. 'Deus qui miro ordine angelorum ministeria hominumque dispensas, concede propitius ut quibus tibi ministrantibus in caelo semper assistunt, ab his in terra nostra uita muniatur. Per dominum.' [Lord, who ordains the services of angels and of men in a wonderful order, mercifully grant that those angels who serve you in Heaven may be our guardians on earth.]

⁶⁸ *Leofric Missal*, p. 162. 'Hostias tibi, domine, laudis offerimus, suppliciter deprecantes, ut easdem angelico pro nobis interueniente suffragio et placatus accipias, et ad salutem nostram prouenire concedas. Per.' [We beg you, Lord, to accept our sacrifice of praise and grant that it may bring us nearer to salvation, through the prayers of the angels who plead for us.]

⁶⁹ *Leofric Missal*, p. 162. 'V<ere> D<ignum> æterne deus. Sancti michahelis archangeli merita predicantes. Quamuis enim nobis sit omnis angelica ueneranda sublimitas, quæ in maiestatis tuæ consistit conspectu, illa tamen est propensius honoranda, quæ in eius ordinis dignitate cælestis militiæ meruit principatum. Per christum.' The opening of this prayer is an abbreviation of the prefatory 'Vere Dignum' prayer, which is followed by a prayer to St Michael. [O God Truly Worthy. Those foretelling the merits of the holy archangel Michael. Even though the entire angelic sublimity is revered by us, which (sublimity) remains in the sight of your majesty, that one is more properly honoured who in his worthiness merited the leadership of the heavenly forces.]

⁷⁰ *Leofric Missal*, p. xxvii.

⁷¹ For a summary of this view, see Pfaff, 'Massbooks', p. 13 (full reference at n. 64).

⁷² Thomas Bestul, 'Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. by P. Szarmach and V. D. Oggins, *Studies in Medieval Culture* 20 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), pp. 103-26 (pp. 104-11). See also Kathleen Hughes, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence in Early English Private Prayer', *Studia Celtica*, 5 (1970), 48-61.

⁷³ Although the manuscript is unpublished, it is discussed in relation to the Antiphonary of Bangor by F. E. Warren, *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, HBS 10 (London: Harrison, 1895), pp. 83-97. The manuscript is among those published in microfiche facsimile in volume 1 (ASM 1.9) of the *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile* series (hereafter ASMMF), ed. by Phillip Pulsiano, A. N. Doane, and R. E. Buckalew (Binghamton, New York: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1994).

⁷⁴ 'Entreat holy and glorious Michael / Raphael and Uriel and Gabriel and Raguel / Heremiel and Azael that they might protect (receive) my soul . . .' Warren discusses this list in his Appendix (p. 92). The transcription above is taken from the microfiche facsimile of the manuscript (ASM 1.9).

⁷⁵ Irish lists of archangels occur in the following places: T. P. O'Nowlan, 'A Prayer to the Archangels for each Day of the Week', *Ériu*, 2 (1905), 92-94; Thomas P. O'Nolan, 'Imchlód Aingel', in *Miscellany Presented to Kuno Meyer*, ed. by O. Bergin and C. Marstrander (Halle, 1912), pp. 253-7 (p. 255); R. E. McNally, *Der irische Liber de numeris* (Munich, 1957), p. 127; W. Stokes, *The Saltair Na Rann* (Oxford, 1883), p. 12; G. Dottin, 'Une rédaction moderne du Teanga Bithnua', *Revue Celtique*, 28 (1907), 277-307 (p. 299); and in an unpublished Irish prose dialogue, *Dúan in choicat ceist*, which Charles Wright and Frederick Biggs are preparing for publication (I would like to thank Prof. Wright for sharing with me a draft of the portion of the dialogue which includes the list of archangels).

⁷⁶ Warren, *Antiphonary of Bangor*, p. 92. I Enoch is translated in H. F. D. Sparks, *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 184-319. The Fourth

Book of Ezra is translated in James H. Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1983), I, 525-559.

⁷⁷ The text is included in the Appendix of A. B. Kuypers' edition of the Book of Cerne, *The Prayer Book of the Aeduald the Bishop commonly called the Book of Cerne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), pp. 200-25. The manuscript of the Royal Prayer-Book is available in microfiche facsimile in volume 1 of the ASMMF series (ASM 1.8).

⁷⁸ *Book of Cerne*, p. 208. On this prayer, see Hughes, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence', pp. 56-57 (see above, note 72).

⁷⁹ *Book of Cerne*, pp. 80-82.

⁸⁰ Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 97.

⁸¹ The last line of folio 17v, which reads, "d<omi>ni n<ost>ri i<e>hsu xp<is>ti qui uiuit et regnat in secula seculorum," supports this hypothesis. Furthermore, the editors of the ASMMF series list this passage as a separate prayer.

