

DOCUMENTS

SOME RECENTLY DISCOVERED FRAGMENTS OF
IRISH SACRAMENTARIES.

EARLY Irish *liturgica* are so few and so valuable that the discovery of any fragment, however small, of an Irish sacramentary or other prayer book deserves careful attention and publication. The article by Dr. W. Meyer in *Nachrichten der Kg. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (Göttingen)¹, shows how much can be got out of the few pages of one of the Bobbio MSS now at Turin, and it may be hoped that the notice of this and similar recent discoveries may induce librarians to examine the fly-leaves or any stray pages of their MSS with the possibility of coming across early Irish *liturgica*. We owe the preservation of the fragments here published to such careful collection by two librarians: the first two were discovered by Dr. A. Holder in the binding of one of the Reichenau MSS at Karlsruhe; the Irish words which occur on one of their pages have been published, from a photograph, by Mr. Whitley Stokes², but it had not been hitherto noticed that the Latin text is that of an Irish sacramentary; the third fragment I came across in April last when looking through two packets of stray sheets collected by Monsignore Tononi in the Archivio of S. Antonino at Piacenza.

The Reichenau fragments (now Karlsruhe, App. Aug. clxvii) are two sheets of parchment, here distinguished as A and B, which probably belonged to different MSS, as they do not agree either in size or script. Sheet A, at present from 235 to 240 mm. long and from 277 to 282 mm. broad, formed two pages of a MS, but, as about four lines of text have been cut off the top, and more than half the width of one page is missing, the pages of the original MS must have been about 30 by 20 cm. The right-hand side of A r^o (i. e. fol. 1 r^o), the left-hand side of A v^o (i. e. fol. 1 v^o), and the first seventeen lines of the right-hand side of A v^o (i. e. fol. 2 r^o) are occupied by parts of a sacramentary written by an Irish scribe, who apparently began the first

¹ Cf. Mr. Warren's notice of this in the previous number of this Journal (July, 1903, p. 610).

² *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Band xxxi, Neue Folge, Band xi, erstes Heft (Gütersloh, 1889), p. 246, and in the second volume of the *Thesaurus palaeohibernicus*, p. 256, now being published by the Cambridge Press.

collect of each office on the top of a fresh page, for both pages 1 r^o; 1 v^o end with the '*qui preside*' of the Canon, whilst 1 r^o has un this 60 mm. of parchment without any text. Fol 1 r^o contains w is probably a mass for penitents, fol 1 v^o a mass for the dead; fol : did not follow immediately after fol 1 v^o as its first words are middle of a preface. The lower half of fol 2 r^o and the whole fol 2 v^o, left vacant by the first scribe, were subsequently filled up by an Irish-continental writer, who inserted the epistle, gradual, and gospel and the *ordo missae pro captivis*, five collects and a preface which extended over another page which has not been discovered.

Sheet B, which formed two pages of another MS¹ is at present 232 mm. long and 278 mm. broad, but was considerably reduced when cut up for insertion into the binding; we have, however, fortunately a small slip of parchment B* (220 mm. long and partly 50 mm., partly 22 mm. broad) which formed part of one of the outside edges of B, but the greater part of the connecting portion is lost, so that after the first three lines of the extreme left and extreme right-hand columns of this sheet we have now only four or five letters on B and three or four letters on B*, separated by a missing interval of about 35 mm. broad. It has therefore not been possible to reconstruct with certainty the whole of this fragment, and a further difficulty has been caused by a large portion (25 x 20 cm.) of one side of it being for some reason blank; possibly it may have been occupied by some painting now erased or left free for one which was never inserted.

The right-hand side of B r^o (i.e. fol. 3 r^o) and the whole of B v^o (i.e. E. 3 v^o, 4 r^o) contain parts of a mass, probably *in commemoratione sanctorum*, as far as the *Post sanctorum* (as in the previous fragment), but with the addition of a bidding prayer which forms part of the Canon in the Stowe Missal; the state of the MS renders it impossible to say whether this prayer was finished on this page, but the left-hand side of B v^o (i.e. fol. 4 v^o) is taken up with (i) the words '*sancte trinitatis et sancti cruce filii leguados*' which occupy the whole breadth of the page, and with (ii) an Irish prayer or prayers in two columns printed below.

The fragment B is ascribed by Mr. Whittier Stokes to the ninth century; A has some palaeographical signs which seem to make it somewhat earlier, but the dating of Irish MSS is still a task of such difficulty that one hesitates even to hazard an opinion, though some competent judges, who have seen a photograph of the fragment, assign it to the eighth or ninth century, Dr. L. Traube preferring the later

¹ A is written in long lines with a few red initials; B is in two columns and has no red initials. The scribe of B places a single initial letter at the end of a line, whilst in A no words are thus divided.

date. The connexion, however, between these fragments and the MS (Karlsruhe, Aug. MS clxvii), into the binding of which they were inserted, should be taken into account for evidence as to date and place of writing. When two sheets of different sacramentaries are thus found cut up for binding purposes, one of them with the scribblings of an Irishman trying to write a continental hand, and the other with rough specimens of neums, the prima facie conclusion is that when the book was bound, the fragments then used in lieu of boards between the vellum sheets which formed its binding¹, were so out of date as to be of no practical value. It only remains to be seen when and where the MS was written and whether there are any traces of its having remained unbound for some time. The MS is a well-known one, usually cited as 'The Karlsruhe Bede'²; a photographic reproduction of one of its pages will appear in a future number of the new Palaeographical Society's publications. All writers who have referred to it ascribe it to the first half of the ninth century, but the occurrence of the feast of All Saints in the Kalendar on Nov. 1 suggests some date after c. 835, whilst from a mark ., against one of the Kalendarial tables on fol. 13 r^o I venture to assign it to some date within the nineteen years' cycle, A.D. 836-855, and more definitely from a peculiar *b* for *bissextilis* in another table on fol. 15 r^o, as well as from the entry on fol. 18 r^o noting that the year 848 was 6048 after the creation of the world, I think there is little doubt that that was the actual year of its transcription³. The MS was the work of two apparently contemporary scribes; the one who wrote the Kalendarial tables, referred to above, also inserted a lunar table on the inner side of the front binding, and as on three visits to Karlsruhe I have failed to discover any evidence that the outer sheet of binding is a later addition⁴, I see no reason for

¹ The parchment binding of this MS, with flap, buttons and string, is a well-known Irish fashion.

² Cooper's (proposed) *Report on the Fœdera*, App. A, p. 59; Silvestre-Madden, *Universal Palaeography* (Lond. 1850), p. 610; Zimmer, *Glossae Hibernicae* (8vo, Berlin, 1881), pp. xxiv-xxix; Whitley Stokes, *The Old Irish glosses* (8vo, Hertford, 1887), p. 270; Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus palaeohibernicus* (8vo, Cambridge, 1903), vol. ii, p. 256.

³ It is a strange coincidence that the same year should be assigned as the date of another copy of Bede's *De temporum ratione*, also written in France, now B. M. Vespasian, B. vi.

⁴ It is true that MSS were not always bound immediately after they were written; one of the ninth-century Irish MSS from Reichenau, now at Karlsruhe, is still unbound; but in the case before us, the writing on the inside sheet of the cover has every appearance of being subsequent to the sewing up of the two sheets of parchment which form the cover, and it is also noticeable that, like the Stowe Missal, nearly all the pages of the MS were made square by slips of parchment being attached and fastened with thin thongs of the same material, in exactly the same way as our fragments were stitched into the binding.

doubting that as soon as the Bede was copied in 848, on an erased liturgical MS, other pages of sacramentaries were cut up for its binding.

