

The Mass of the Roman Rite: ITS ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT (Missarum Sollemnia)

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**Volume I and Volume II have been combined in this PDF,
but not a single footnote has been removed.**

N.B. There is a popular version of Jungmann's *Missarum Sollemnia* being sold
which combines Volume I and II ... **but removes all the footnotes!**

Part 1 of 5 — Volume I, all the way to page 229

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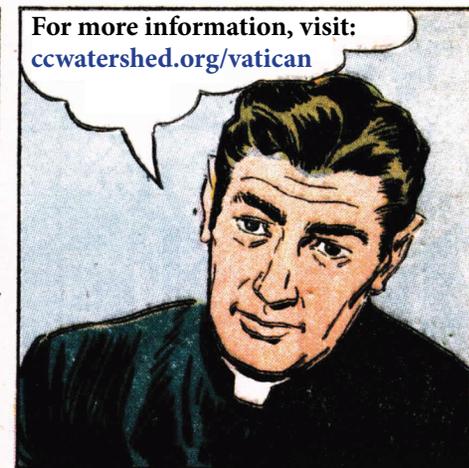
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Author's Foreword

THIS I AM SURE NO ONE WILL DOUBT: IF A STUDY OF OUR TRANSMITTED culture is worth the trouble not only of securing a surface knowledge, but of delving with all available care and love to gain an insight into its essence and its course of development, and to grasp the meaning of every last detail, certainly it is no less true—even aside from higher considerations—with regard to the liturgy of Holy Mass, which is daily celebrated on a hundred thousand altars, and to which, Sunday after Sunday, the whole Catholic population streams.

Of course there is no dearth of penetrating studies. Year after year they make their appearance for the widest possible circles of readers. Nor is there a want of scientific research. In the last few decades investigations of every sort have happily been on the increase. But a work of greater magnitude, which would assemble and evaluate the results of so many separate inquiries—that was hardly to be looked for!

That the present writer undertook such a task is to be laid, in a sense, to the evil times through which we have passed. When the theological faculty at Innsbruck was abolished a few months after the invasion of the Nazi forces into Austria, the business of teaching could at first be carried on, at least in essentials and with scarcely a diminution of students, outside the confines of the University. But then came the second blow. On October 12, 1939 the Collegium Maximum was closed and given up, along with the Canisianum which had already been seized. But only a few days later, even before my departure from Innsbruck, I made up my mind to dedicate the time thus left free to me to an exposition of the Mass-liturgy. For that seemed to me to be the theme most useful to handle in a time of stress like this. Besides it was this subject that my previous studies and writings, and the great amount of notes and my moderately large collection of books would have best fitted me for. The dissolution of the college had of course involved not only the loss of the extensive college library, but likewise all access to the stacks of the liturgical seminar which had been built up through the years with much trouble and pain.

But I began the work anyway. To be sure, the notion that I could get along with just a few books soon proved to be a big mistake, for I wanted to build a solid structure that did not rest on conjecture and on the unexamined acceptance of the data of earlier authors. But in my new residence in Vienna I found that the friendliness of the authorities concerned opened up many libraries for my convenience—the house libraries of my own order, of course, and the collections open to all in the public libraries; also

several important church libraries, especially the seminary library and the library of the Schotten Institute, all of which favored me by granting the continued and prolonged loan of fundamental books—for which I am deeply grateful.

Little by little, too, my own small stock began to grow, thanks especially to the energetic exertions of Father Joseph Miller, at that time our Provincial, who managed to rescue some of my own books by buying what he could from bookstores and antique-shops; thanks, too, to confreres who were serving in the war in France and elsewhere, who acquired for me many a precious volume from foreign publishers. Finally, because of the cooperation of the officials in charge, I was also able to secure the loan of some important items from the collection of the Innsbruck liturgical seminar.

