

Sonderdruck aus

FRÜHMITTELALTERLICHE STUDIEN

Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung
der Universität Münster

Herausgegeben von

WOLFRAM DREWS und BRUNO QUAST

in Zusammenarbeit mit

Gerd Althoff, Arnold Angenendt, Michael Grünbart, Andrew James Johnston,
Hagen Keller, Martin Kintzinger, Christel Meier, Peter Oestmann,
Nikolaus Staubach und Eva Stauch

51. Band

2017

DE GRUYTER

ELS ROSE

The Ritual of the Names

A Practice of Intercession in Early Medieval Gaul

Berend Rose (1925–2016)
*Et recitata nomina caelesti cyrographo
in libro vitae iubeas adscribi*

1. The Ritual, S. 3. – 2. [...] *tam uiuentium quam defunctorum* [...], S. 4. – 3. The Intercession, S. 11. – 4. Conclusion, S. 17.

The recitation of the names of those belonging to the Eucharistic community, both living and deceased members, is a central element of Mass in the Christian liturgy. The ritual had a singular position in the liturgy of Mass as it was celebrated in pre-Carolingian Gaul compared to contemporary rites, and as such has received specific attention in studies concerning this particular liturgical tradition¹. Recent discussions of the Christian commemoration of and intercession practices with regard to the dead have examined the practice of reciting names in the Mass of early medieval Gaul, studying the ritual primarily from the perspective of the dead². The ritual of the names in the context of Mass fits in a larger pattern of intercessory practices in medieval Christian-

¹ Most recently PHILIPPE BERNARD, *Transitions liturgiques en Gaule carolingienne. Une traduction commentée des deux « lettres » faussement attribuées à l'évêque Germain de Paris*, Paris 2008, pp. 226–248. See for a comparative approach ROBERT F. TAFT, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, vol. 4: *The Diptychs* (Orientalia christiana analecta 238) Rome 1991. I presented a first draft of this article to the Medieval Seminar of the Historical School, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, when I was a member of this school in the autumn term of 2015–16. I am grateful to the members of this seminar for their invaluable comments and support, to Patrick Geary as the chair, and to Courtney Ramirez-Weaver, Giles Constable, Albrecht Diem, Eric Goldberg, Michael Kulikowski, Jason Moralee, Eric the Herodotus Fund for its financial support.

² ARNOLD ANGENENDT, *Theologie und Liturgie der mittelalterlichen Toten-Memoria*, in: KARL SCHMID – JOACHIM WOLLASCH (eds.), *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48) Munich 1984, pp. 79–199, esp. pp. 180–184; GILES CONSTABLE, *The Commemoration of the Dead in the Early Middle Ages*, in: JULIA SMITH (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of Donald Bullough* (Medieval Mediterranean 28) Leiden – Boston 2000, pp. 169–195.

ity and is studied from this point of view.³ In the latter context, the topic has appeared repeatedly in the issues of 'Frühmittelalterliche Studien', either implicitly⁴ or with more emphasis.⁵ Most of the studies referred to take their point of departure in the practices of commemoration in and between monastic communities, such as the confraternity books that appeared for the first time in the late eighth and ninth centuries. In this context, scholars tend to treat the early Christian and early medieval practice of the recitation of names in the context of the Mass of all faithful as a "Vorstufe", in Otto Oexle's words, a preliminary stage of the medieval commemoration practices that, according to Oexle, took their definitive form in the Carolingian period.⁶

The present contribution returns to the recitation of the names in the liturgy of early medieval Gaul in an effort, first, to present the particular character of this ritual practice in its own right and, second, to highlight the focus in this prayer tradition on the intrinsic unity of the Eucharistic community, including both the living and the dead. To this end, the prayers that form the textual part of the ritual of the names in the early medieval 'Gallican' liturgy⁷ are central. I chose my texts from one of the central sources of the liturgy of Mass as celebrated in Merovingian Gaul: the 'Missale Gothicum' (Gothic Missal). The codex, composed in the final decades of the seventh century, contains the prayers of Mass to be recited by the celebrant (priest or bishop) and is typified as a sacramentary. The codex, linked paleographically to Luxeuil or a related scriptorium⁸, is usually considered to have been used in the cathedral of Autun.⁹ It contains 69 complete Mass orders, which all include a collect *post nomina*. The number of relevant texts makes the book one of the most important sources for our study. In addition, the text of the Gothic Missal is now available in a complete English translation, which the present article is based on.¹⁰

³ Seminal were OTTO GERHARD OEXLE, *Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung im früheren Mittelalter*, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10, 1976, pp. 70–95; Id., *Die Gegenwart der Toten*, in: HERMAN BRAET – WERNER VERBEKE (eds.), *Death in the Middle Ages (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia* 1, 9) Leuven 1983, pp. 19–77; SCHMID – WOLLASCH (eds.), *Memoria* (as note 2); PETER ERHART, *Bücher des Lebens – lebendige Bücher*, St. Gallen 2010.

⁴ KARL SCHMID – JOACHIM WOLLASCH, *Die Gemeinschaft der Lebenden und Verstorbenen in Zeugnissen des Mittelalters*, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1, 1967, pp. 365–405, at pp. 367–369.

⁵ OEXLE, *Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung* (as note 3) pp. 70–74.

⁶ Thus *ibid.* pp. 70–73. See the remarks on the Gallican collects after the names in ANGENENDT, *Theologie und Liturgie* (as note 2) pp. 180–184.

⁷ On terminology, see YITZHAK HEN, *The Church in Sixth-Century Gaul*, in: ALEXANDER MURRAY (ed.), *A Companion to Gregory of Tours (Brill's Companions to the Christian tradition* 63) Leiden 2016, pp. 232–255, at p. 251; Els ROSE, *Gallican Liturgy: Characteristics, Development*, in: PAUL J. J. VAN GEEST – BERT JAN LIETART PEERBOLTE – DAVID HUNTER (eds.), *Brill Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, Leiden, forthcoming.

⁸ Els ROSE (ed.), *Missale Gothicum e codice Vaticano Regiensis latino 317 editum* (CCSL 159D) Turnhout 2005, pp. 11–16.

⁹ For an overview of the literature, including different opinions, see *ibid.* pp. 16–17.

¹⁰ Els ROSE, *The Gothic Missal. Introduction, Translation and Notes* (Corpus Christianorum in Translation 27) Turnhout 2017.