The MS of Bede was for centuries kept at Reichenau, but the Kalendar¹ shows that it was written before it reached that Abbey (the four Swiss or German saints being added by a later hand), and points to some French house, probably in north-east France, whilst the entry in the Kalendar on Oct. 31, as to St. Quentin and his translation, seems to show some connexion with the great foundation of that name². A striking corroboration of this view is afforded by expressions in both the sheets, which point to the sacramentaries having been in use in some religious house which had been attacked by and was in danger from 'heathen foreigners'; if I am right in filling up the lacuna on fol. 2 v^o '*sic dem. annorum manibus*,' and in my reading of a word now almost illegible on the last line of that page, the Norsemen are mentioned by name as the oppressors. (As these did not attack Ireland until 795, and as, with the exception of inroads into Frisia from 799-810, their invasion of France was delayed until after the death of Charlemagne in 814, the *additions* to both fragments cannot be placed before the ninth century.) It is of course possible that both expressions are due, not to the actual pillage of the houses where the MSS were written, but to sympathy with kindred foundations in other lands which had lost some of their brethren by the Viking raids (e.g. Iona, sacked five times between 795 and 832), but the pathetic appeal in the vernacular in fragment B, against 'abundance of foreigners and foes and gentiles' seems to spring more naturally from men liable at any moment to be attacked. Unfortunately these expressions do not occur in the original parts of the MSS, but have been added by later hands, and therefore only point to where the sacramentaries were kept and not to their original scriptoria. The investigation of the twelve Irish saints in the Kalendar leads to no definite result, and the name of 'Engusso,' whose obit is added on fol. 4 r^o, is too common to be of any help. There are only two places mentioned by name in the

¹ Astronomical Kalendars are not always safe guides as to the provenance of the MSS in which they are found; but, as regards the non-Irish saints, I have noted points of similarity between the one in question and the following eighth- or ninth-century Irish or Gallican Kalendars: Par. B. N. lat. 10837; Rome, Ottob. 67; Vatic. 644; Zurich, Rheinau 30.

² The same entry: '*2 Kal. Nov. Sancti Quintini, cuius corpus post LV annos ab angelo (anglis) revelatum est VIII Kal. Iulii*' is found in an early ninth-century Bobbio MS (now Ambros. D. 30 inf.); the reference here is to the first invention of this saint in 342, but the entry seems to have been called for by his third translation in 835. At present one cannot venture to assign the Karlsruhe *Beda* to any one Irish house in Picardy, but this special entry about St. Quentin suggests the possibility that Peronne s/Somme, *Perona Scotorum*, near St. Quentin, may have been its *scriptorium*.

MS which can afford any clue; an added Irish notice on fol. 17^v as to the death of Muirchuth, son of Muirledun, at Clonmacnois might seem to indicate that great literary centre as a possible mother-house of our MS¹ (between the years 826 and 846 it was plundered twice by the Danes and thrice by the King of Cashel), but, as Zimmer points out, the notice may be simply due to some friendship between the deceased and the writer of the gloss in the Bede. The words '*Sancte Trinitatis et sancti cronani filii lugaedon*,' which run across the top of one of the fragments, look very much like an indication of the church or monastery which owned the sacramentary, and seem to point to Clondalkin near Dublin. This Cronan, son of Lugaed, better known as St. Mochua, was specially venerated at that church, which seems to have belonged to his family, and it was there apparently that his relics were translated in 790, but I have not found any trace of a previous or simultaneous dedication to the Holy Trinity, and must be content to point to Clondalkin as the possible home of fragment B.

All that seems fairly proved is that both the sacramentaries were in use on the continent at the beginning of the ninth century, that when the Carolingian-Roman superseded the Irish use, they were discarded, used for scribblings, and in 848 either erased and rewritten, or cut up for binding purposes²; the arrival of the MS at the Irish foundation of Reichenau is due to the flight of Irish monks up the Rhine in the middle of the century: the earliest (eighth-century) copy of Adamnan's life of St. Columba (now at Schaffhausen), was similarly written in France and reached Reichenau at the same time as our MS.

Fragment C, from the Archives of S. Antonino, Piacenza, is a sheet of parchment c. 245 mm. long and c. 355 mm. broad, with from 27 to 30 long lines on a page, which once formed two non-consecutive pages of a MS; the fragment is in a very bad state of preservation, being almost in two halves, and as it has evidently been used for a long time as a fly-sheet, the verso is so completely worn away that it is practically illegible; a few disjointed words here and there show that it was a continuation of the recto. As our knowledge and experience of chemical reagents becomes more advanced, it is to be hoped that the whole of this fragment may be successfully restored.

Piacenza is situated where the mountain road to Bobbio leaves the *Via Emilia*, and the church of St. Antonino, one of its oldest ecclesiastical foundations, was in close connexion with the Abbey of

¹ It is interesting to note that the Stowe Missal received its eleventh-century metal-work cover at Clonmacnois.

² Apart from the Stowe Missal, the only other known fragments of Irish sacramentaries (St. Gall, 1394, 1395) owe their preservation to having been enclosed in book covers.

St. Columbanus¹; hence it would seem not unreasonable to assign to Bobbio an Irish MS found in a city so intimately connected with it, (there was unfortunately no opportunity at Piacenza of seeing whether the library of St. Antonino still possessed the book from which our fragment had been taken, a hurried glance at the few MSS now remaining there did not disclose any Irish ones), and the Bobbio provenance of the fragment seems favoured by the contents of the two pages here published, which contain two prefaces which are only found elsewhere in the seventh-century so-called Gallican sacramentary (now Paris, B. N. lat. 13246) which was discovered by Mabillon at Bobbio, and is now so generally supposed to have been written there that it is cited as *Codex Bobiensis*². If our fragment does not hail from Bobbio, it is a very strange coincidence that parts of another Irish missal with Bobbian prefaces should have got so near to it³.

Bearing in mind the unchangeableness of the insular hand and the remarkably few dated early Irish ecclesiastical documents, it is almost impossible to fix the date of a fragment on purely palaeographical grounds (as one of our leading palaeographers writes to me, 'the dating of these Irish MSS is desperate work'). The script is Irish minuscule with several continental traits. Majuscule letters *R* and *S* occur frequently, and some of the large dotted initials are quite in the style of early Irish MSS, though these two marks may be due to the scribe having before him an eighth- or ninth-century MS; several good judges who have seen *C* ascribe it roughly to the ninth or tenth century; on the other hand Dr. Traube calls it 'twelfth century at earliest,' and Bodley's Librarian 'late thirteenth or early fourteenth'; I do not venture to give a verdict when the authorities thus differ to the extent of three or four centuries⁴,

¹ That the connexion between Bobbio and Piacenza was more than local is clear from the way in which the latter cathedral copied and adapted the tropes and sequences of the abbey; a large proportion of the bishops and abbots of Bobbio, from the eleventh century onwards, were natives of Piacenza.

² Cf. Mr. Edmund Bishop's notes on 'The prayer book of Aedelwald' (Cambridge, 1902), p. 239, and Monsignor L. Duchesne *Origine de la liturgie gallicane* (Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses, 1900, p. 38 sqq.)

³ There is another slight difficulty in assuming that our fragment was written at Bobbio; palaeographical reprints furnish us with examples of many MSS written (or perhaps only kept) there in uncial, semi-uncial and Lombardic script, but, as far as I have ascertained, they do not give us any MS written in a purely Irish hand.

⁴ I hope in some future number to be able to publish the opinions of palaeographical experts on this point. It would have been desirable to have colotype plates of the fragments in the present volume, that palaeographical students might judge for themselves of their date, but as the Journal was not in a position to do this, photographs have been sent to the Vatican Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, the British Museum, Cambridge University, Trinity College, Dublin, and the Bodleian (the press-mark in the last library is 25778 A. 16).

though it seems to me scarcely possible that such a liturgy as this could have been written for actual use anywhere as late as the twelfth century, and highly improbable that it would have been then copied as a memorial of an extinct rite. We are, at present, strangely ignorant of the early history of Bobbio, and cannot say how long the composite rite shown in the *Bobiens.* was retained there or when Irish ceased to be its vernacular ¹ (both questions intimately concern the present fragment, with its most marked Gallican type of service and its Irish rubrics); but if the sacramentary was written there, it would seem that it or its exemplar could not well be dated later than the ninth century. As a matter of fact, for our purpose, the exact date of the actual copy before us is not of primary importance, just as the liturgical value of the Stowe Missal does not depend upon the vexed question of the date of the copy now at Dublin. Our fragment, if not part of an early Bobbio work, may be a late copy of an older Bobbio sacramentary. It is, of course, after all possible that the MS may have been brought there from Ireland or some continental foundation, in which case we can only judge its date on palaeographical grounds. This is an unsatisfactory conclusion, but so it must remain for the present.

