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LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS.

A.

ANGLO-SAXON SACRAMENTARIES.

RESEARCH among collections of manuscript fragments, bindings and fly-leaves, and between the chapters of treatises, may be monotonous and tedious, but is seldom without its reward. Stray leaves are occasionally found which illustrate and explain the comparatively few really ancient western *Liturgica*.¹ It will not be considered waste of time or space to rescue and publish such fragments which would otherwise be practically inaccessible; more sacramentaries may be discovered in course of time, but meanwhile we may well welcome all such scraps of antiquity.

As an instance we may cite MS Paris B.N. lat. 9488, which consists of a large number of liturgical fragments 'tirés de la couverture des mss.' which were found apparently loose in 1817 when they were collected and bound in order of date of writing. Reserving for a future number of the *Rassegna Gregoriana* the notice of a page which contains a trilingual musical notation, I select two of the fragments in this collection as throwing light on early English sacramentaries and one which contains hymns by an Irish hand.

A¹

Ff. 3 and 4 of Paris B.N. 9488 are two separate leaves, here cited as A¹, of a sacramentary which must have measured originally about 40 × 30 cm., but the pages have been so cut that they are now from 280 to 283 mm. long and from 205 to 220 mm. broad, four lines being missing from the top of the first and one line from the bottom of the second leaf. The manuscript is written in two columns of twenty-five lines each by a large rounded half uncial Anglo-Saxon hand of the eighth century, which bears a striking similarity to the martyrology of St Willibrord, now Paris B.N. MS lat. 18037 (referred to later on), which I have ventured to ascribe to the first ten, if not five, years of that century, and also to the St Chad's Gospel book at Lichfield and the Lindisfarne Gospels; the initials, which are in the margin, are filled with patches of red and yellow colour.

¹ Omitting Gallican and Irish Sacramentaries, I am only aware of five complete manuscripts which can be dated with certainty before the year 800: the Leonine, two 'Gelasian' (Wilson's V. and R.), the 'Gellonian' A. D. 772-795, and S. Gall MS 350, which is, however, not perfect.

There is no indication of provenance, the various scribblings on the pages being so late as to be of no value for that purpose, but the great similarity to MS 18037, which is clearly an Echternach one, suggests some monastery in the East of the Frankish kingdom which had inherited English MSS or where English scribes were employed. A search among the other Echternach MSS in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* did not reveal any one which looked as if it had once had this fragment as its fly-leaf. As there is no extant sacramentary written in the eighth or ninth century by an English hand, it would have been highly interesting if these leaves could be proved to have formed part of one. But the Anglo-Saxon script does not necessarily involve the book having been written either in or for England; it may, however, be conjectured, that even if it was written for a foreign house, it may very possibly have been copied from an English exemplar. At any rate it testifies to the practice of English missionaries in Germany in the eighth century; where there was no previous local use which they might have desired to adopt, they would in all probability have continued the use to which they had been accustomed, which, in the case of Willibrord and his friends, would have been their old north English liturgy, not the Scottish rites of Iona but those of Durham or Ripon, the practice of Benedict Biscop, of St Cuthbert and St Wilfred.

Hence the liturgiologist will at once endeavour to ascertain whether the fragment is Gregorian, like all extant missals written or used in England before the Norman Conquest, or whether it supports the contention of Mr H. A. Wilson¹ that the older as well as the newer 'Gelasian' were in use up to the end of the ninth century. Its evidence is clearly in favour of the latter, for although it does not follow the order and differs from the text of the chief manuscript of that family (V), it agrees with the later 'Gelasian' or mixed Sacramentary S (MS St Gall. 348), usually ascribed to about the year 800 which, as Mr Wilson remarks, 'seems to have left a strong trace on the English books'. His edition of the 'Gelasian' (Oxford, 1894) contains on pp. 365 and 366 the first words of the collects, &c., for the masses of a martyr, a confessor, for virgins and for several saints from that manuscript and from the kindred MS R (the Rheinau No. 30 at Zurich, of the eighth century): the first leaf of our fragment has the preface, post communion, *super populum* and three *aliae orationes* of the first mass, whilst the second leaf has the preface, post communion and *alia oratio* of the mass for virgins, and the two collects, the *secretæ* or *super oblata* and preface of that for several saints; the only difference between the two is that the fragment provides an episcopal benediction and possibly an additional

¹ *Journal of Theological Studies* vol. iii (April 1902) p. 429, 'English Mass Books in the Ninth Century.'

collect for the first mass. In other words, with this exception, our two leaves with the one missing between them are practically identical with S and with R so far as it goes, and the variants in their texts are so unimportant that we may feel sure that the later Gelasian sacramentaries were in use in the north of England in the eighth century.