In section 1, a brief introduction of the ritual of the names is given followed in sections 2 and 3 by an analysis of the themes brought up by the collects *post nomina*, prayers that accompanied the recitation of the names and reflect the ritual's meaning.

1. THE RITUAL

Before we turn to the prayers *post nomina*, a brief sketch of the ritual context in which these prayers were recited is at place.¹¹ The ritual of the names is a distinctive character of the celebration of Mass in early medieval Gaul. Until the end of the eighth century, it was customary to recite the names in the context of the offertory procession, linking the participants in the Eucharistic celebration to the gifts they themselves had brought in.¹² homemade bread and, for those who could afford such oblations, wine.¹³ The gifts of the faithful were carried to the altar by the deacon¹⁴ during the solemn offertory procession, to be consecrated by the priest. Towards the end of the eighth century, the Carolingian reforms of the liturgy abandoned the older tradition of reciting the names during the offertory by choosing the custom they considered to be 'Roman', moving the names to the Eucharistic prayer. In a number of Carolingian prescriptive sources¹⁵, we find the repeated call to follow the summons expressed by Innocent I (401–417) not to concentrate on the names in the context of the offertory ritual, but, rather, to focus on the gifts and the prayer of thanksgiving in the context of the Eucharistic prayer itself.¹⁶

¹¹ Attempts at reconstructing the Gallican Mass ordo are found in studies of more and less recent date. Most recent are PHILIPPE BERNARD, *Du chant romain au chant grégorien. IV^e–XIII^e siècle* (Patrimoines) Paris 1996, pp. 646–650 and, especially with regard to the Gothic Missal, ROSE (transl.), *Gothic Missal* (as note 10) pp. 44–65.

¹² EDMUND BISHOP, Appendix. Observations on the Liturgy of Narsai, in: RICHARD H. CONNOLLY (ed.), *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Texts and Studies [Cambridge, England] 8, 1) Cambridge 1909, repr. Cambridge 1967, pp. 85–163, at p. 101; ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (Royal Historical Society Studies in History 2) London 1977, p. 144; EDWARD FOLEY, *The Song of the Assembly*, in: LIZETTE LARSON-MILLER (ed.), *Medieval Liturgy. A Book of Essays* (Garland Medieval Casebooks 18 / Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 1884) New York – London 1997, pp. 203–234, at p. 210; ROSE (transl.), *Gothic Missal* (as note 10) pp. 71–74.

¹³ Gregory of Tours gives evidence of this, cf. Id., *Liber in Gloria confessorum* 64, in: Gregorii Turonensis Opera, part 2: *Miracula et opera minora*, ed. WILHELM ARNDT – BRUNO KRUSCH (MGH SS rer. Merov. 1, 2) p. 336; see also ROSE (transl.), *Gothic Missal* (as note 10) pp. 73–74.

¹⁴ MATTHIEU SMYTH, *La liturgie oubliée. La prière eucharistique en Gaule antique et dans l'Occident non-romain*, Paris 2003, pp. 348–349.

¹⁵ *Admonitio generalis* (789), c. 54, in: *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen*, ed. HUBERT MORDEK et al. (MGH Fontes iuris germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi 16) Wiesbaden 2013, p. 206; Synod of Frankfurt (794), c. 51, ed. ALBERT WERMINGHOFF (MGH Concilia aevi Karolini 1) p. 171.

¹⁶ Innocent I, *Epistula ad Decentium*, in: *La lettre du pape Innocent I^{er} à Décentius de Gubbio* (19 mars 416). Texte critique, traduction et commentaire, ed. ROBERT CABRÉ (Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique. Bibliothèque 58) Leuven 1973, pp. 44–52.

While the liturgy of Rome presumably included the recitation of names in the Eucharistic prayer proper at least from the early fifth century onwards, in this respect the liturgy of late antique and early medieval Gaul, just as the liturgy of early medieval Spain, resembled a variety of Eastern rites in its choice to keep together the oblations, those who brought them in, and those whom they were offered for, to paraphrase Robert Taft¹⁷. A similar threefold focus is recognisable in the prayers that accompany the ritual, referred to as *collectio post nomina* in the sacramentaries of early medieval Gaul. The prayers, referring to the names of the demised brothers and sisters on the one hand and, on the other, those of the faithful who are still part of the community on earth, link the lives of the blessed in the hereafter and the dwelling of the living on earth with an indelible bond that is represented by the oblations. At the same time, the prayers include both the living and the dead as the object of intercession, formulating the benefits invoked for both categories.

2. [...] TAM UIUENCIUM QUAM DEFUNCTORUM [...]

The collects after the names in the Gothic Missal reflect the close relation between the living and the dead that is essential in our understanding of the ritual of the names. Recent studies of the material have overlooked this aspect. Thus, Philippe Bernard in his commentary on the 'Expositio missae' – traditionally but falsely attributed to Pseudo-Germain¹⁸ – depicts the collects after the names in the Gothic Missal as "monothématiques", focusing on either the dead or the living, but not on both groups together¹⁹. This reflects, according to Bernard, a withering ("dépérissement") of the ritual of the names in the late Merovingian context. A movement towards a binary system ("système binaire") is also testified, according to Bernard, by the 'stereotyped' wording of the collects in the Gothic Missal, in Bernard's view greatly dependent on the standard incipit *auditis nominibus offerentium*: "now that we have heard the names of those who offer [...]"²⁰.

A closer analysis of the collects after the names in the Gothic Missal gives an impression of the content and vitality of the ritual of the names which is almost the exact opposite of the picture Bernard sketches. First of all, the formulaic incipit Bernard refers to is found in 13 of the 69 prayers, less than 20% – but such percentages can be interpreted differently and are therefore less interesting. What is more informative is the way living and dead are mentioned explicitly together in a number of collects that

¹⁷ TAFT, The Diptychs (as note 1) p. 24.

¹⁸ On this issue of pseudepigraphy that has led many scholars to the conviction that the ancient (sixth-century) Gallican rite could be known through study of this document, see PHILIPPE BERNARD (ed.), *Epistolae de ordine sacrae oblationis et de diversis charismatibus ecclesiae* / Germano Parisiensi episcopo adscriptae (CC Cont. Med. 187) Turnhout 2007, pp. 49–60 and 156–167; *Id.*, *Transitions* (as note 1) pp. 11–12 and 37–38.