¹ Professor Cipolla, who is now engaged on the history of Bobbio, assures me that by the twelfth century there were no Irish monks there, and that he has found no traces of the Irish tongue or script there as late as that date: the fragment, in his opinion, is 'much older than the twelfth century.'

REICHENAU FRAGMENT A.

FOL. I, RO.

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 [? cinam] tribue uulneribus ^{a-b} serui tui .N. ^b ut percepta rem[isio]ne ⁵
 omnium peccatorum in sacramentis tuis sincera deuotion[e] ^o
 perueniat ^d et nullum redemptionis aeternae susteneat ^o de[tri]
 mentum et reliqua

Lines 5-8. This prayer which begins *Deus qui consentium tibi corda* is found as a Post-communion collect in the Stowe Missal (St.) [ed. Warren, p. 247], twice in the *ordo ad reconciliandum penitentem* of the Gelasian sacramentary (Gel.) [ed. Wilson, pp. 65, 67], and in an office for the Visitation of the Sick reprinted in Martene, *De ant. ecl. rit.* vol. i, Ordo xxii, p. 335 (Mart.):—^a *uulneratis*, St. Gel. Mart. ^{b-b} omitted in St. Gel. Mart. ^o *deinceps deuotionis*, Gel. Mart., *deinceps deditiois*, St. ^d *permaneant*, Gel.² Mart., *permanent*, St. ^o *sustineant*, St. Gel.¹ Mart. The writer of the Introduction to the *Paliographie Musicale*, vol. v, supposes (p. 141, n. 1) that when the compiler of the Stowe Missal or its prototype had to provide a Post-communion collect for the *Missa pro penitentibus uiuis*, as he

- [co]llectio¹ DEUS qui iustificas impium². et non uis mortem peccatoris³ maiest[am]³
- 10 tem tuam suppliciter⁴ deprecemur⁵ ut famulum tuum .N. de tu[a] misericordia confidentem . caelesti . protegas benignus . a[uxi]lio et tua^h protectione . conserua¹. ut [t]ibi iugiter⁵ famuletur et nullis temptationibus a te separetur per dominum nostrum . . .
- super oblata¹ Suscipe clementissime pater hostias^k placationis [et] laudis quas ego^l peccator . r.⁶ indignus^{1m} tuus famulus^m tibi . offerre presumo ad honorem & adⁿ gloriam nominis tui pro^o incol[umi]tate famuli tui . N . ut omnium delectorum suorum ueniam consequatur^p per dominum nostrum . innoxiam pacem deo
- super populum¹⁷ DEUS qui es iustorum gloria & misericordia peccatorum pietas[tem]
- 20 tuam humiliter prece deprecemur ut^q famulum tuum^q . N . benign[us] respicias et pietatis tuae^r custodiam⁹ impendas^r ut ex toto co[r]de et ex tota mente tibi deseruiat et sub tua semper protectio[ne] consistat^s ut quando ei extrema^t uenerit dies^u societatem sanctorum per[ci]

¹ The three titles of the prayers are by a later hand. ² First hand 'pium'.
³ e over i. ⁴ p over p. ⁵ First hand 'iugiter.' ⁶ Probably to correct the previous R. ⁷ o over p. ⁸ First hand co. Second hand altered o into u and added studiosum &c., as far as the end of the line.

could not get one from the Bobbio sacramentary before him, he copied this prayer from the *Gelasianum*. If this is so, the collect here may be the P. C. to some Mass of which we have not got the beginning: but its position here as apparently the first of four prayers before the preface looks more like that of a *prefatio missae*, and it may hereafter be found that it is by origin Gallican and not Gelasian.

Lines 9-13. *Deus qui iustificas*: the first collect of a *missa votiva* in *Suppl. Sacr. Gregor.* (Muratori, *Lit. Rom. vet.* (ed. 1748) col. 193) (Gr.), in *Sacr. Bergomans.* (ed. 1900, p. 151) (Berg.), and in *Sacr. Remens.* (ed. Chevalier, *Bibl. Liturg.* vol. vii, p. 356) (Rem.). Cf. *Sacr. Gallican.* (ed. Muratori, *Lit. Rom. vet.* col. 906) :-¹ *peccatorum*, Gr. Berg. ² *deprecemur*, Gr. Berg. ³ *tua assidue*, Rem., *assidue*, Berg. ⁴ *conseruus*, Gr. Berg.

Lines 14-18. *Suscipe clementissime*: This appears (as here) as the *Super oblata* in the votive mass for a living friend in *Sacr. Remens.* (ed. Chevalier, p. 357) (Rem.), and as the *Secreta* in the Zurich MS Rheinau 30 (ed. *Garbert. mon. vet. lit. alemen.* i p. 282) (Rh.). ¹ *hostiam*, Rem. ²⁻¹ *peccator indignus*, Rem., *indignus et peccator*, Rh. ³⁻² *famulus tuus*, Rh. ⁴ *omit.* Rem. Rh. ⁵ *et pro*, Rem., *sive pro*, Rh. ⁶ *consequi mereatur*, Rem. Rh.

Line 18, *Innoxiam pacem deo* possibly represents *Hymnium pacillam deo*; or, less probably, *In nomine p. d.* The expression does not appear to be Irish.

Lines 19-24. *Deus qui es iustorum*. In the *Sacr. Remens.* as the '*Contestada*' after the two preceding prayers, and in the *Sacr. Bergomans.* as the *Prefatio* in a *missa votiva*. ¹ *famulo tuo*, Rem. ²⁻¹ *custodiam impendas*, Rem., *super eam custodiam impendas*, Berg. ³⁻² *omit.* Berg. ⁴⁻³ *dies uenerit*, Rem.

- Sacrata deo pro se suisque deferentibus⁵ dona sanctorumque martirum
 inuocantibus⁶ suffra
 gia adsit uirtus⁷ immensa iugisque clementia . per dominum iesum chri
 stum filium suum que secum
- 10 Suscipe domine hoc sacrificium ab offerantibus . qui te ipsum sacr[ifici]um
 obtulisti
 Vere [dig]num et iustum equum et iustum est nos tibi hic et ubique
 semper gratias
 [agere] domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus cuius⁸
 [promis]siones⁹ a¹⁰ plenas aeternorum bonorum in ipso expectamus
 tandas in quo scimus^b absconditas domino nostro iesu christo filio tuo
 qui uera¹⁰ est
- 15 uita credentium et^c resurrectio^d mortuorum per quem tibi pro ani
 mabus^{11 d} famulo
 rum tuorum^e et familiarum tuarum¹² H.^{13 e f} sacrificium istud^f offerimas
 obsecran
 tes ut regenerationis fonte purgatos¹⁴ et^g temptationibus exemptos¹⁴
 beatorum
 [n]umero digneris inserere et quos¹⁵ h¹⁶ fecisti¹⁶ ad oblationem^h participes
 iubeas he
 [r]editatis tue esse¹⁷ consortes¹⁸ i¹⁹ te enim omnipotens deus creaturarum
 caelestium multi
- 20 [t]udo & innumerabiles angelorum chori sine cessatione . proclamant
 dicentes

⁵ r over the second s; over the rest of the word *et* *an*; i.e. *et deferentibus*.

⁶ *ad* over *in*. ⁷ doubtful reading? 'enim omnia.' ⁸ *cuius*.

⁹ So Stowe: the letter before the first s looks like *u*. † *promissiones*. ¹⁰ *ueram*.