⁸² Walter de Gray Birch, *An Ancient Manuscript of the Eighth or Ninth Century Formerly Belonging to St Mary's Abbey or Nunnaminster, Winchester*, Hampshire Record Society (London and Winchester, 1889). The manuscript is available in microfiche facsimile in volume 1 of the ASMMF series (ASM 1.6).

⁸³ This transcription is taken from the microfiche facsimile (ASM 1.6). Letters between square brackets [] indicate material lost in the gutter and pointed brackets < > indicate expansions. 'Saint Michael, archangel who has come to help God's people, assist me before the Highest Judge so that He grants me remission for all my transgressions, by the great mercy of your compassion. Hear me St Michael as I invoke you, assist me adoring your majesty, intercede for me bewailing and make me clean from all sins. Moreover (I) beseech and entreat very earnestly, servant of the divinity, so that in the last day kindly take my soul in your most holy breast and conduct it to that refreshing peace and quiet where all the souls of the saints await future judgement and glorious resurrection with joy and indescribable joy, through Him who lives and reigns forever and ever. Amen.'

⁸⁴ *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1932, rpr. 1971), pp. 210-13.

⁸⁵ For a discussion of these manuscripts, see below. In addition to the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, Wilmart lists three continental manuscripts (*Auteurs spirituels*, p. 211, n. 1).

⁸⁶ The *Lorica* of Laidcenn is discussed in the following section with the prayers from the Book of Cerne.

⁸⁷ A. B. Kuypers, *The Prayer Book of Aeduald the Bishop commonly called the Book of Cerne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902). An important new study of

this book has appeared by Michelle P. Brown, *The Book of Cerne: Prayer, Patronage, and Power in Ninth-Century England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), see especially her description and list of the contents of the manuscript, pp. 18-20.

⁸⁸ David Dumville, however, has argued that the manuscript should be dated to the eighth-century episcopate of Æthilwald of Lindisfarne, who held that see from 721/24 to 740 ('Liturgical Drama and Panegyric Responsory from the Eighth Century? A Re-Examination of the Origin and Contents of the Ninth-Century Section of the Book of Cerne', *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 23 (1972), 374-406).

⁸⁹ Michael Herren, 'The Authorship, Date of Composition and Provenance of the so-called *Lorica Gildæ*', *Ériu*, 24 (1973), 35-51 (especially p. 38).

⁹⁰ Kuypers, *The Prayer Book of Aedeluuld*, p. 85.

⁹¹ *Lacnunga* has been edited and translated by J. H. G. Grattan and Charles Singer in *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952). The *Lorica* appears on pages 131-47. The main part of the manuscript, which includes the *Lorica* (fols 152r-157r), has been dated by Ker to s. x/xi. A microfiche facsimile of the *Lacnunga* manuscript is available in volume 1 of the ASMMF series (ASM 1.5). In his description of the manuscript, A. N. Doane suggests that Ker's dating of the manuscript ought to be revised to the 'first decade of the 11c.' (p. 26).

⁹² Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, p. 133, n. 7.

⁹³ W. M. Lindsay, *Etymologiarum sive Originum*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

1911), I, 275-76: 'Michael is interpreted, who is like God?' An examination of Isidore's interpretation of the other names mentioned in the *Lorica* corroborates the suggestion. According to Isidore, cherubim are interpreted as 'plenitudo scientiae' [fullness of knowledge]; seraphim as 'ardentes vel incedentes' [burning or flaming]; and Gabriel as 'fortitudo Dei' [strength of God].

⁹⁴ PL 101, cols 465-508 (col. 476).

⁹⁵ 'Gabriel is my lorica. / Michael is my belt. / Raphael is my shield. / Uriel is my protector. / Rumiel is my defender. / Phanniel is my health.' Kuypers, *The Prayer Book of Aedeluuld*, p. 153. A similar prayer is copied into an Irish manuscript of the fifteenth to sixteenth century (Trinity College MS H.3.17[1336]): 'Gabrial esto mihi lorica capitis mei. Micael esto mihi galia speci mei. Palathel esto mihi sanitas. Irafín esto mihi claritas. Serafín esto mihi comitatus. I[n] nomine dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti in saecula saeculorum. amen.' [Gabriel is my breastplate (and) my hood. Michael is my helmet (and) my hope. Palathiel is my health. Irafín is my light. Seraphim is my congregation. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.] (R. I. Best, 'Some Irish Charms', *Ériu*, 16 (1952), 27-31 (pp. 31-32).

Feasts of Saint Michael the Archangel

⁹⁶ See above, note 75.

⁹⁷ PL 94, cols 561-62.

⁹⁸ Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary*, p. 98.

⁹⁹ I would like to thank my friends and colleagues Thomas N. Hall of the University of Illinois at Chicago, John C. Arnold of the University of Rochester, and Thomas Tipton of the College of DuPage for reviewing and commenting on early drafts of this essay.