¹⁹ BERNARD, *Transitions* (as note 1) p. 237.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

start with the formulaic incipit, as is illustrated by the collect after the names in the Mass for the Wednesday in Easter Week (294). The collect includes the living and the dead when it prays that the names recited be inscribed in the eternal Book:

294 POST NOMINA. <i>Auditis nominibus offerentium, debita cum ueneratione beatissimorum apostolorum et martyrum omniumque sanctorum commemoratione decursa et offerentium et pansancium commemoramus nomina, ut aeternis indita paginis sanctorum coetibus adgregentur</i> ²¹ .	294 AFTER THE NAMES. Now that the names of those who offer have been heard, and the commemoration of the most blessed apostles and martyrs and all the saints has been completed with due reverence, let us commemorate the names of those who offer and those who have departed, so that included in the eternal Book, they may be added to the multitude of saints ²² .
--	--

Other collects with the same formulaic beginning clearly distinguish the living and the dead in the intercessory part related to those involved in the offertory, such as the collect in the second Sunday Mass (490) that prays for the offerings (*holocausta*) to be beneficial for both categories in distinctive ways:

490 POST NOMINA. <i>Auditis nominibus recensitis, dilectissimi fratres, deum pietatis et misericordiae dipraecimor, ut haec quae oblata sunt, benignus adsumat. Nullum unquam ex his, pro quibus holocausta franguntur, numeris sui exterum esse paciat, tam uiuentium quam defunctorum uel ad merita uel ad peccata respiciens alios iubet ad gratiam, alios ad ueniam pertinere</i> ²³ .	490 AFTER THE NAMES. Now that we have heard the enumeration of the names, most beloved brothers, let us pray to the God of love and mercy, that he graciously receives what has been offered, [and that] he does not allow that one of those for whom the offerings are broken is ever excluded from his gift, and that as he considers the merits as well as the sins of the living and the dead, he commands that the last pertain to grace, the first to forgiveness ²⁴ .
---	---

These examples, representative of the material in the Gothic Missal, contradict Bernard's suggestion that the collects after the names "are meant to complete a ritual of the names *more romano*"²⁵ [i. e., focusing on either living or dead].

Even if there are collects that concentrate on the fate of the dead or single out the living, it is difficult to find a collect that suggests that the preceding recitation of names included only one category. Thus, the collect after the names in the Christmas Vigil (1) mentions only the deceased when it prays for the inscription in the heavenly

²¹ ROSE (ed.), *Missale Gothicum* (as note 8) pp. 462–463. The Latin collects quoted from the Gothic Missal are taken from this edition and numbered accordingly. The texts are presented here without comments on deviant orthography or morphology apart from a few exceptions. For remarks on these textual aspects as well as for Scriptural references, the reader be referred to the apparatus in the edition.

²² ROSE (transl.), *Gothic Missal* (as note 10) p. 232.

²³ ROSE (ed.), *Missale Gothicum* (as note 8) p. 531.

²⁴ ROSE (transl.), *Gothic Missal* (as note 10) pp. 295–296.

²⁵ BERNARD, *Transitions* (as note 1) p. 237.

Book, but this does not allow for the conclusion that the names of the living were not included in the recitation:

1 COLLECTIO POST NOMINA. Grata tibi sit domine, quae omnis, hodiernae festivitatis oblatio, ut tua gratia largiente per haec sacrosancta commercia in illius inu-eniamur forma in quo tecum est nostra substantia. Spiritibus quoque carorum nostrorum tribus, ut mortalibus segregati coetibus litteris mereantur conscribi caelestibus ²⁶ .	1 COLLECT AFTER THE NAMES. Let the offer-ing of this feast day be pleasing to you, O Lord, so we ask, that by the favour of your grace through this holy exchange of gifts, we may be found in the likeness of him in whom our being is with you. Grant also to the souls of our beloved that they, separated from the assembly of mortals, may be considered worthy to be inscribed in the heavenly record ²⁷ .
--	---

On the other hand, examples of the opposite are found, suggesting that the names of both the living and the dead are recited in the ritual that precedes the *post nomina*. To these belong the collect in the Mass for the Wednesday in Easter week (294: *et offeren-tum et pausancium commemoremus nomina*) quoted above, and the collect after the names in the Mass for Andrew (130). In the latter prayer, the final sentence indicates that the names of those who offer and of those who have passed away are enumerated in the ritual:

130 COLLECTIO POST NOMINA. Omnipotentem deum ac dominum nostrum, fratres karissimi, deprecemur ut hodierna sollempnia, quae pro natali beatissimi apostoli et martyris sui Andrae suscepimus, sibi ipse commendat ac sicut illi hodie ob praedicationem uerbi sui captum inter uincula carceris, flagella et crucis necesse adiuit, et de triumpho nobili coronam dedit, ita interuentu eius nobis in se creden-tibus, qui praesuris huius mundi et insidiis aduersarii fat-igamur, in omnibus temptationibus adesse ac misericordiam largire dignetur. Et offerentium ac pausantium, quae recitata sunt nomina, apostoli sui intercessionem sanctificet ²⁸ .	130 COLLECT AFTER THE NAMES. Let us pray to the almighty God and our Lord, most beloved brothers, that he commends to himself the solemn ceremony of this day, which we have undertaken for the feast of his most blessed apostle and martyr Andrew. And that, as he has today protected Andrew, taken prisoner for preaching his Word, in the bonds of the dungeon and during scourging and crucifixion, and has given him the crown because of his noble martyrdom, he deigns through Andrew's intervention also in all temptations to protect us who believe in him, who are wearied by the oppressions of this world and the snares of the adversary, and to give bountifully of his mercy. And that through the intercession of his apostle he sanctifies the names that have been recited of those who offer and of those who have passed away ²⁹ .
--	--

²⁶ ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) p. 351.
²⁷ ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 115.
²⁸ ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) pp. 402–403.
²⁹ ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 172.