¹¹ alternative *mas*. ¹² alternative *fam. tuo*. ¹³ † N. ¹⁴ alternative *hinc*, *hinc*.

¹⁵ alternative *quos*. ¹⁶ s over i. ¹⁷ s over s. ¹⁸ alternative *mas*.

Lines 11 sqq. *Vere dignum*. Mr. E. Bishop (*Book of Cerne*, p. 270) quoted a Toledan prayer 'in missa defunctorum' cited by Elipandus (Migne, *P. L.* xcvi, 275) *Domine Iesu Christe qui uera est uita credentium, tibi pro defunctis fidelibus sacrificium istud offerimus, obsecrantes ut regenerationis fonte purgatos et temptationibus uariis exemptos beatorum numero digneris inserere, et quos facisti adoptionis participes iubeas hereditatis tue esse consortes*, and shewed how it has been in its entirety worked up into the preface of the Mass 'pro mortuis pluribus' in Stowe (Ed. Warren, p. 248) with the following variants:—^a *promissiones*. ^b *mas* before *absconditas*. ^c omitted. ^{d-d} omitted. ^{e-e} omitted. ^{f-f} *hoc sacrificium*. ^{g-g} *a temptationibus exemptos*. ^{h-h} *adoptionis*. ⁱ here the preface ends in St. which after *consortes* has *Per*, the ending of a collect and not of a preface. In every case, especially in the insertion of the words *mortuorum* and *his* and in the readings *istud* and *exemptos*, the fragment provides readings which are more correct and closer to the Toledan prayer than St. Mr. Bishop calls attention to the light it throws on the comparative value (or on the relations) of the fragment and St., and also on the recklessness of Irish adapters in the seventh and eighth centuries.

*sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus*¹⁹ *sabaoth* &c. ;
 Adsisat huic²⁰ *sanctificationi* illa *benedictio* quâ *dominus noster iesus*
christus sacrificium tale instituit atque *benedixit*
 [O]ssanna²¹ *in altissimis tē pro refrigerio spiritus defunctorum omni-*
potens eternę deus
 [hum]iliter *exoramus* . *precipue pro animabus famulorum tuorum*²² . et
famularum tuarum . N . *inlessa*
 []*memoratione* . ut ab *infernali*²³ *manu liberatas*²⁴ *in sinu patris requi-*
escant
 [patri]archę *per dominum nostrum iesum christum* qui tecum uiuit
dominatur ac *regnat simul cum*
spiritu sancto in secula saeculorum qui pridie quam²⁵

¹⁹ after *deus l* . ²⁰ *huic* above the line, originally after *sanctificationi* but erased.
²¹ *n* over *n* . ²² alternative *ma famuli tui* . ²³ First hand *infernalis* . ²⁴ First
 hand *liberatus* . ²⁵ at foot of page ? a *con*—original manuscript.

FOL. 2, RO.

.

^a *in cuius uel in quorum* ho[norem] *hec oblatio hodie offertur*¹ 5
ut cunctis proficiat ad sa[lutem]^b
contactis terrene feces sic[]
tis nostris preteritis present[ibus]
et quia misisti illis regni ae[terni] parti]
cipes sancti spiritus coeredes re[] 10
tē enim omnipotens deus lau[]
egregius apostolorum et[]
immo perpetuo et indefessis [laudibus cum quatuor animalibus venti-
quatuor]
senioribus concinnant [dicentes]]
^c *Vere benedictus uer[e mirabilis in sanctis suis deus noster iesus]* 15
christus]
ipse dabit uirtute[m et fortitudinem plebis suae, benedic]

¹ Lacunae supplied, where possible, from the Stowe Missal.

^a . . . *in cuius uel in quorum* . In Stowe Missal (ed. Warren, p. 245) beginning *Omnibus diebus uitae nostrae*, but omitting ^a *in cuius uel* . ^b The Stowe Missal differs entirely after *salutem* .

^c *Vere benedictus* occurs in the Stowe Missal (ed. Warren, p. 246) as *Vere sanctus vere benedictus, &c.*

tus deus quem benedicimus in a[postulis et in omnibus sanctis suis
 qui pla]
 cuerunt^d ab initio saeculi
 Vere elogius bassilius []
 20 tor apostulorum om[nium]
 sanctis suis salvificat^a

lectiones ad misam c[aptivorum ?]^e
 f Paulus apostolus iesu christi . . . pro vobis scie[ntes]

^a The rest of this page and the whole of the next page are by a later hand.

^d The Stowe Missal inserts *ei* after *placuerunt*.

^e The text of the lections is not printed in full, but any variations from the Vulgate are noticed.

^f 2 Cor. i 1-11 : the lacuna on the ninth line of the MS is too small for *consolamur pro vestra consolatione, sive exhortamur pro vestra exhortatione et salute quas operatur*, the clause *sive exhortamur pro vestra exhortatione*, was probably omitted. The MS has *intollerantia* (verse 6) ! = *ur tolerantiam*, and in verse 7 omits *sit*.

FOL. 2, VO.

.

 5 ^a n]os et eruit . inquam speramus quoniam
 . . . adiuvantibus] et vobis in oratione pro nobis . :
]t . . . ^b Dominus de celo in terram aspexit ut audi
 ret gemitus compeditorum^c] ut adnuntiat^d in sion nomen domini &
 laudem eius in ierusalem :—

]terrogavit discipulos suos dicens
 15] et in celis . : ordo mis[s]e pro captivis incipit.
]ans corde contrito flebili uoce lacrimabile^f
] congregabat^g sic de no[rm]annorum^h manibus

^g I read *congregabat*. ^h A crease in the parchment may have led to the rubbing away of some of the letters ; all that is visible now is *anno annorum*, with room for about two letters in the gap. Possibly the name was intentionally not written here in full.

^a 1 Cor. i 10. The MS places *crispini* before *nos*. ^b The Grail is Ps. ci 20-21.
^c The MS probably did not contain here the words ' *ut solueret filios interrumptorum*, ' which occur in a collect a few lines down. ^d Vulgate = *adnuntiat*. ^e The Gospel is St. Matth. xvi 13-19, but the MS, in company with the oldest versions, has no *Iesus* in v. 15 nor *et* before *in cruce* in v. 19. ^f Dan. vi 20.

-] ducat specialiter *autem fratrem nostrum*. H. festina
]ciat per dominum nostrum [filium] suum qui³ secum regnantem³
- ..]e redempta ad cælos *conscendisti de cælis* 20
 ..] filios *interemptorum cunctosque in captiuitate*
 ..] generibus dignare *perducere qui cum patre*
 post nomi]na recitata
 .. domi]ni deprecemur uti uniuersos bapuzatos
] .. participes efficiat .⁴ at ui⁵ omnes 25
] domino eripiat per suum unigenitum
] qui tecum
] per istam tui corporis *
] alligatos et fratrem nostrum
 reduce]re digneris qui regnas :— 30
 omni]potentis mise[ri]cordiam
 captiui]tatibus . elongatis carceribus detentis
 con]sulator ads[i]stat neque deesse sibi
 domi]num nostrum suum
- V.D. gra]tias agere domine sancte omnipotens eterne deus. 35
 qui po]pulum tuis preceptis *contradicientem* duro seruitio
 ?subiectum a]d pristinam libertatem reducebas . respice
 ?ne dicant] gentes ubi *est deus eorum qui quamvis tibi non bene seruiant*
 ?rup]tis uinculis carcere reserato terre motu
] . um⁶ reddidisti sic domine cunctos christianos 40
] normanicis⁷ ferreis funibus atque

³⁻⁶ sic! ⁴⁻⁵ † read *at ut*. ⁶ read *Paulum* or *apostolum*. ⁷ The first three letters are almost illegible in the MS, but the photographic negative reveals *not* or *nor* before *manicis*.

REICHENAU FRAGMENTS B & B*.

The dotted line represents fragment B*

FOL. I RO., COL. I.