A³

Fol. 5 of the same collection is a larger leaf, here cited as A³, which has been cut away both at the top and at the bottom so that the twelve remaining lines measure from 255 to 260 mm. in height and from 165 to 170 mm. in breadth; there are no double columns, and the fragment clearly does not belong to the same manuscript as A¹, though there is a certain resemblance between the two scripts. It is evidently later, and cannot well be ascribed to any date before 900. Some German neum-accent and the first words of a sequence have been scribbled on it, but we have no clue as to its provenance, though the punctuation marks, the accents and the contraction signs, all point to an Anglo-Saxon hand.

The prayers are not provided with titles but, judging by analogy, we may describe the *missa* as made up of two collects, two *secretæ*, a preface, a *post communionem* and a *super populum*, the usual arrangement in most 'Gelasian' sacramentaries and in that of Rheims, *circa* A.D. 800. All the contents are to be found in the later Gelasian MSS R and S, but the five prayers which here form one mass are there apportioned to five different ones for use in Advent and Lent. The liturgical footnotes will shew where they are found and how far they are common to the various liturgical families. The composer of the mass of our fragment, intending it probably for some day in Lent, seems to have chosen his materials *ad libitum*; according to Dom Cabrol (*Revue Bénédictine* vol. xxii part 2) before the ninth century the barriers between the various liturgical families had been removed, and their documents had so far become common property that it was not unusual to make up a conglomerate office from Leon., Gel., Greg., &c., at the pleasure of the composer.

It might have been considered sufficient to give the variants from the two manuscripts R and S to which the fragments are akin, but it is not without interest to look back and see how far pre-existing service-books were utilized, and looking forward to ascertain in what respects the fragments, if representative of English use, reappear in later pre-Norman English missals such as those of St Augustine's, Canterbury, the missal of Robert of Jumièges, &c. If it seems strange that the extracts now published are so dissimilar from what one finds in those missals, allowance must be made for the difference of nearly two centuries

and for the almost universal adoption of the Gregorian sacramentary in our country; but perhaps the real explanation may be due to our ignorance of any early *liturgica* which are clearly North English. Hence A¹ is specially interesting as possibly a relic of the Northumbrian public service of the eighth century, just as the Book of Cerne gives us an insight into the private devotions used in the Mercian kingdom in the following century.

Other sacramentaries quoted are :

L. = LEONIANUM	} <i>L. A. Muratori.</i> Lit. Rom. Vet., Venet. 1748,	
G. = GELASIANUM		vol. i.
Gr. = GREGORIANUM	}	
Go. = GOTHICUM		" "
B. = BOBBIENSE (Gallicanum vetus)		vol. ii.

The Gelasianum is also quoted from :

- W. = *H. A. Wilson.* The Gelasian Sacramentary, Oxford, 1894.
 V. = MS Vatic. Regin. 316.
 R. = MS Turicen. Rhenov. 30.
 S. = MS Sangallense 348. (S¹ original, S² second hand.)

The readings of these two MSS are due to the kind communication of the Rev. H. A. Wilson.

- Ger. = *Gerbertus.* Monum. vet. lit. aleman., S. Blas. 1777. vol. ii.
 R. = *U. Chevalier.* Sacram. Remense; Biblioth. Liturg. VII, Paris, 1900.

Other Gregorian Sacramentaries :

- M. = *H. Menard.* Divi Gregorii . . . liber sacramentorum. Paris, 1642.
 P. (II) = *J. Pamelius.* Liturg. Latin. Colon, 1571. vol. ii.
 Az. = *Azevedo.* Vetus missale Romanum . . . Rom., 1754.
 Lf. = *F. E. Warren.* The Leofric missal. Oxf., 1883.

English Manuscripts of this family :

- C. = *M. Rule.* The Missal of St Augustine's, Canterbury. Camb., 1896.
 J. = *H. A. Wilson.* The Missal of Robert of Jumièges, H. B. S. XI, Lond., 1896.
 W. = *J. W. Legg.* Missale a. u. . . . Westmonasteriense, H. B. S. I, V, XII, Lond., 1890-1897.
 Ros. = *H. J. Lawlor.* The Rosslyn Missal, H. B. S. XV, Lond., 1899.
 D. = *G. H. Forbes.* Missale Drummondense. Burntisland, 1882.