Apart from references to the enumeration of names, references to the element of of-fertory intercession in the collects give us information on the question which members of the Eucharistic community, the living or the dead or both, are included in the words with which the oblations are dedicated to God. Some prayers single out the living in the commendation of the oblation and the related intercessory prayer for their salutary *effectus*. The collects after the names in two Masses for Lent (160, 177) illustrate this, of which 160 follows here as an example:

160 COLLECTIO POST NOMINA. Offerentium nominibus recensitis, qui deuota altaribus munera humili-tatis ieiunio mentis et corporis a domino depraecantur, pro merito deuotae sanctificationis obtineant ³⁰ .	160 COLLECT AFTER THE NAMES. Now that the names of those who offer have been enumer-ated, let those who, through fasting of soul and body, pray to the Lord for the gifts of humility dedicated to the altar, obtain [them] by reason of the merit of devoted sanctification ³¹ .
---	--

However, the majority of collects after the names include both the living and the dead in the dedication of the oblations to God's benevolence and in the intercession. Three examples follow here to illustrate this dual focus. First, in the collect after the names in the Epiphany vigil (78), the benefit of the oblations and their offering is expressed as a "medicine for the living and consolation for the deceased":

78 COLLECTIO POST NOMINA. Praesta, omnipotens deus, per ineffabilem misericordiae tuae caritatem ut cuius uirtus atque maiestas in mirabilium tuorum diuersitate claruit, in nostrarum quoque mentium purificatione clariscat. Praesentem itaque oblationem ita inlabere, ut medillam uiuentibus, defunctis refrigerium praestet. Et quorum texuit recitatio praemisissa sortem inter electos inbeas adgregare ³² .	78 COLLECT AFTER THE NAMES. Grant, almighty God, through the ineffable love of your mercy, that he whose power and majesty have shone through the diversity of your miracles, will also begin to shine in the purification of our hearts. Come down therefore into the offering present here, such that it supplies a medicine to the living and consolation to the deceased. And let the destiny of those whom the preceding reading has interwo-ven be included among the elect ³³ .
--	---

The collect after the names in the paschal vigil (268) explicates the aim of the offertory as bringing in the gifts on behalf of those who bring the offer, their beloved and their deceased beloved, the latter category linked to the commemoration of the martyrs:

³⁰ ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) p. 414.
³¹ ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 185.
³² ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) p. 381.
³³ ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 145.

268 POST NOMINA. <i>Oremus pro his, qui offerunt munera domino deo nostro sacrosancta spiritalia pro se et pro caris suis et pro spiritibus carorum suorum in commemoratione sanctorum martyrum, ut dominus deus noster praestes illorum dementer exaudire dignetur</i> ³⁴ .	268 AFTER THE NAMES. Let us pray for those who offer the most holy spiritual gifts to the Lord our God, for themselves and for their beloved, and for the souls of their beloved in commemoration of the holy martyrs, that the Lord our God deigns to mercifully hear their prayers ³⁵ .
---	--

Finally, the collect accompanying the recitation of the names in the Mass for the Thursday in Easter Week (299) proclaims that the Eucharistic offerings are offered both for those who are present at the celebration and on behalf of the deceased:

299 POST NOMINA. <i>Auditis nominibus offerentium aeternitatis dominum dipraecimor ut in nobis vel timor eius vel cordis puritas vel caritas, quae casum non habet, immobilis perseveret, quia haec est salutaris oblatio, haec vera, haec pinguis hostia, ista sunt pura libamina, quae et pro nobis et pro requie defunctorum contritis et humiliatis cordibus offeruntur</i> ³⁶ .	299 AFTER THE NAMES. Now that the names of those who offer have been heard, let us pray to the Lord of eternity, that in us the fear of him, purity of heart and love that has no end may remain steadfast. For this is the salutary offering, this is the true, this is the pleasing sacrifice, these are the pure drink offerings, offered for us and for the peace of the dead with broken and contrite hearts ³⁷ .
---	---

The collects after the names in the Gothic Missal testify to a close relation between living and dead members of the Eucharistic assembly. Related to this is the role of the “very special dead”³⁸, the saints, which is expressed in many collects after the names, particularly but not exclusively those serving in saints’ Masses – the collect in the paschal vigil illustrates the latter. Four examples from the Gothic Missal follow here to show the intervention of the saints in connecting the world of the living to that of the dead in the context of the ritual of the names. The collect after the names in the sixth Sunday Mass (534) brings in ‘the saints’ in a general approach:

34 ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) pp.451–452.
35 ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 222.
36 ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) p. 464.
37 ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 233.
38 PETER BROWN, The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity (The Haskell Lectures on the History of Religions. NS 2) Chicago 1981, pp.69–85.

534 POST NOMINA. <i>Offerentium nominibus reensitis, fratres karissimi, dominum dipraecimur ut eorum oblatione inter sanctorum dona suscipias, quorum a nobis facienda commemoratio est, ut et nostri memores esse dignemur. Petamus et pro his, qui nos in dominica pace praecesserunt, ut tartario horrore segregatus in sinu Abrahae conlocatus, resuscitare omnipotens dignetur in prima sua resurrectione, quam facturus es</i> ³⁹ .	534 AFTER THE NAMES. Now that the names of those who offer have been enumerated, let us pray to the Lord, most beloved brothers, that he accepts their offering among the gifts of the saints, whose commemoration must be held by us, so that they deign to be mindful also of us. Let us also pray for those who have gone before us in the peace of the Lord, that the Almighty deigns to raise them from the dead, separated from the horror of hell [and] placed in the bosom of Abraham, to their first resurrection, which he will bring about ⁴⁰ .
--	---

The prayer presents the reciprocal way saints in heaven and the faithful on earth are mindful of one another, in this case in order to make the offerings of the celebrating community acceptable to God.

In the second example, the collect in the Mass for the nativity of John the Baptist (370), the help of the saint is invoked more specifically with regard to those involved in the Eucharistic offering:

370 POST NOMINA. <i>Omnipotens sempiterna deus, qui hunc diem honorabilem nobis in beati Iohannis baptistae natalitate fecisti insignem, quascumque ut tuus praecursor, qui inter natos mulierum omnibus maior non surrexit, nostram fragilitatem tuae pietate commendet, et caris nostris, quorum sunt nomina recitata, ita refrigerium pietatis impetret, ut ibi recipiantur vel ultimi, ubi summus praemanet in regno caelorum baptista</i> ⁴¹ .	370 AFTER THE NAMES. Almighty and everlasting God, who through the birth of blessed John the Baptist made this venerable day eminent for us, we ask you that your Forerunner, who has arisen among the children of women as the greatest of all, entrusts our weakness to your love, and that he procures such consolation of love for our beloved whose names have been recited, that they may be received there, even if as the last, where the Baptist abides as highest: in the kingdom of the heavens ⁴² .
--	--

The intercession of the saint is prayed for, such that “the beloved” (*caris nostris*) whose names have been recited, may arrive in the heavenly kingdom where John awaits them⁴³.