..... magnus facis mirabilia
 deus ueri¹ latittia *sanctorum* . quam tu
 promisiisti omnipotenti in fide cre

¹ † *uera*.

FOL. I RO., COL. 2.

	^a <i>Deus qui sanctam</i> [huius diei sollem] ³		
	pnitatem in oi ⁴ [
	· N · ⁴ <i>conse</i> [crasti adesto famili		
	e tuę	precibus et dona	
5	?u]t? ho	die festa celeb	[ranti]
	?bus <i>conme</i> :	[au]	xilio [eorum]
] mun	[iamur per]	iesum [christum]
	fili m		
	S] <i>anctorum</i> [intercessi]		onibus
10] nme		deuo
	?ti reci		i num
	sensi		i <i>sancti</i>
	<i>contin</i> :		tu la
	: pill ⁵		ię <i>in</i>
15	: tion ⁶		i ut
	?ati ⁷ h		e fa
	?atu :		suppli ⁸
	qui <i>in</i>		pos
	t me		diem
20	diosa		tis
	colim		sacer [do]
	talis		neu :
	ob? s? o		?upi

^a Lacunae supplied from the *Missale Gothicum*.³ There is no sign of any contraction, hence the word is probably not *omni*, the second letter is possibly the first half of *n*.⁴ ? a ? y, reading very uncertain.⁵ ? s ill.⁶ The letter before *tion* is either *a* or *u*.⁷ ? iti.⁸ ? populi.

^a This collect might be reconstructed: *D. q. s. h. d. s. in [h]onore beatorum .N. consecrasti a. f. t. p. et dona nobis hodie festa celebrantibus ut auxilio eorum muniamur, &c.* Cf. the first collect for the Mass of many martyrs in the *Gothicum* '*Deus qui sanctam huius diei sollemnitatem pro commemorationem beatissimorum martyrum tuorum ill. et ill. passionem fecisti, Adesto familie tue precibus et da ut quorum hodie festa celebramus eorum meritis et intercessionibus adiuvemur, &c.* [Text as collated from the MS of the *Gothicum*.] The *Sacramentarium triplex* at Zurich, fol. 228^{ro} gives it for the Mass of one martyr, evidently taken from some Ambrosian Sacramentary. Ff. 227^{ro}-232^{ro} in that MS contain the Ambrosian *Commune sandorum*, and agree exactly with the Bergamo sacramentary (ed. 1900, pp. 135-142). Gerbert printed this in his smallest type on pp. 213-220 col. 1 and 222-225, but he did not realize that what he printed on his p. 216 (including the present collect) was one Ambrosian Mass.

FOL. I VO., COL. I.

		ritatem obte suis set mota
	est u : : : : nostr	um iesum christum fi
	lium suum :—	
5	Deus ad cuius c	rescit glori
	am quicquid sanctorum sal	utis contu
	lis [ti . . .]	exemplum tuae
	tu ¹	uoluisti e
	nim	ulis per dominum
10	nostrum	
	D [ignum et iust]	um equum et iu
	[stum est n]	os hñc et ubi
	que s [emper gratias a]	gere tri
	nit [ati . . .]	ut tē auc
15	tor em omni]	s creatu
	ra	in laudem
	sanctor [um . . .]	? in tuam loc
	atur	atum diei
	hui [us . . .]	? tis in hon
20	orem	N consecr
	ast [i . . .]	gratias
	it ? c	te tr :
	ist	ma est :

FOL. I VO., COL. 2.

hostia innocens uita suscipisti
enim domine hodierna die animam
 sacerdotis tui · N · carnis intig
 re conuersationis inlesse crucis
 5 uixillum calcato seculo preferenti
 s. quem ad eternam uitam² et ad glo
 riam regni celestis quam pretioso
 exitu tam felici petere iubēs
 ingressu qui et celestium secre
 10 torum interpres et diuinorum consi
 liorum capax iam in hoc mundo esse
 promeruit angelorum comes conso
 rs apostolice dignitatis qui

¹ ? ti, ? tis.² Before 'uitam' sa but deleted. ? = salutem.

dum per inextinguibilem tui amoris ar
 15 dorem carnis aculeos contriuit
 uitiorum incendia prosternit dia
 buli uirus extinguit^a ante moritu
 rus in secula quam natura ista est
 mors pretiosa sanctorum qui gloriatur in re
 20 que sua diem beate resurrec
 tionis expectans in quo erit et ius
 titiae merces et corona uirtutis
 et palma uictoriae per dominum nostrum

 25

FOL. 2 RO., COL. 1.

Angeli ymnus debitum sine
 cessatione proclamant dicen
 tes sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabao
 th pleni sunt
 5 Domine deus noster nos quoque hodi
 ernam diem in honorem tui sancti no
 minis et in^a commemoratione b
 eatissimorum martirum con^b cete
 ris sanctis annua festiuitate
 10 percolimus alteribus tuę pieta
 tes adsimimus tibi enim domine
 laudes et gratias referamus
 in homine^c et honore sanctissimi
 filii tui dei ac domini nostri iesu christi ip
 15 se enim qui pridie quam pro nostra o
 mnium salute patiretur cepit panem^d
 + Oremus domini missercordiam
^a pro animabus omnium episcoporum nos
 trorum et presbiterorum^b nostrorum et di
 20 aconorum nostrorum . et carorum nostrorum
 et cararum nostrarum^c et puerorum nostrorum
 et puellarum^d nostrarum et penetentium nostr

^a u over i. ^b in above the line. ^c c. ^d for woman. ^e MS has
 c pa only. ^f r over a. ^g u over e.

^a Cf. Stowe Missal (ed. Warren, p. 233), the variants of which are given as St.
^b sacerdotum St.

mus habeamus adominum ∴ lāndiunach *. immola deo

^b Ymmola deo sacrificium laudis et redde altissimo uota tua ^b

^c In conspectu omnis populi eius^{od} in medio tui hierusalem^d immola deo. ⁵

Immolamus tibi domine hostiam gratulationis nostrę . exaudi nōs

et presta unicuique nostrum proprium petitionem . affectumque tribue²

³ miserere nobis domine qui regnas⁴

Terrenis cogitationibus seperatis⁵ sola cęlestia ac spiritalia cogitemus ¹⁰

amen

Deus et deus & dominus dominus noster⁶

Fratres carissimi sicut simul orauimus ita⁷ simul et offeramus

sacrificium deo nostro sussum corda habeamus adominum . . .

Offeramus domino deo nostro⁷ sacrosancta munera spiritalia. Dignum⁷

. . . Benedictio

dā patris & filiī & spiritus . reliqua . . R : sund canatair nadignumma ¹⁵

for tormach rendignum na trindote ∴ **

Deus & deus et dominus noster dominus noster⁶

⁶ Dignum et iustum ęquum et iustum est nōs. tibi⁷ hic et ubique semper

gratias agere: domine sancte pater omnipotens ęterne deus . ^f qui fecisti⁸

ęplum et terram mare et omnia que in eis sunt . inġitium tuum domine

nemo⁹

nobit¹⁰ . et magnitudinis tuę non est finis^f . una diuinitas⁸ et una⁸ mai²⁰

estas . natura inseperabilis . persona diuidua^h deus unus et nonⁱ sol[us]

* = A full washing.

** = Here are sung the *Dignums* on an *augmentum* before the *Dignum* of the Trinity.

³ In the margin here *f. conu.* ³ *Deus et deus, &c.*, as below, but erased.

⁴ *gr*, with one mark of contraction over the two letters. ⁵ A second hand inserts

er over *er*; this scribe's final long *s* is always very like *f* (cf. *gratulationis, fratres*), here it is a distinct *f*.

⁶ The first two and the last two words of this sentence are in red. ⁷ Above the line. ⁸ A later hand has inserted in red a short

s over the long *s*. ⁹ In the margin. ¹⁰ i.e. *novit*.

¹¹ Ps. xlix 14. Cf. the Leabar Breac; M^cCarthy on Stowe Missal, p. 262.