Ambrosian :

- Be. = Auctarium Solesmense I. Solesm., 1900.
 P(I) = *J. Pamelius.* Liturg. Latin. Colon, 1571. vol. i.
 Amb. = Missale Ambrosianum. Mediol., 1903.

Mozarabic :

Mz. = *M. Ferotin.* Monum. eccl. Liturgica V. Liber Ordinum.
Paris, 1904.

The references are to pages, except to Muratori and W. (columns).

In the following transcription expanded letters are in *italic type* ; words or letters either illegible or cut off from the MS are in square brackets ; the original punctuation has been retained.

A¹

[In natale unius martyris]

fol. 3. col. 1

pecca]ti Utinte eticia †¹ ^a exultemus In misericordia In quo ille
letatur ingloria . . .

5 POST COMMUNIONEM Sumpsimus domine sancti .il.
martyris solemnitate celestia sacramenta cuius
suffragiis *quaesumus* largiaris Ut quod temporaliter
gerimus, æternis gaudiis consequamur . . .

10 SUPER POPULUM Pleps tua domine sancti martyris
[tui .il. te glorificatione magnificet et eodem semper
col. 2

pre]cante te mereatur² habere rectorem , ,

15 ALIAS ORACIONES Sancti .il. martyris tui domine
nos oracio *sancta* conciliet . quesacri[s] uirtutibus
ueneranda refulge[t]

Beati martyris tui .il. nos *quaesumus* domine
precibus adiuuemur et eius digna^b solemnia
celebrantes^c tuo nomine³ facnos^d semper esse
deuotus †⁴ *per*⁵

¹ for *stiam*. ² *to mere*, the top of the letters has been so cut off that they can only be deciphered by means of the printed text. ³ for *nomini*. ⁴ for *devotos*. ⁵ *per* is represented by the Tironian note resembling Z exactly as in the *Missale Gothicum*, fol. 252.

ll. 2-3. Preface for one martyr, beginning : *Te semper in laude martyrum honorare*, Go. 638, Ger. 315 (R. S.) and (omitting the first sentence and beginning *Et in praesenti festiuitate*) Gr. 282, 347, M. 1 and in later missals, J. 234, Lf. 171, C. 128. ^a *stiam* only in Go. Ger.

ll. 4-7. Post communion in all sacramentaries including L. 305 and the *missae omnimoda* of Mz. 243. n. 1, for one martyr (as here) in Ger. (R. S.) 215, M. 162, Be. 137, S. Fabian, G. 638, SS. John and Paul, Lf. 147; apostles J., D., votive mass of All Saints, W., virgins, C. C. C. Camb. 270 (the 'red book of Derby'). The text of the fragment is identical with that of Ger.

ll. 8-22. These four prayers occur in the same order in Ger. 215 (i. e. S.; R. omits the third and fourth); they appear respectively as the fifth, first, second and third *alias orationes* of the mass of one martyr, M. 163.

ll. 15-18. Be. 136. ^b *digne* M., ^c *celebramus* Be., ^d *nos* omitted M.

20 Beati martyris tui .il. nos [^o ratiocinium conlatum
non deserat quod ^o fragil]

fol. 3^{vo} col. 1

itatem nostram etmeretis tueatur et precibus,

§ § § § § § § §¹

25 Benedicat uos dominus deus noster etipse in cor
uestrum influat ipse loquatur in uobis etipse
operetur in uobis. Ipse graciaram suarum
ymbribus cordium uestrorum aridainriget
uacua repleat inculca fecundet Atque isita
intrauos [^o]

30

col. 2

operum incrementa p'e'rducat. ^f Tribue domine
intercedente beato martyretuo .il. cupiditatum
laqueos euitare presencium passionum certamina
superare etspiritualium nequiciarum tela
35 contemnere ^f UT rore ^o supereos sue benediccionis
infusum ^o Ita eis iugem tribuat incre[mentum]

[In natale uirginum]

fol. 4. col. 1

5 sa]cratissime uirginis martyrisquetuae .il. fes-
tiuitate laudare etbenedicere debemus ^o per
Christum dominum nostrum. ^h pro cuius care-
tates [†] ardore ^h ista etomnes sanctae uirginis [†]
abeata maria exemplum uirginitatis accipientes