Thirdly, the collect after the names in the second general Mass for one martyr (439) invokes the intercession of the martyr specifically to obtain the inscription of the names of the deceased (*nostrorum carorum*) in the heavenly Book:

39 ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) p. 542.
40 ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 304.
41 ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) p. 492.
42 ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 260.
43 Given the distinction between “the beloved” and “the souls of the beloved” in collect 268, it cannot be stated with certainty that the *caris nostris* in collect 370 are the “beloved dead”, although the content of the intercession in this prayer seems to suggest this. See also collect 365 discussed below.

439 <i>COLLECTIO POST NOMINA. Interveniāt pro nobis, domine, petimus, sanctus tuus martyr ille, qui sanguinem suum pro tuo nomine gloriosum⁴⁴ fudit, et ipso interveniente nomina, quae recitata sunt, nostrorum carorum in caelesti pagina tubeas intinere⁴⁵.</i>	439 COLLECT AFTER THE NAMES. May your holy martyr N intercede for us, so we ask, O Lord, who shed his blood for your glorious name, and may you command that through his intercession the names of our beloved that have been recited are announced in the heavenly Book ⁴⁶ .
--	--

The two previous examples concentrate on the deceased. The next example, the collect in the Mass for the martyrs Ferreolus and Ferruccio (365), distinguishes between the living (*fratrum*) and the beloved dead (*carorumque nostrorum*) for whom the help of the saint is requested:

365 <i>POST NOMINA. Recensitis nominibus fratrum carorumque nostrorum oremus dominicam misericordiam ut in medio Hierusalem in congregatione sanctorum haec nomina sibi faciat ab angelo sanctificationis in beatitudinem aeterni gaudii recensiri sacrificiumque hoc nostrum sicut in praeformationem Melchisedech in virtute sanctificet. Praeet quoque offerentium in hac oblationem propiciatus exaudiat, commemorationem beatissimorum martyrum Ferreoli et Ferrucionis omniumque sanctorum, ut eorum precibus adiuti, non solum viventibus praecidia, verum etiam defunctis caris nostris requiem obtinere mereantur⁴⁷.</i>	365 AFTER THE NAMES. Now that the names of our brothers and beloved have been enumerated, let us pray for the mercy of the Lord, that he will bring about that in the middle of Jerusalem, in the congregation of the saints, these names will be enumerated to him by the angel of sanctification, to the beatitude of eternal joy, and that through his power he will sanctify this offering of ours after the prefiguration of Melchisedek. And that he will also mercifully grant the prayers of those who offer in this oblation, that through the commemoration of the blessed martyrs Ferreolus and Ferruccio and all the saints, and assisted by their prayers, they are deemed worthy to obtain not only protection for the living but also rest for our beloved deceased ⁴⁸ .
--	--

The collect is a composite text including elements taken from a number of prayers belonging to the series of fixed prayers that came to be known as the *canon missae*⁴⁹. The help of the saints (not only Ferreolus and Ferruccio but “all the saints”) is invoked on behalf of the living who are in need of protection (*praecidia*), and of the deceased (*caris nostris*) for whom eternal rest (*requiem*) is requested.

⁴⁴ For *gloriosum*.
⁴⁵ ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) p. 517.
⁴⁶ ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 282.
⁴⁷ ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) p. 489.
⁴⁸ ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) pp. 257–258.
⁴⁹ See ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) Introduction, pp. 302–303; ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 257 note d.

3. THE INTERCESSION

Both the references to the names recited and the focus of the intercession in the collects *post nomina* in the Gothic Missal suggest that the living and the deceased are closely related and are considered to be two parts of one Eucharistic community. In the present section, I will examine the contents of the intercessory part of the collects in more detail. The examples 78, 268 and 299 above have shown that both the living and the dead are included in the intercession. But what is actually prayed for? And do the collects ask similar or different benefits for the living and the dead?

At first sight, most collects formulate a twofold intercession. They ask for a certain benefit for the living, and another for the dead. One example is found in the collect after the names in the Mass for the martyr Symphorian (416):

416 <i>COLLECTIO SEQUITUR. Recitatis nominibus offerentium, fratres karissimi, omnipotentis dei misericordiam dipraecemur ut plebe, quae in honore beati Symfuriani martyris vota reddit altaribus, divinae credulitatis infundatur affectus, ut eius administratione firmentur, qui martyris meritis non unguntur, ac sicut ille post carceris septa, post poenarum ligamina postque famis inaediam aeternitatis gaudia infinita perfuritur, ita defunctorum animae laxatis inferni praesursis. Abrahæ patris gremio collocentur⁵⁰.</i>	416 COLLECT FOLLOWS. Now that the names of those who offer have been recited, let us pray for the mercy of almighty God, most beloved brothers, that the desire for faith is poured into the people who pay their vows on the altar in honour of the blessed martyr Symphorian, so that those who are not bound to the merits of martyrdom are strengthened by his guidance. And as he, after the imprisonment of the dungeon, after the bands of the punishments and after the hunger of fasting, has full enjoyment of the endless joys of eternity, so also the souls of the deceased, after liberation from the oppressions of hell, rest in the bosom of father Abraham ⁵¹ .
---	--

While the prayer asks for the deceased to be liberated from the bonds of hell and gathered in Abraham’s bosom, it entreats for the living “to be strengthened by the guidance” of the holy martyr (*ut eius administratione firmentur*). The same call for “protection” (*praecidia*) for the living and “rest” (*requiem*) for the deceased is expressed by the collect in the Mass for Ferreolus and Ferruccio (365), as we have already seen. These examples remain somewhat implicit, since the ‘guidance’ and ‘protection’ of the saints can consist of help in earthly matters, but can also imply spiritual support, such as the strengthening of faith or even intercession mediating the forgiveness of sins. In case of the latter, the divide between *requies* and *administratio* becomes small. The collect in the fifth Sunday Mass (523) illustrates this further:

⁵⁰ ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) p. 508. Although the prayer is entitled *collectio sequitur*, both its position in the Mass and its contents leave no doubt as to its function as a *collectio post nomina*; see ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 274 note a.
⁵¹ ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 274.