¹² Part of Ps. cxv 18. ¹³ Part of Ps. cxv 19. ¹⁴ This preface is

found in *Cod. Bobien.* (Par. B.N. lat. 13246) here quoted as *Bob.*, and in the

Mozarabic Missal (ed. 1755, p. 84), here quoted as *Mos.* It occurs in one of the

Sunday Masses in *Bob.* and for the eighth Sunday after the Epiphany in *Mos.*

¹⁵ omitted in *Mos.*, in *Bob.* '*Deus Abraham, deus Isaac, deus Iacob, cuius uerbum*

uniuersa creata sunt cuius spiritu omnia nunciantur.' Mr. Edmund Bishop points out

(*Book of Cerne*, ed. 1902, p. 248) that this adaptation of Acts iv 24 in liturgical

prayers is almost entirely confined to books that can be connected with Ireland.

¹⁶ *et trina*, *Bob.*, *trina*, *Moz.* ¹⁷ *indiuidua*, *Bob.* *Moz.* ¹⁸ Cf. the 7th-

century Irish prayer in MS Turin. F. iv 1 (ed. Meyer, *loc. cit.* p. 203) '*Deus omni-*

potens, qui es unus nec solus, terque unus et in tribus unus.' Cf. also *Book of Cerne*

(ed. 1902, p. 124, ll. 9 and 10) '*Deus unus et non solus, unitas triplex.*' *Bob.* omits

non either because liable to misconception or from a recollection of Pa. lxxxv 10

'*Tu es deus solus.*'

unitas triplex ^k et trinitas simplex sapientia multiplex ^k. inconfu[sa ^l]
 coniunctio . indiuidua ^m distinctio . quem ⁿ unum substantialiter ^o p[ro]con-
 fite[mur]
 et ^p trinum personaliter nominamus ^q . quia ^r tu es ^s deus solus ^t et
 non ^u est
 alius preter te . nec ^v est ¹² x secundum ¹³ opera tua ^y qui fecisti cęlos ¹⁴ 25
 intellectu ^y et ^z
 fundasti terram super aquas ^a . ^β pater et filius et spiritus sanctus ^β . qui in
 uno ^y trinus ¹⁵
 apares . et ^δ in tribus ^e unus agnosceris ^ζ . ^η quippe distinctis personis
 singulatum deus . pater deus filius deus spiritus sanctus . non idem pater
 qui filius e[st] sed ¹⁶ ide[m]
 creditur pater esse ¹⁷ quod filius ^ν . pater ingenitus ^θ qui a se est ^θ . filius
 autem genitus ¹⁸ . . . ¹⁸
 spiritus sanctus ^α a patre ^κ procedens patri et filio coeternus una ^λ in ³⁰
 tribus et uoluntas ^λ

¹² The MS has the usual contraction for *est*, *es* is found written in full (rendered *est* by Muratori) in the corresponding passage of *Cod. Bobien.*; the phrase is probably taken from Pa. lxxxv § *Non est similis tui in diis domine, et non est secundum opera tua.* ¹³ The MS has a long *s* with a transverse line under it, a rare but not unique contraction for *secundum*. ¹⁴ *l* above the line. ¹⁵ *z* over *i*.

¹⁶ The MS has a single *s* with the contraction line over it, a capital *S* has been erased before it. ¹⁷ Above the line. ¹⁸⁻¹⁸ The reading here is very uncertain; I believe the original words to have been *ante secula infinita*, but the final letter of *ante* appears to have been erased for the sign for *quam* and the *s* of *secula* has been changed into *ico*.

^k Moz. omits *et* ^{h-k} omitted in Bob. ^l *incompenso* (i.e. *incomprehensa*), Bob. ^m *indivisa*, Bob., *et indivisa*, Moz. ⁿ *qui*, Bob. ^o *insub-*
stantialiter, Bob. ^{p-q} omitted, Bob. ^q *nunciamus*, Moz., *nomi-*
namus credemus confitemur, Bob. ^{r-s} omitted in Moz. ^t omitted, Bob.
^v *es enim deus*, Bob.; Moz. (ed. 1755, p. 304) has an '*alia oratio*' with expressions like this and a phrase which occurs a few lines further on in the fragment, *Tu es deus et in te est deus et non est alius preter te; ab ore egressum uerbum, non regreditur, quia utique natus filius, non ipse qui pater est creditur, dum tamen ipsum esse quod pater est fatetur.* ¹ omitted, Bob. ^{u-v} omitted, Bob. ^x *es*, Bob. ^{y-z} omitted, Bob. ^α *Tu*, Bob. ^{β-β} *aquam*, Bob. ^{β-β} *patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum*, Moz., *tu legem creatoris omnibus possuisti*, Bob. ^γ *unum*, Bob. ^δ omitted, Bob. ^e *trino*, Moz. ^ζ Here Moz. concludes with *Quem conlaudant angeli, &c.* ^{η-η} omitted, Bob. ^{θ-θ} omitted, Bob. ^{ι-ι} *unus est generatur*, Bob. ^{κ-κ} *unus est ex patre*, Bob. ^{λ-λ} *autem in tribus unitas et dignitas potestas, &c.*, Bob.

FOL. 2, RO.

^{1a} *Cuius* ^b propitiatiōem [sacerdotum prepar]atio declarauit
Cuius [lon]gan[imitatem ^c iudicum eq]uitas protulit . *Cuius* ^b sapien-
 tiam ^d
 regnum ^{2o} uita desseruit *Cuius* spiritum p[rophet]arum ueritas adpro-
 bauit
Cuius ^b aduentum zacharias castigatus ostendit . *Cuius* introitum
 Iohannis *precussor* ³ admonuit . *Cuius* ^b natiuitatem uirgo protulit 5
 stella *precessit* angelorum ^f sacra uox ^f cicinit *pastorum* peruigel sol
 licitudo *preuidit* ^g *magorum* *tripertiti* ^h oblatio muneris honorauit
Cuius *possessionem* ⁴ mundus *non sustenuit* ⁵ ¹ tremuit terra ⁵ ¹ . sol fug[it] ^k
Cuius resurrectionem adistentes ostentauerunt ^l angeli ^m *Cuius* ⁶ . . .
 gentes ^m glorificauerunt *sancti* ⁿ explorantes apostoli *predicauerunt* ⁷ 10
Cuius ascensum discipuli porrectis in cęlum oculis prosecuti sunt ⁷ ⁿ
Cuius regnum ^o cum uniuerso ^o cęlestium et terrestrium ^p et infernorum
preconio ^p animalium et ^q *seniorum signatorum concentus* ^r incessabili
 uoce *proclamant* dicentes *sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus*
sabaoth ⁸
 Haec *tibi* laudes in excelsis *omnes consona* uoce resonant ac . . . 15
nōs uero ex humili ⁸ sede supplices maiestati tuę fundimus *preces*
obsecrantes ut ad hęc pura libamina respicere digneris . . .
primogeniti fili tui ac *domini nostri iesu christi* Qui pridie quam . . .
amen dicitur ⁹ ordo *missę sanote marię* ¹⁰
¹ Concede quęsumus omnipotens *deus* ad beatę *sanctę* marię
 uirginis gaudia *ęterna pertingere* de cuius nōs ueneranda as 20
 sumptione tribuas annua sollemnitate gaudere per
² *Intercessio* *domine* marię beatę munera *nostra* commendat no ¹¹ . . .

¹ The first three lines are much rubbed and could not have been deciphered without the help of the corresponding passage in *Bob.*, from which the words within brackets have been supplied. ² The sense demands *regum*. ³ The

contraction for *us* is the one which usually signifies *us* at the end of a word.

⁴ i.e. *passionem*. ⁵ *e* over the first *r*. ⁶ Reading doubtful. † *Deus*, † *Omnes*.

⁷ Scarcely legible, doubtful reading. ⁸ *u* over *m*. ⁹ These words are added by a later scribe who uses a final *r* not found elsewhere in the fragment.