¹ The added marks before the Benediction are evidently intended to separate it from the preceding prayer. ^o About forty letters cut off. ^o Read either *ros* or *infuso*.

ll. 19-22. Be. 137 (*super sindonem*). ^o *patrocinii collatis non deseras qui*, Ger. (S.¹), *quaesumus domine gloriosa merita prosequantur* Be.

l. 24. A benediction apparently found nowhere else, the Gelasian sacramentaries as a rule not having any. ^f ^f is probably a collect or the beginning of a collect (Gallican, to judge by its triplicism) which has either got into the text from the margin, or was incorporated in a general preface to adapt it for a martyr's mass; *ut rore*, &c., seems to follow on *ita* . . . *perducat*, the vocative *domine* is scarcely possible in a benediction, and *ros* . . . *eis*, for *uos* . . . *vobis* may be due to the interpolation, but Mr W. C. Bishop (*Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1907) calls attention to similar carelessness in the Mozarabic benedictions in which sometimes the first person and sometimes the second occurs, and even the person is changed in the middle of one benediction.

ll. 1-13. The preface begins *V.D.* . . . *maxime hodie in beatae et* (cf. Ger. 224 (i.e. S.), M. 172, Lf. 174). ^o *debemus* seems unnecessary, but is found in S.¹ ^h ^h *pro* omitted in Lf., *caritatis* omitted in S.¹, the source of the fragment was

presentis seculi uoluptatis † omnes¹ hac †
 dilicias † neglexerunt^k Utipsum filium tuum
 Inuiolabilem sponsam cum ornatis lampadi
 10 [bus ei obuian]

col. 2

tes meruissent abire †¹ Incuius
 regni gloria cum coronis uirginitatis etpalmas²
 florentibus sicut sol sine fine fulgebunt. per³ †
 15 POST COMMUNIONEM Adiuuent nos quaesumus
 domine ethec misteria sanc[ta] que sumpsimus
 etbeate .il. intercessio ueneranda per³

ALIA ORACIO Deus qui interceter[a] potencie
 tue miracula etiam infragil[i] sexu uictoria †
 castitatis et martyrii contulisti da⁴ quaesumus
 20 ut [beatæ et sanctæ et uirginis]

fol. 4^{vo} col 1

martyrisque tue .il. adiuuemur meretis cuius
 beatitudinis Inradiamur exemplis,
 IN NATALE PLURIMORUM SANCTORUM III
 Presta domine quaesumus ut sicut sanctorum tuorum
 nos natalicia celebranda non deserunt Ita
 iugiter suffragiis¹ comitentur per

5 Sanctitui quaesumus domine iugiter nobis ate
 et ueniam postulent etperfectum⁵, per
 SUPER OBLATA Munera ple[bis tue]

col. 2

domine quaesumus beatorum sanctorum tuorum
 illorum fiant grata suffragiis etpro quorum

¹ for *habere*.

² for *palms*.

³ Tironian note for *per*, resembling z.

⁴ There is a contraction mark over *da* (= *dona*). Or is it a mark to call attention to the word? (see below). ⁵ for *profectum*.

perhaps a conflate version. ¹ omitted in M. Lf. ² *contempserunt* M. Lf.; after this their text is quite different, ours agrees with Ger.

ll. 14-16. Ger. 224 (R. S.), G. 639, M. 173; very common in later missals J. D. W.

ll. 17-23. Post communion in Ger. 224 (R. S.), Be. 141, Pa. ii 206. The collect with a similar commencement has after *contulisti* a different termination, viz. *concede propitius*, &c. This may account for the mark over *da*.

ll. 1 sqq. The three prayers and preface in Ger. 225 (R. S.), and, in different order, M. 169, 170.

ll. 1-4. G. 678, L. 406, Lf. 174. ¹ *suffragiis* G. S.¹ M. Lf.: *suffragia* L. S.²

ll. 5-6. G. 677.

10 triumphis tuo nomine ¹ m offeruntur ⁿ ipsorum digna
perficiantur et meritis, per

VERE DIGNUM. ette intuatorum honore sanctorum
illorum glorificare qui et illis pro certaminis
constanciam † ° beatitudinem tribuisti sempiternam
15 et infirmitati nostre talia prestetisti su[ffragia]

ll. 7-11. L. 330 (SS. Peter and Paul). ^m *tui nominis* R. ⁿ *deferuntur* L.
ll. 12-15. Lf. 174. ° S.¹ apparently had *constanciam*.