Thus I could get on with the work with some assurance. But it did not begin really to take shape till in 1942 I was able to exchange my residence in Vienna for one in the country—an ideal place, considering the conditions of war. This was the home of the School Sisters of St. Pölten, in Hainstetten, in the little wedge of land formed by the confluence of the lower Ybbs with the Danube, peacefully nestled in fertile hill country. Here, along with the moderate duties in a little church attached to the convent, I was granted not only the undisturbed quiet of a peaceful countryside, but—under the watchful care of the good Sisters—all the material conditions conducive to successful labor. The distant rumble of the war—which, it is true, often increased to the whistle of bombs and the shaking of the whole house—served only as an incentive to gather up all my resources in order to prepare, at least in one point, for the spiritual reconstruction which was sure to come.

By degrees my method became clearer and more secure. The medieval development, I found, would have to be worked out anew from the sources. For, although by and large the phenomena were all connected by a common tie, still a more precise insight into origins and motive forces could be gained only by carefully determining the place of provenance and the stage of development of the texts that have come down to us, texts which in some particulars were still further disparate and divided. From what the sources had to offer—and I mean not only modern editions of the text but older collections as well, especially Martène, two hundred and more years old and still valuable—excerpts had to be made systematically. The rows of paragraphs and chapters began to grow, in parallel columns that stretched out yard after yard, and with dozens and even hundreds of smaller strips; and, to make it easier to establish relationships and basic forms, all shimmering in every color of the rainbow! By thus collating the texts I could at last arrive at a thorough understanding of the evolution of a given piece. Yet this work is presented to the reader most of the time in just a few sentences, with a dozen or so selected source references in the footnotes, offering the critical student the sought-for assurance and the

basis for further work, and in no way disturbing the ingenuously unconcerned reader. It was no easy thing to arrange the results of hundreds of detailed investigations, discoveries, hints and controversies in such a way that the exposition would be readable, and the little stones would be fashioned into a mosaic in which would appear a picture of the Roman Mass which, in spite of many a retouching and adaptation, still peers down at us today in pacific brightness.

By the beginning of May, 1945, when the waves of war, already subsiding, settled down, so to say, before our walls from East and West, the last sheets of manuscript were being readied in clean copy. My return at last to Innsbruck and to the library of the liturgical seminar gave me an opportunity not only to fill in many unhappy lacunæ, but also to finish a job which I had already started at Vienna. Long ago, while in Franz Josef Dölger's classes, I had had drummed into me, as a sort of scientific conscience, the exacting demand: *Check every citation!* This took another six months and more of strenuous work.

It is due to the persistence of the Herder publishing firm in Vienna that, despite innumerable obstacles, the setting and printing of the German book was pushed through with such dispatch and with all the careful attention I could have wished for.

Do not think I am deluding myself with the belief that, for all this diligence, the work does not suffer certain weaknesses. It is a child of war; children of war have a claim to a milder judgment. It was difficult, and in some instances—even after the war—impossible, to procure the pertinent new literature from the foreign press. And manuscripts and incunabulæ for the whole period under consideration were for all practical purposes unavailable. But that was not too bad, since nearly all the worthwhile sources for the period up to the late Middle Ages, and for the period following till 1570, at least the most typical samples of a tremendous flood of liturgical books were at hand in modern editions. Some student to come will probably find much to supplement and, I am sure, much to straighten out, especially if later on the liturgical manuscripts in various countries (including, in part, Germany) are published, and critical editions of such important sources as the Roman *Ordines* are prepared. Much, too, is to be looked for in materials that only border on the liturgical, like the *Consuetudines* of medieval monasteries and convents. And anyone who will become conversant with the various liturgies of the Orient and the partially existent monastic variants of the Roman rite, not only through source books, but, where possible, in actual performance, will, I think, be able to shed more light on many details of our Roman Mass. Finally, there is work to be done regarding the participation of the faithful, which is also a part of divine service and therefore belongs to liturgy; a study of the customs of each country—hardly to be found in books—ought to prove valuable. Among the important historical questions of a more particular kind, there is room for research in that aggregation of written witnesses to the reform

of the Roman Mass around the year 1000, the aggregation previously grouped together as the Sééz-group; the sudden blossoming of ecclesiastical life in Normandy during the tenth and eleventh centuries serves as a background. The history of liturgy has in every case many problems to solve, even in the narrower sphere of the Mass-liturgy.