523 POST NOMINA. Exaudi, domine, offerentium preces, vota suscipe, peccata dimitte, tribue tuorum intercessionem sanctorum caris quoque nostris, qui in Christo dormierunt, refrigerium in regione uiuorum. ⁵²	523 AFTER THE NAMES. Hear, O Lord, the prayers of those who offer, accept their gifts, forgive their sins. And through the intercession of your saints, grant also to our beloved who rest in Christ, consolation in the land of the living. ⁵³
---	--

This prayer suggests even more strongly that the focus of the intercession is on spiritual matters, even though the text clearly distinguishes between living (*offerentium*) and deceased (*caris quoque nostris, qui in Christo dormierunt*). The collect after the names in the fourth Sunday Mass (512) is at the other end of the spectrum. This text formulates, next to rest for the deceased, support for various categories of living members as the object of the intercession. The support is in all but one case (*pro salute omnium uiuentium*) described in terms of help for life on earth:

512 POST NOMINA. Offerunt tibi, domine uirtutum, munera et uota credentes. Suscipe nomine tuo debita honoris obsequia pro pacem ecclesiae tuae, pro commemorationem omnium sanctorum, pro sacerdotum et ministrorum puritatem, pro regum pacabilitatem, pro sufficientiam rerum et temporum tranquillitatem, pro perseverantiam uirginum et continentiam uiduarum, pro osanorum tuitione et paenitentium subleuatione, pro salute omnium uiuentium et pro requiem defunctorum. ⁵⁴	512 AFTER THE NAMES. The faithful offer gifts and prayers to you, O Lord of hosts. Accept the marks of homage indebted to your name for the peace of your Church, for the commemoration of all the saints, for the purity of priests and servants, for peace among kings, for the abundance of [good] things and for tranquil times, for the perseverance of virgins and the chastity of widows, for the protection of orphans and the alleviation of penitents, for the salvation of all the living and for the rest of the deceased. ⁵⁵
--	--

Apart from the latter example, which is unique among the collects after the names through its resemblance to the great Easter intercession⁵⁶, the benefits asked for the living on the one hand and the dead on the other are in many cases more or less synonymous. This is illustrated by the collects in the Masses for Christmas (15), Stephen (27), and the first general Mass for one martyr (434). The collect for Christmas phrases the object of prayer as *ut superstitibus uitam, defunctis requiem tribuas sempiternam*. This can be interpreted as “life for the living and eternal rest for the dead”, but the phrase can also be understood as a prayer for both the living and the dead to share in

⁵² ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) p. 539.

⁵³ ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 302.

⁵⁴ ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) p. 537.

⁵⁵ ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 300.

⁵⁶ On the great intercession that is attested in the Gothic Missal at least for Easter, see ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 32, and PAUL DE CLERCK, La prière universelle dans les liturgies latines anciennes. Témoignages patristiques et textes liturgiques (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 62) Münster 1977, pp. 231–268.

eternal life and eternal rest, as the adjective *sempiternam* can be linked both to *uitam* and to *requiem*⁵⁷:

15 COLLECTIO POST NOMINA. Suscipe, quæsonus, domine Iesu omnipotens deus, sacrificium laudis oblatum, quod pro tua hodierna incarnatione a nobis offertur, et per eum sic propitiatus adesto, ut superstitibus uitam, defunctis requiem tribuas sempiternam. Nomina quorum sunt recitatione complexa scribi iubetas in æternitate, pro quibus apparuisti in carne. ⁵⁸	15 COLLECT AFTER THE NAMES. Accept, so we ask, O Lord Jesus, almighty God, this sacrifice of thanksgiving dedicated to you, which is offered today for your incarnation, and be so merciful through this, that you give life to the living and eternal rest to the dead. Let the names of those who are united in our recitation be inscribed in eternity, for whom you have appeared in the flesh. ⁵⁹
--	---

The construction of the collect in the Mass for Stephen is similar: the prayer can be read as “[...] that the living may gain salvation and the dead eternal rest”, but the adjective *aeternam* can be linked to *salutem* as well:

27 COLLECTIO POST NOMINA. Omnipotens semipiternus deus, qui sanctorum uirtute multiplici æclesiae tuæ sacrum corpus exornans primitias martyrum gloriosi lenitæ tui Stephani sanguinem dedicasti, da nobis diem natalis eius honore præcipuo celebrare, quia non diffidimus eum fidelibus tuis posse suffragari, qui dominicæ caritatis imitator etiam pro suis persecutoribus supplicanti. Tribueque, quæsonus, per interuentum ipsius ut uiuentes salutem, defuncti requiem consequantur æternam. ⁶⁰	27 COLLECT AFTER THE NAMES. Almighty and everlasting God, who, to adorn the holy body of your Church with the manifold virtue of the saints, dedicated the blood of your glorious deacon Stephen as first-fruits of the martyrs, grant us, that we celebrate the day of his birth with particular honour, because we fully trust that he can support your faithful, who as follower of the love of the Lord even prayed for his own persecutors. And give through his mediation, so we ask, that the living may gain salvation and the dead eternal rest. ⁶¹
---	---

Finally, in the collect after the names in the general Mass for one martyr (434), the words *refrigerium* and *salutem* basically refer to the same benefit of bliss and consolation⁶²:

⁵⁷ See ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 121 note a.

⁵⁸ ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) p. 356.

⁵⁹ ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) pp. 120–121.

⁶⁰ ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) p. 360.

⁶¹ ROSE (transl.), Gothic Missal (as note 10) p. 125.

⁶² On *refrigerium*, see PETER BROWN, Ransom of the Soul. Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity, Cambridge (MA) – London 2015, p. 37, where Brown translates the word as “release from the sufferings of this world”; on the use of the word in the Gothic Missal, see ROSE (ed.), Missale Gothicum (as note 8) Introduction, pp. 115–116.