A²

fol. 5

supplicibus † tuis * ut ubi * demeri[torum qua]litate
defiditur †^b non iudicium tuum sed indulgen[tiam] ° consequi
mereamur . per]

COncede nobis ^d omnipotens ° et misericors ° *deus* ut magnae
festiuitatis [uentura] sollemnia prospero . celebramus ^f
5 affectu †¹ [pariter] que reddamus † et intenti caelestibus
discipl[inis et] de nostris temporibus letiores. per
dominum nostrum [. . .]

Ieiunia quæsumus † domine quæ sacris [exequi]mur
institutis et nōs a reatibus nostr[is semper expe]diant
10 et [tuam nobis] iustitiam faciant [esse placatam²]

DA quæsumus domine fidelibus tuis die s ieiunius
pascalibus conuen[ienter] aptari ut suscepta
sollemniter cast[igatio] corporalis cunctis ad fructum
proficiat animarum]

15 Vere dignum et iustum est ^h omni[po]tens sempiternæ *deus*

¹ for *effectu*.

² The only letters legible here are *ibil* ? *placabilem*.

ll. 1-2. This collect which commences: *Exaudi quæsumus domine* (or *d. q.*) *gemitus* (or *gemitum*) *populi (tui)* is found in Ger. 61 (R. S.) and Be. 55 *super populum* for Thursday after Passion Sunday, and Gr. 246, among the *orationes pro peccatis*, W. 550 used it for the blessing of ashes, but with *supplicantis* for *supplicibus tuis*. *² et qui R. S.¹ Be. Gr., ut qui S.² W. ^b *diffidimus* in all other sources. ^c *miseri cordiam* in all other sources.

ll. 3-7. An Advent collect, *alia oratio*, in Ger. 209 (R. S.), Gr. 138, B. 791, M. 202, Be. 13, Lf. 130, J. 143. ^d *quæsumus* in all sources. *² in text only. ^f so in J., all other sources have *celebremus*, except B. *celebratur*.

ll. 8-10. An Advent collect, *alia oratio*, in Ger. 61 (R. S.). G. 531, Wednesday, and Be. 56, Thursday after Passion Sunday.

ll. 11-14. *Oratio*, Friday after Passion Sunday, Ger. 35 (R. S.), Friday in Quinquagesima, G. 507. Cf. W. I. 96, first Thursday in Lent. * *dis* occurs nowhere else and has apparently no meaning here.

l. 15 sqq. A preface apparently found nowhere else. The Leonine preface (414) *Qui non tantum nos a carnalibus* is slightly parallel, but the general tone seems

qui no[.]nibus informasti per ihesum christum
 [filium]ⁱ amalis omnibus liberasⁱ [. . . .]
 per q[uem]ere fecisti quadrag []
 ieiuni[ni] me diebus impleri[]
 20 fol. 5^{vo}
 ur et sumitur subreatus luxoria abi[]
 iaritia excluditur et misericordia pro []
] excluditur in iustitia et equitas sum?¹
] fornicatio et continentia suscitatur
 25] cantur discordes sociantur desiuncti +
 ? cessa]nt lites iniuriarum dormiunt plagae
]tantur uincti soluuntur claustra pa
 [te]nt et pax per omne seculum curren
]nstratur traditur cunctis credentibus
 30]plina ut sanctifica[t]os nos (?) possit
 cs (?) uenturus exciperet + et preces nostras
 suis insinuare per christum dominum nostrum
 per quem maiestatem tuam . . .
 Omnipotens sempiternus deus [qui] nobis
 35 in obseruatione ieiunium² et elemosinarum
 semine possuisti + nostrorum [remedia
 peccatorum concede nobis^k opere
 [mentis et corporis] semper tibi esse deuot[os]
 are [] e supplicium osu []
 40 po [] oblationibus.

¹ ? sumi []. ² for ieiunii.

similar to that of several Mozarabic ones, e. g. that for the fifth Sunday in Lent [Migne, P. L. lxxxv 375 sq.] *Per hoc ieiunium peccatores ad veniam reuocantur . . . fugantur daemonia, comprimuntur vitia, concresecunt virtutes.*

^b *Omnipotens . . . filium* is probably part of a collect which, as in A¹, has crept in from the margin, its commencement agrees with the following Post communion; none of the many collects commencing *Om. sem. deus qui nos, or nobis, or non* contain the word *informasti*. ¹⁻¹ also seems out of place; were it not for the final letter of *liberas*, it might be suggested that it is part of a Gallican *post orationem dominicam*.

ll. 34-38. Ger. 40 (R. S.) for Friday in Quadragesima, G. 508, Go. 569, Gal. 817.
^k due to the preceding *nobis*; all other sources have *nos*.