¹⁰ This title is by the original hand, and enclosed in a single red line. ¹¹ Apparently *neque*. . .

^a This preface occurs in Cod. Bobiens. in one of the *Missę dominicales*. It begins 'Cuius uocem Adam audivit' (cf. Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* vol. ii, col. 924), and has the following variants: ^b *Ipsius*. ^c *longaminitate* (sic). ^d *sapientia*. ^e *regum*. ^f *uox sacra*. ^g *peruidit*. ^h *irepertita*. ⁱ omitted. ^k *refugit*. ^l *sustentauerunt*. ^m *cum resurgentem*. ⁿ omitted. ^o *uniuersum*. ^p *infernorumque concentum*. ^q omitted. ^r omitted. ^s Here the preface ends in *Bob.* ^t This collect and secret appear in the Assumption mass of the *Triplex* as G(elasian) and A(mbrobian), with *nobis* after *concede* and

eneratione tuę maiestati reddet per dominum nostrum . . .¹³
 Recensitis nominibus offerentum in beatę marię sollem[nitate]
 clementiam dei dīprece[mur] ut per istius merita peccatorum
 nostrorum ueniam defunctis refrigerium concedere dignetur¹³

Ff. 1 ro. and 2 vo. are illegible.

¹³ The letters *col* can be made out at the end of this line perhaps referring to the following prayer.

¹³ Scribblings at the top and bottom of this page, ' *benedicamus domino d'* ; ' *amord'* (= ' O great God '), ' *à de is mór ar saithar risin ndubsa.*' Mr. Whitley Stokes considers that this is the copyist's incorrect spelling of ' *à dé, is mór ar saithar risin ndubsa,*' i. e. ' O God, great is our trouble (labour) with this ink!'

tribuis for *tribuas* in the former, whilst the latter runs: *Intercessio quaesumus d. beate M. semper virginis munera nostra commendat nosque in eius veneratione tuae maiestati reddat acceptos.* Their occurrence in the Biasca MS (Solesmes *Sacr. Bergomen.*, p. 126) as respectively the *Super sindonem* and *Super oblata* of that feast will justify the Ambrosian title, but as usual the use of the word Gelasian in the Triplex refers only to the eighth century Gelasian (Wilson, p. 353) as the Vatican Gelasian has neither prayer for this day; as a matter of fact, the secret is only that of the Gelas. II 5 and II 50 with the substitution of the B. V. for St. Fabian and St. Rufus. A study of the Triplex at Zurich leads me to endorse Mr. Bishop's warning (*Book of Cerne*, p. 263 n. 2) as to the uselessness of this MS as an index to the real pre-Gregorian Sacramentary.

The object of the present notice being the publication of the text of the fragments and not a disquisition on the knotty questions which concern the ancient Gallican rite, it will suffice to call attention to the new evidence which these fragments reveal, and to show their points of similarity and contrast with the Stowe and Bobbio missals: these two really fall under one category; a glance at the *Paléographie musicale*, vol. v, pp. 128 and 129, will show their intimate connexion with each other¹.

The general similarity between our fragments and these two missals is evident at first sight; the vernacular rubrics and prayers which are a special feature of Irish *liturgica* occur not only in fragment B, which is moulded after the type of the Stowe missal, but in the (presumably) Bobbio sheet, though the *Cod. Bobiens.* is entirely in Latin.

I am indebted to Mr. Whitley Stokes and Professor Rhys for help in translating the rubrics, which at once recall somewhat similar ones in the Stowe missal, though it is difficult to see how one *Dignum* could be sung before another, and the liturgical meaning of *lándiunach* ('a full washing,' a 'complete washing out'), apparently at the offertory and

¹ Our fragments will bear out Mr. E. Bishop's belief, expressed in the last number of the *JOURNAL* (July, 1903, p. 560, n), that the Irish were concerned in the manipulation to which the Roman books were subjected in Gaul and in Northern Italy in the seventh century.

certainly before the preface, is at present unknown: it cannot be the same ceremony as the Stowe *lethdirech* and *lândirech* (the half and the full uncovering of the chalice); one hesitates to suggest a hitherto unrecorded ceremonial cleansing of the chalice at this part of the mass; but if O'Reilly's *Irish-English Dictionary* (1864) is correct (*diunach* = 'bathing,' 'washing'), the ceremony will be the customary washing of the celebrant's hands.

Putting on one side the phraseology of the prayers, which, as regards fragments A and B, is distinctly Roman, it will be at once noticed that their whole system is a Gallican one, for whilst *Gregor.* and *Gelas.* for each mass only supply as a rule one or two collects, a secret and a post-communion prayer, *Bob.*, *Gothic.*, *Francor.*, and *Gallican. vetus* agree in providing four separate prayers before the preface, which in its turn is followed by the post-sanctus and the canon '*Qui pridie*'; after which *Bob.* provides nothing else, as the *Missa Romensis cotidiana* at the beginning of that missal, with its fixed post-communion, had apparently to serve for all masses. Now this arrangement is precisely the one witnessed to by fragments A and B, whilst C. fol. 1^{ro} provides somewhat elaborate initials for four only of the items which precede the preface. It is far from being suggested that we have here a pure Gallican rite; the fragments are a product of a time when Roman influence had substituted short pithy collects in the place of the lengthy Gallican ones, and the Roman canon, or part of it, had been introduced, but the distinctive prefaces are left untouched and the old framework remains, the diptychs are still read and the *pax* is given before the consecration; though the actual title '*post nomina recitata*' only occurs once, the word *recita* . . . appears in one of the prayers, whilst another begins with '*Recensitis nominibus.*' It must be borne in mind that the titles on the first sheet of A are a later addition by a Romanizing corrector, who seeing three nameless collects prefixed to them the three titles common in Roman sacramentaries, without stopping to think whether they were applicable to the prayers, and without seeing the impossibility of the Roman '*Super populum*' coming before the preface¹. The very position of the Epistle and Gospel, so rarely found in early sacramentaries, but here placed by themselves as '*lectiones ad missam*' and followed by the '*Ordo missae*,' is exactly the arrangement of the Bobbio Missal.

But it is not only in the arrangement of the office that our fragments agree with the Stowe and Bobbio MSS; it may be only a strange coincidence, but just as the Stowe Missal has three masses only, viz. for the common of saints, for penitents, and for the dead, fragments A and B

¹ This procedure is the reverse of what we find in *Cod. Bobiens.*, where the Roman prayers of the *Missa Romensis cotidiana* appear under utterly unsuitable Gallican titles.

reveal three masses which, though they bear no title, correspond exactly with these three. In the few pages before us we meet with typical Hiberno-Gallican expressions which rarely if ever occur in the *Greg.* or *Gelas.*; e.g. the elders of the church are termed '*seniores*' whilst the faithful laity departed are the '*cari nostri*'; '*stratus*,' in the sense of body or congregation, which occurs only in the Stowe Missal, is found here with the epithet '*communis*'¹; the solemn *Amen* at the giving of thanks (1 Cor. xiv 16) is ordered by the special rubric '*Amen dicitur*'²; but perhaps the most striking similarity with the Stowe Missal is the omission of the *filioque*; though it was added to that MS by Moelcaith, the text of the Piacenza fragment remains unchanged, '*Spiritus sanctus a patre procedens*,' a fact which seems to go some way in justifying the early date assigned to this sheet or its exemplar; the fact that the words occur in a preface here instead of in the creed does not weaken the argument.