434 *COLLECTIO POST NOMINA. Adesto, domine, supplicationibus nostris et intercessionibus beatissimi martyris tui illius perpetuum nobis misericordiam benignus impende et munera superimposita dignanter adsume, ut defuncti.⁶³ ad refrigerium, inuentibus proficiat ad salutem.⁶⁴*

434 COLLECT AFTER THE NAMES. Hear, O Lord, our supplications. Mercifully grant us perpetual mercy through the intercession of your most blessed martyr N and graciously accept the gathered gifts, that they contribute to the consolation of the deceased and the salvation of the living.⁶⁵

In a number of cases, the equation of the benefit for the living and for the dead is pronounced even more poignantly, namely when one noun or verb expresses what is asked for with regard to both categories. Examples of this are found in a number of collects already quoted in full in the previous section. The collect after the names in the Mass for Andrew (130) and the one in the second Sunday Mass (490) were given to show the close relation between living and dead in the recitation of names, a relation which is underlined by the intercession. In the Mass for Andrew, the prayer in the collect is twofold, asking first for help and mercy for the living in the tempests of this life, but then also, through the intercession of the apostle, for the one benefit of sanctification for both the living and the dead (*Et offerunt ac paucantur quae recitata sunt nomina, apostoli sui intercessionem sanctificet*). The collect in the second Sunday Mass reflects the relation of the living and the deceased members of the Eucharistic community by phrasing a single request for both categories and asking that those on whose behalf the Eucharist is celebrated (*pro quibus holocausta franguntur*) are all included in the benefits of this celebration (*Nullum [...] muneris sui exterum esse patiatur*).⁶⁶ This prayer once again emphasises the twofold character of the Eucharistic assembly, holding together both the living and the deceased.

Next to collects *post nomina* that use the intercessory part to phrase either one benefit for both the living and the deceased or synonymous benefits concerned with spiritual blessings and the life hereafter for both categories (eternal bliss and everlasting rest 15, 27; consolation for the dead and salvation for the living 434), other collects specify between the needs of the living and those of the dead. The difference between the two groups that define the Eucharistic community is expressed, not surprisingly, particularly prominently in those collects *post nomina* that are related to periods of fast. In the collects after the names in Masses for Lent or the Rogation Days⁶⁷, the focus of

⁶³ For *defunctis*.

⁶⁴ ROSE (ed.), *Missale Gothicum* (as note 8) pp. 515–516.

⁶⁵ ROSE (transl.), *Gothic Missal* (as note 10) p. 281.

⁶⁶ On the use of the word *exterum* in this context, see ELS ROSE, *Inscribed in the Book of Life. Liturgical Commemoration in Merovingian Gaul*, in: BONNIE EFFROS – ISABEL MOREIRA (eds.), *Oxford History of the Merovingian World*, Oxford – New York 2017, forthcoming.

⁶⁷ These days are the three days before Ascension Day, which were indicated as days of fasting with penitential processions by the fifth-century bishop Mamertus of Vienne; see JOYCE HULL, *The Litaniae maiores and minores* in Rome, Francia and Anglo-Saxon England. Terminology, Texts and Traditions, in: *Early Medieval Europe* 9, 2000, pp. 211–246; ELS ROSE, *Fasting Flocks. Lenten Season in the Liturgical*

the intercession is on the living. The second and third Mass for Lent provide examples of this:

172 *COLLECTIO POST NOMINA. Deus, qui non tantum nos a carnalibus ybis, sed ab ipsius animae noxiis delectationibus praecipue ieiunare, sic nobis quaesumus, indulgentiae tuae praebere subsidium, ut ieiunando ab inlicitis contagiis ad superna crescamus. Et nomina quae recitata sunt, in caelesti pagina conscribere praecipias.⁶⁸*

172 COLLECT AFTER THE NAMES. God, who commands us not only to fast from fleshly food but [also] from pleasures harmful to the soul itself, grant us such help from your forgiveness, so we pray, that by fasting from illicit temptations we grow to heavenly matters. And may you command that the names that are recited are inscribed in the heavenly Book.⁶⁹

177 *COLLECTIO POST NOMINA. Defensione tua domine, quaesumus, aditi humilibus, et iugiter protegat in tua misericordia⁷⁰ confidentes necessarii, in quibus indiget humana conditio. Et immortalitatis dona praeveniant et offerentium nomina recitata caelesti cyrographo in libro vitae iubeas adscribi.⁷¹*

177 COLLECT AFTER THE NAMES. We ask, O Lord, that your protection sustain the humble, and that it will always protect those who trust in your mercy with the necessary things that the human race cannot do without. And may the gifts of immortality overcome them, and may you command that the recited names of those who bring the offering will be inscribed with the heavenly handwriting in the Book of Life.⁷²

Even though the invocation in both collects prays that the recited names may be inscribed in the book of heaven, the intercessory part of these texts singles out the living as being subject to the human condition. They are, in a way the deceased are no longer, in need of support and purification in order to arrive *ad superna*. The collect after the names in the first Rogation Mass (329) is so full of the needs of the living that the recitation of the names or the fate of the deceased is not mentioned at all:

Communities of Early Medieval Gaul, in: RICHARD CORRADINI et al. (eds.), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages (Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 12)* Vienna 2006, pp. 289–301.

⁶⁸ ROSE (ed.), *Missale Gothicum* (as note 8) pp. 418–419.

⁶⁹ ROSE (transl.), *Gothic Missal* (as note 10) p. 189.

⁷⁰ For *misericordia*.

⁷¹ ROSE (ed.), *Missale Gothicum* (as note 8) p. 420.

⁷² ROSE (transl.), *Gothic Missal* (as note 10) p. 190.

329 POST NOMINA. <i>Tua sunt, domine, alimonia, quibus in cotidiano uictu ad sustentationem reficimur tuoque teinuita, quibus carnem a lubrica uoluptate te praecipiente restringimus. Tu ad consolationem nostram uicissitudines temporum disposuisti, ut tempus edendi corpora nostra refectio uolubria aleret et teinuandi tempus ea in iusticiam tibi placitam faceret macerata. Hanc hostiam ob teinuitio triduanae macerationis a nobis oblatam sanctificans dignanter adsuue, et praesta placatus ut sospita dilectione corporea mens ab iniquitatibus pariter conquiescat</i> ⁷³ .	329 AFTER THE NAMES. Yours, O Lord, is the food that through daily nourishment refreshes us to endurance, and yours is the fast through which, on your command, we restrain the flesh from dangerous delight. For our consolation you appointed the alternation of the times, so that the time to eat nourished our bodies through simple refreshment, and the time to fast made them meagre to a righteousness pleasing to you. Accept this oblation kindly, which we offer because of the fasting of a three-day mortification, and sanctify it, and mercifully grant that our heart, preserved from bodily temptation, may likewise rest from sins ⁷⁴ .
---	---

Apart from the specific context of fasting, which for obvious reasons is not applicable to the deceased, the collects after the names in the Masses for Circumcision (53) and for the martyr Leodegar (427) pray in more general terms for the members of the Christian community still living on earth:

53. COLLECTIO POST NOMINA. <i>Auditis nominibus offerentium, fratres dilectissimi, Christum dominum deprecemur ut sicut pro eius circumcisione carnali sollemniter celebramus, ita spiritualium nequitiarum inlusione deuicta laetemur, praestante pietate tua ut haec sacrificia sic uiuentibus proficiant ad emendationem, ut defunctis optuleretur ad requiem</i> ⁷⁵ .	53 COLLECT AFTER THE NAMES. Now that the names of those who offer have been heard, most beloved brothers, let us pray to Christ the Lord that we, just as we celebrate this feast by reason of his fleshly circumcision, may rejoice in the victory over the deception of the demons, while his love grants us that these offers are as beneficial to the correction of the living as they help the dying to find rest ⁷⁶ .
--	--

While the request to be victorious over the deception of the demons might apply to both living and deceased, in the context of the Mass commemorating Christ's circumcision it is more likely that the prayer focuses on the living only, who still fight the temptations of the flesh this feast seems to struggle against so fiercely⁷⁷. The intercession certainly specifies between the two categories in the second part, where different benefits are requested for both groups. The prayer for correction (*emendationem*) explicitly applies to the living and expresses the early Christian emphasis on reform, which concerns both spiritual matters and the practical issues of a Christian way of life. The word *emendatio* in early Christian and early medieval usage has a rich

⁷³ ROSE (ed.), *Missale Gothicum* (as note 8) p. 476-477.

⁷⁴ ROSE (transl.), *Gothic Missal* (as note 10) p. 244.

⁷⁵ ROSE (ed.), *Missale Gothicum* (as note 8) p. 371.

⁷⁶ ROSE (transl.), *Gothic Missal* (as note 10) p. 136.

⁷⁷ See for further comments on the prayers of the Mass for our Lord's circumcision ROSE (transl.), *Gothic Missal* (as note 10) pp. 25-26.

meaning, making it difficult to translate⁷⁸. Our final example is found in the Mass for Leodegar (427):

427 COLLECTIO POST NOMINA. <i>Auditis nominibus offerentium, fratres karissimi, domini maiestatem deprecemur ut qui uitam summi antecessit sui Laudegarii martyris transiit ad coronam, per interuentu sanctorum patriarcharum, prophetarum, apostolorum et martyrum, anachoritarum et uirgum omniumque sanctorum concidere dignetur ut sacrae praesentis oblatio, quae offertur, uiuentibus emendationem et defunctis remissionem obtineant peccatorum, et quorum nomina hic recitatione patefacta sunt, in caelestibus pugnis conscribantur</i> ⁷⁹ .	427 COLLECT AFTER THE NAMES. Now that the names of those who offer have been recited, most beloved brothers, let us pray to the majesty of the Lord, that he who transferred the life of his most high bishop [and] martyr Leodegar to the crown designs to grant through the intercession of the holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles and martyrs, hermits and virgins and all the saints that the oblation of this sacred [feast] which is offered obtains correction for the living and remission of sins for the dead. And may their names, which are made public here through the recitation, be inscribed in the heavenly Book ⁸⁰ .
---	---

Here as well, correction (*emendatio*) is the key word. In a simple twofold supplication, remission of sins is requested for the deceased, and correction for the living (*uiuentibus emendationem*).

4. CONCLUSION

In the light of the examples above, the question could well be raised as to how the phrase *nomina nostra* in the collect after the names in the Mass for Martin (474) should be interpreted:

⁷⁸ In ROSE (ed.), *Missale Gothicum* (as note 8) Introduction, p. 126, I confined myself to the notion of "conversion", but the word has a more encompassing meaning referring to the adoption of the Christian way of life, be it through conversion or in a subsequent stage of being a Christian; see JULIA M. H. SMITH, "Emending Evil Ways and Praising God's Omnipotence". Einhard and the Use of Roman Martyrs, in: KENNETH MILLS – ANTHONY GRAFTON (eds.), *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Seeing and Believing* (Studies in Comparative History) Rochester (NY) 2003, pp. 189–223; JULIA BARROW, *Ideas and Applications of Reform*, in: THOMAS F. X. NOBLE – JULIA M. H. SMITH (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 3: *Early Medieval Christianities*, c. 600–c. 1000, Cambridge 2008, pp. 345–362, esp. pp. 353–358; GERHART B. LADNER, *The Idea of Reform, its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Harper Torchbooks, TB 149) Cambridge (MA) 1959.

⁷⁹ ROSE (ed.), *Missale Gothicum* (as note 8) p. 513.

⁸⁰ ROSE (transl.), *Gothic Missal* (as note 10) p. 279.

474 POST NOMINA. Auditis nominibus offerentum, fratres karissimi, omnipotentis dei innumrabilem misericordiam supplices postulemus ut nomina nostra, qui in hunc celebritimum diem in honorem sancti antestitis sui Martini offerimus, benedicere et sanctificare ipso suffragante dignetur, et quod illi hodie conlatum est ad gloriam, nobis quoque proficiat ad salutem ⁸¹ .	474 AFTER THE NAMES. Now that the names of those who offer have been heard, let us humbly pray to the ineffable mercy of almighty God, most beloved brothers, that he deigns to bless and sanctify the names of us, who on this celebrated day bring the offering in honour of his holy bishop Martin, because he helps us, and that what has been gathered today to [his] honour also serves to our salvation ⁸² .
--	--

Must we understand “the names of us who bring the offering” in the concrete exclusive sense of those bodily present at the Eucharistic offering? If we consider – in the light of the image of the Eucharistic assembly that comes up in the collects *post nomina* in the Gothic Missal – the ritual act of ‘offering’ in a more encompassing way as the sacrament in and through which the identity of the Eucharistic community is established, *nomina nostra* seems to essentially include the names of the living and the dead, embracing all in the one recitation and subsequent intercession. The dead and the living are closely intertwined in the ritual of the names as reflected by this Merovingian Mass book. The enumeration of names by the deacon, in as far as time allowed, included not only the dead, nor was it limited to a proclamation of the names of those who contributed to the celebration of the Eucharist with the material gifts of bread and wine. Living and dead were held closely together in the celebration of Mass, as two parts of one community and different members of one body. This intertwining is ultimately the most distinctive character of the late antique and early medieval ritual of the names.

81 ROSE (ed.), *Missale Gothicum* (as note 8) p. 527.
82 ROSE (transl.), *Gothic Missal* (as note 10) p. 291.