A³

Leaving for a moment the manuscript from which the two preceding fragments are taken, let us turn to another *missa* of Anglo-Saxon script which is undoubtedly of Echternach origin and was written in the middle of the eighth century. It is found in MS Paris B. N.

lat. 10837, an account of which can be seen in Duchesne and di Rossi's *Martyrol. Hieron.* (*Acta Sanctorum Bolland.* Nov. II p. viii), but as the value of our *missa* depends upon its provenance and date being placed beyond doubt, it is well to fix these definitely. The collation of the MS is:

ff. 45. α^1	A-D ⁸	E ⁸	F ⁸	G ¹	β^1
ff. 1	2-33	34-41	42, 43	44	45

(α and β are twelfth-century additions.)

Ff. 2-32^v contain a martyrology copied probably between 704 and 720.

Ff. 34^v-40^r, a Kalendar and f. 40^v a Computus for the years 703-721, written by one scribe some time during that cycle; the latest name by the first hand in the Kalendar is Pope Sergius († 701), and the earliest added are St Lambert († 705) and a monk Oediualdus who died before 705. As the names of two bishops of Treves who died in 671 and 695 are added whilst that of St Lutwinus († 713) is altogether absent, and as St Wilfred († 709), the master and friend of St Willibrord, does not occur in the original hand, we may fairly date the Kalendar within the first ten, if not five years of the eighth century. It was apparently in use in 717, if we may judge by an added mark against that year, perhaps to denote the refounding of the abbey by Charles Martel. The date 684, when St Willibrord was still at Rathmelsigi, assigned by W. Arndt (*Neues Archiv* vol. ii (1877) pp. 291-293) and A. Reiners (*Publications de la Société historique . . . de Luxembourg*, vol. xl (1889) pp. 13 sqq.), and accepted by Wattenbach and others, is due to fol. 44, the original fly-leaf, which is really the last leaf of an older and disused computus for 684-702,¹ being taken as belonging to the Kalendar, and is plainly incompatible with the names of four persons whose deaths are recorded in the Kalendar, but who died between 684 and 702.

Ff. 41^r, 41^v with cycles for 722-759 are in a later script than that of the rest of the quire. The two leaves 42 and 43 are of different size and texture; fol. 42^r has a *horologium*; our *missa* begins on fol. 42^v and extends to two lines of fol. 43^r where it is followed by cycles for 760-767.

The *missa* then was certainly written before 760; the *terminus a quo* is not so clear, but one cannot be far wrong in assigning it to the second quarter of the eighth century.

The whole of the manuscript was undoubtedly written at Echternach

¹ The statement by Duchesne (*l. c.*) that fol. 44 is of the same script as the cycles for 703-759 is misleading; these cycles are the work of two hands, and the writing and arrangement of fol. 44 differ from both.

where its two chief parts were put together by about the middle of the eighth century. Delisle's *Cabinet des MSS* gives (Planche xix 1-4) four reproductions of it, but, unfortunately, none of the liturgical portion, the script of which, however, has no very distinctive peculiarity; the only punctuation mark is the middle point; contractions are rare, with the exception of the sacred names, \overline{qs} , \overline{scs} and words at the end of a line or of a collect, they are restricted to the titles of the collects. These are in red and, with one exception, on the right-hand side of the page at the end of the preceding collect.

The *missa* which follows has strangely escaped attention, Arndt and Reiners merely noting that additions to the manuscript were made by an Anglo-Saxon hand, whilst Duchesne and di Rossi, who were only concerned with the martyrology, dismiss it with the remark that the page *exhibet orationes liturgicas*. Yet it is the earliest known specimen of a mass in Anglo-Saxon script; in fact, nearly two centuries pass before the date of the next extant English sacramentary. It is to be hoped that the publication of this scrap may lead to the search for and discovery of other longer and more valuable material of the same kind. It differs from the two preceding extracts in being not a leaf of a sacramentary, but one *missa* inserted by a later hand in a non-liturgical MS.¹ The reason for the transcription may be conjectured from its being for use on the vigil of the Ascension. A separate office for this day was apparently unknown to St Isidore of Seville († 636), who states that no fast was observed between Easter and Pentecost; it is not found in the Mozarabic office nor in the Gothic.² Gregor. or Gelasian V. and S., the last two manuscripts have two *missae* for Ascension Day, the former of which is appointed for the vigil in R. The next instance of it is in the 'Gellone' sacramentary (772-795) of the Gelasian family. I have not been able to ascertain exactly when this separate office was appointed or any indication that the first of the two masses in Gel. and Gerbert were used on the previous day, but its first observance may fairly be ascribed to the first half of the eighth century, and certainly before the year 800, about which date the Rogation masses were taken over by Rome.