It will be observed from the notes that whilst the first mass in the Reichenau sheet is more or less the common property of Roman and Gallican missals, our fragments, with the exception of three Ambrosian collects, give us texts which are only found elsewhere, if at all, in Stowe, Bobbio, Rheims and the Mozarabic, and that the variants are instructive, as providing what in some cases looks like a purer and more primitive reading. If the number of known liturgical forms is not greatly increased by the present publication, it brings out a few new points as to text and arrangement, as well as some apparent difficulties which await solution. The phrases '*refrigerio spiritus defunctorum*' '*Deus . . . da nobis domine*' may be due to errors in copying, but the frequent reiteration of *enim* in the middle of prayers is peculiar, nor do I remember having seen elsewhere *sursum corda habeamus* in a collect, or *cepit panem*³ for *accepit panem* at the commencement of the Canon; the sequence *Petri et Pauli Iohannis*, to the exclusion of Andrew, in what appears to be an extract from the Canon, is a distinguishing mark of the Mozarabic Missal, though the three names do occur in this order in one of the Stowe collects; the '*Vere elogius bassilius*' (unfortunately defective) on A. fol. 2^o is presumably a half Greek version (*elogius* = *Εὐλόγιος* !) similar to '*Vere benedictus*' which precedes it, but it seems to break off into the Latin of another prayer; at any rate, it is interesting to note

¹ Witzel's print of the Fulda MS has '*statu*.' Of course it is impossible to rely on his text as rendering the reading of the MS here, but still it now appears his *statu* is countenanced by the first hand of the new fragment. The correction to *stratus* however, as in *St.*, seems highly interesting [Ed. B.].

² I do not know of any other suitable expansion of the *c ps* which follows after *patris* in the MS; it might be a scribe's error for *c r (eliquis)*, but the reading of the text is clear.

this survival of the ancient ecclesiastical tongue where it was scarcely expected.

In the almost total absence of headings to the collects it is impossible to arrange with certainty the masses in the Piacenza fragment; some of its sentences were sung by the choir and not said by the priest; e. g. '*Immola Deo sacrificium laudis*'¹ was ordered, according to the Leabar Breac, to be chanted after the full uncovering of the chalice and paten after the gospel, and there is little doubt that the *Deus et deus et dominus dominus noster*, which occurs three times in one mass on fragment C, must have been one of those antiphons which we learn from Stowe were interspersed in the service, though these or similar words have not been met with before. But it is very doubtful whether this explanation can account for the two prayers, which look like benedictions, which are found on A. fol. 1 v^o between the preface and the post-sanctus, '*ad-sistat . . . benedixit*' and on C. fol. 1 v^o immediately before the preface '*Benedictio . . . spiritus et reliqua*'; the former of these is apparently unfinished and perhaps has been copied into a wrong place, but the absence of any similar examples of any liturgical interpolation immediately before the preface makes it necessary to call special attention to these anomalies.

The first question naturally asked as to any newly discovered Gallican sacramentary is as to the existence of a non-Roman canon, for up to the present no such has been found. Our fragments merely give the first words of a formula which either, as in *Bob.*, agree with the so-called Gelasian canon: (i) '*Qui pridie*,' (ii) '*Qui pridie quam*,' or (iii) with the Ambrosian '*Qui pridie quam pro nostra omnium salute pateretur*,' and in all three cases this apparently invariable formula follows immediately on the post-sanctus, whether the latter is addressed to the first or to the second person of the Holy Trinity; there is no trace of any reference to the night of the betrayal instead of the eve of the passion, or to our Lord's standing in the midst of the apostles, such as might have been expected in a purely Gallican liturgy. But there is a certain confusion and irregularity in B. fol. 2, col. 1 which deserve notice; after *cepit panem* (?) there is a short space, and on another line the same scribe proceeds to write + *Oremus domini, &c.*, which begins much like a bidding prayer *post nomina (defunctorum) recitata*; but suddenly, in its eighth line (after the punctuation mark ∴ instead of .), it becomes a prayer for the living, '*pro integritate, &c.*' Of this text Stowe has as far as '*penitentium nostrorum*' as the end of an added *Super oblata* (ed. Warren, p. 233), whilst it provides the rest of it in

¹ These are probably the words erased on fol. 19 of the Stowe Missal: see Dr. McCarthy's article, Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy (Polite Literature and Antiquities), vol. xxvii, pt. I, p. 205, n. b.

a slightly altered form, '*pro stratu seniorum suorum et ministrorum omnium puritate, pro integritate, &c.*,' as part of the canon *dominicus papae Gilasi* after the recitation of the diptychs of the living, the *seniores* and *ministri* being among the faithful departed in our fragment but with the living in Stowe. The whole of this long prayer '*pro stratu . . . curare dignetur*' is wanting in *Bob.* and *Gelas.*, and is clearly an interpolation arbitrarily inserted by the copyist of Stowe in the middle of the commemoration of the living in his 'Gelasian' canon, between '*pro redemptione animarum suarum*' and '*pro spe salutis, &c.*' As it stands in our fragment, it is even more out of place than in *Stowe*: its position, immediately after the *Qui pridie* and preceded by a + seems to indicate that it was intended to be said somewhere in the Canon or at least to be in some way connected with it¹. But this is not the only difficulty: after the words '*pietas curare dignetur,*' without any break, and after a lacuna of two or three words only, we meet with *et pauli io* (evidently *petri et pauli iohannis*), the normal position of which is after *memoriam venerantes* BEFORE the words of Institution, and in the next lines (unfortunately half cut off) the names of the patriarchs from Abel, which in the usual Canon form the conclusion of the clause *Unde et memores* AFTER the consecration. Even this is not the end of the confusion: for the patriarchs in the genitive case are followed by the ablative case (? *cum* or *pro* in the lacuna) of bishops and others, whether living or dead cannot unfortunately be ascertained². It is scarcely possible to believe that all this is a mere medley, a meaningless amalgam of three or four separate parts of the liturgy, necessitated by the need to conciliate the opposite Roman and non-Roman practices as to the commemoration of the dead; the length and the phraseology of the prayer seem to preclude the supposition that it was intended as an alternative post-sanctus for the preceding '*Domine deus noster.*' But if we bear in mind that this portion of the Stowe MS. is by the later hand,

¹ Mr. H. A. Wilson has kindly sent me the following note: 'I think the + before *Oramus* may very likely be intended simply as a means of readily finding the form, which would be wanted constantly, when the celebrant turned from another page to that on which it was written. It may have corresponded to an abbreviation + *oramus* or even to a + on other pages. This is, I am inclined to think, more likely than the view that the appearance of the + marks the prayer as something connected with the *Canon Actuum*. I do not suggest a doubt that it was so connected—its position suggests that it may have been recited after the Institution. The fragment shows, I think, a somewhat earlier stage in the process which has embedded the similar form in the Roman canon found in *Stowe*.' [H. A. W.]

² The name of Abel may, I think, be accounted for if we suppose that it was one of a list parallel to that which appears on fol. 31 a of *Stowe*. But in this case the list (unless it is here abbreviated) must have been a shorter one than that of *Stowe*, from which it must also have differed in order, if the words '*Petri et Pauli Iohannis*' are also part of it. [H. A. W.]

and that *Bob.* here is pure Gelasian, the suspicion crops up that possibly we may have here the relics of a part of the Gallican canon ; this is a mere surmise with but little to uphold it, but at least it may be thrown out, if only to be destroyed by the criticism of more experienced judges.

Considering how few are the extant documents of the Irish rite¹, and how little we know at present of its origin and development, the present fragments, though apparently insignificant, may be of real value to future liturgical students, and if their assumed date and provenance, as here tentatively set forth, are accepted, they may prove to be portions of sacramentaries which are older than the Stowe² and which preserve a more perfect text than the Bobbio Missal ; at any rate they will show that neither one nor the other of these can retain its claim to be a *unicum* or a mere personal production, and their publication may lead to the search for and the discovery of other fragments and to the elucidation of an important question³.

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¹ Mr. Warren's *reliquias* of Irish liturgies are taken from about a dozen sources, of which only three are really sacramentaries.

² The consensus of opinion seems to place the transcription of this MS to the ninth century, but see *The Academy*, Oct. 20, 1894, and *Palæogr. Music.* v, p. 142. A photographic reproduction of the whole MS is a great desideratum which the Henry Bradshaw Society would do well to consider.

³ I must acknowledge with much gratitude the very valuable suggestions sent me by Mr. H. A. Wilson and Mr. Edmund Bishop.