The mass here published was evidently a new importation to Echternach, and was probably inserted in the manuscript for annual reference when the existing sacramentaries would be of no avail for the new office. It will be noticed that the more ancient 'Gelasian' titles *secreta* and

¹ A similar insertion is found on f. 34^r, where part of the gospel for Palm Sunday has been written by a hand of not later than the middle of the eighth century, at the end of the copy of the letter of Pope Honorius to King Edwin.

² The *Gallicanum vetus* unfortunately breaks off just before the Ascension.

post communionem have given way to the Gregorian *super oblata* and *ad complendum*; that the second prayer of thanksgiving *benedictio super populum* has become *alia (ad complendum)*; that there is only one *oratio*, and that the Roman use of *ad fontes* appears exactly as in the Gelasiano-Gregorian sacramentaries of about the year 800, such as those of Rheims and 'Gellone'. An instructive parallel is afforded by the Echternach sacramentary, now Paris B. N. lat. 9433, which, though apparently written early in the eleventh century, is copied verbatim from an original which had been drawn up between 895 and 900. This sacramentary is arranged after the 'Gelasian' manner in three books, and several times quotes that office; e. g. fol. 82^v, *Incipit ordo secundum Gelasium*, and fol. 163^r, where the mass of S. Willibrord, who died two centuries and a half after Pope Gelasius, has an *alia praeformatio GL*. The titles of its prayers agree exactly with those of the *missa* before us.

A³ORATIO¹ IN VIGILIA AD^a ASCENSIONEM DOMINI

^b *Deus* qui per unigenitum tuum Aeternitatis
nobis aditum deuicta morte reserasti.^b

Erige nos ad consedentem² dexteram tuam
5 nostrae salutis auctorem. Ut qui iudicandus
aduenit. pro nobis iudicaturus
adueniat. qui tecum

SUPER OBLATA

10 Sacrificium domine^c pro filii tui supplices^o
uenerabili nunc^d ascensione deferimus.
Praesta quaesumus ut et^e nos per ipsum
his commerciis sacro sanctis ad caelestia

¹ Or *orationes*.² A second *ad* must have fallen out here.

l. 1. * *Vigilia ad* is apparently unique, the genitive being the usual construction. R. has *vigilia ascensa domini*.

ll. 2-7. ^{b-b} *Deus . . . reserasti* for Easter Day in Gerb. 89 (R. S.) 102, G. 573, Gal. 744, B. 858, Be. 70, and for the Friday after Easter in Gal. 750. Evidently when a collect had to be drawn up for the Vigil of the Ascension, the opening words of the Easter collect were chosen as suitable, and a new conclusion was added to it; here the last clause is rather bizarre.

ll. 9-13. *Secreta* for Ascension Day (first mass) G. 588, Ger. 121 (S.), P. i 374 and Be. 81, for the vigil in Ger. 121 (R.), Rem. 334 and later missals, e. g. W. I. 339, Ca. 50, J. 113, Az. 126, M. 94 (Rogation Wednesday), Ros. 39, Lf. 108. The text of the Post communion in Go. is somewhat different. . . . *tui in caelos hodie ascensione d. p. qs. ut ad tuam gloriam per ipsum his commerciis venerandis surgamus.* ^{c-o} *supplices pro filii tui* Be. P. ^d The somewhat bold *nunc* is replaced by *quam praueuimus* W., *quam nunc praueuimus* Lf. Ros. (cf. Ros. 138), *quam praueuimus nunc* M. ^e omitted in P.

consurgamur . qui tecum

ALIA

- 15 ^f Exaudi nos domine ^g salutaris noster. ^f
 Ut ^h per ⁱ haec sacro sancta commercia ⁱ In
 totius ecclesiae confidamus ^k corpore
 faciendum . quod eius praecessit. In
 capite . per eundem.

20 PRÆFATIO

- Uere dignum . per Christum dominum
 nostrum. qui saluti humanae subuenire
 dignatus est . nascendo et ^l nobis donauit.
 gloriam patiendo. diabolum uicit.
 25 resurgendo a mortuis. Uitae aeternae
 aditum ^m praestitit . . Ascendendo ad patrem
 caelestes ianuas reserauit ⁿ . . quem

AD COMPLENDUM

- Exultationem ^o condicionis humanae
 30 substantiae respice deus . ut tua
 dignatione mundati sacramentis.
 magnae pietatis aptemur . per
 dominum nostrum

ALIA

- 35 Erectis sensibus & ^p oculos cordis ad

l. 14. Two *superoblata* with only one *oratio* is unusual.

ll. 15-19. Elsewhere only in L. 313 and in W. 345 (for the following Sunday). It would be interesting to trace the connexion between these two and our fragment. ^{f-i} *Praesta quasumus omnipotens deus W.* ^g *deus L.* ^h *qui L.* ^{i-l} the occurrence of the expression *haec sacrosancta commercia* in two consecutive collects strengthens the suspicion that the *missa* was composed from different sources. L. has *mysteria* before *commerciam*, either an alternative reading or an insertion from the margin of the exemplar. ^k *confidimus L.*

ll. 21-27. This preface is apparently strictly Gelasian, G. 588. The erased preface for the vigil in Ca. 50 has only the letters *at* now visible in the fifth of the seven lines which the preface occupied; the editor suggests that they formed part of *subingarat* (P. ii 569), but it is equally, if not more, probable that they represent part of the word *patrem* of the present preface. ^l *etiam G.* ^m *aditus G.* ⁿ *reparavit G.*

ll. 29-33. Only found in L. and in MSS of the Ambrosian family for Ascension Day. L. 315, Ger. 121 *alia missa ambrosiana* (second collect). In Be. 81, P. i 374 *super sindonem*. The opening words are a little difficult. Ger. P. Be. insert *conditor* after *substantiae*, and Ger. has also *eiusdem* between *humanae* and *substantiae* which looks like an afterthought. L. agrees with the text in having no *conditor*, but has *nostrae* before *conditionis*. *Conditor* seems strange after *conditionis*, and the text does make a certain sense. ^o *exultationem Be.*, *exultatione L.*; *exultationem* is probably the original reading, slightly paralleled by one of the preceding prefaces in L. *iusta enim nobis exultatione laetandum est.*

ll. 35-39. *Ad populum G.* 589 (first Ascension Day mass) and Lf. 109 (Sunday);

sublimia eleuantes^p. *quaesumus* ut quae
inprecum uota detulimus. Ad impetrandi
fiduciam referamus . per *dominum nostrum*

ADUESPEROS

40 *Sanc̄i* nominis tui *domine* timorem
pariter et amorem fac nos habere
perpetuum. quia numquam tua^q
gubernatione¹ destitues quos in soliditate^r
45 tuae dilectionis¹ institues. per *dominum*.

ALIA

Deus qui te^s rectis^t ac sinceris^t manere^u
pectoribus adseris. da nobis tua
gratia tales existere in quos (quibus^s)
habitare digneris. per

¹⁻¹ For *destituis, instituis*. ^s Added by a later hand to correct the original *quos*.

ad communionem (Sunday) Ger. 122 (R. S.). ^{p-p} *oculis* G. Ger. Lf. S.¹, *elevatis*
S.² Lf. has *elevantes* corrected into *elevatis*. (See note in Wilson, p. 108.)

ll. 40-45. First collect for the Sunday in G. 590. For the Ambrosian family cf.
Ger. 123, Be. 82, P. i 376. Its original position was for the first collect for the
second or third Sunday after Pentecost, Gr. 165, M. 176, Ger. 133 (R. S.), P. ii
403, Lf. 115, J. 123. ^a *a tua* Be. ^r *soliditatem* Ger. in both places.

ll. 46-49. This collect follows the preceding as the second collect for the Sunday
in G. 590, which also has it in a similar position *in ieiunio mensis septimi*. It is
found for the second or third Sunday after Pentecost in Ger. 131, 133, M. 177,
P. ii 404. ^s *in* follows after *te* in S.² P. M. ^{t-t} om. G. 669. ^u *manere* before
asseris in all sources except G. 669, which has *asseris manere*; *manere* seems to
require *in*. Is it possible that the text has the original reading, *adseris* in the sense
of *inseris*?