So what I am able to offer, I beg the reader to accept. And may I make a last remark: this book is not meant to serve only for knowledge—even the knowledge of the most precious object in the Church's accumulated treasure—but it is intended for life, for a fuller grasp of that mystery of which Pope Pius XII says in his encyclical *Mediator Dei* (§ 201): "The Mass is the chief act of divine worship; it should also be the source and center of Christian piety."

JOS. A. JUNGMAUN, S.J.

INNSBRUCK,
Easter 1948.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

Father Jungmann needs no introduction. This learned Jesuit and eminent liturgical scholar, at present editor of one of the foremost German theological magazines, is well-known throughout the Catholic world. His genetic study of the Roman Mass, entitled *Missarum Sollemnia*, first published at Vienna in 1948, has already reached a second German edition. It is a "must" for anyone desiring an over-all view of the history of the western Mass, its theology and its ceremonial. The translation represents in substance the second (revised) edition of the German. In the notes, however, the translator has sometimes substituted or added English references where they were advisable. If by his English version of this tremendous work the translator has contributed to a wider and deeper knowledge of the holy sacrifice, he is humbly grateful.

The translator has to thank several of his students and confreres for their ready aid while he was preparing this work, particularly the Very Rev. A. T. Zeller, C.Ss.R., and the Rev. M.S. Bringazi, C.Ss.R., who read proofs and manuscript respectively and generously offered helpful suggestions, contributing no little thereby to make this rendering fit to stand by the side of the original.

Grateful acknowledgment is also made to Sheed and Ward, publishers of Monsignor Knox's translation of the New Testament for gracious permission to use quotations from that work.

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ABBREVIATIONS

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- AAS : Acta Apostolicæ Sedis
 CE : The Catholic Encyclopedia
 CSEL : Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
 DACL : Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie
 DThC : Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique
 Eph. liturg. : Ephemerides Liturgicæ. Analecta historico-ascetica.
 GCS : Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller
 HBS : Henry Bradshaw Society
 JL : Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft
 LF : Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen
 LQ : Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen
 LQF : Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen
 LThK : Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche
 MGH : Monumenta Germaniæ Historica
 Periodica : Periodica de re morali, canonica, liturgica
 PG : Migne, Patrologia Græca
 PL : Migne, Patrologia Latina
 RAC : Reallexikon für Antike and Christentum
 SRC : (Decree of) The Congregation of Sacred Rites
 StZ : Stimmen der Zeit
 TU : Texte und Untersuchungen
 ZkTh : Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie

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Introduction

EVER SINCE THE GOD-MAN WALKED THIS EARTH OF OURS AND CLOSED His career with the redemptive sacrifice of the Cross, there has been in the midst of men that mystery-filled renewal of His world-saving offering which has continued from age to age and from land to land, and which will so continue till He comes again. Sometimes with pomp and splendor in the midst of thousands, sometimes in the quiet of a lonely chapel, in the poverty of a tiny village church, in some out-of-the-way spot from which men consecrated to God go out to their works of love, everywhere the same mystery is daily consummated in endless repetition. Hardly separated by even a thin wall from the market-place of everyday life, it is found in the very midst of men who throng forward toward the heavenly grace which here rises resplendent, who stretch out their hands seeking help to prevent their sinking into nothingness, into a life estranged from God.

From the very beginning Jesus designed this institution precisely for this purpose, to rise in the midst of the people. Here is the wood of the cross standing firm and erect; here our Lord's words find their fulfillment: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all things to myself" (John 12:32). A mighty process of assimilation, tending ever farther and farther, is centered in this glowing hearth—a process of conformation or at least of approximation of the earthly to the heavenly, of the sinful life of man to the offering of the Son of God to His Father's will.

But the very fact that Christ's power is continually hedged in by men and surrounded by surging life made it imperative from the very beginning that there be some protecting form, some firm dwelling in which the Holies would be guarded against rough hands and the dust of the streets, safe from desecration and dishonor. It would have to be a form in which what is going on beneath is enveloped without being hidden from men's senses, so that its inmost riches and its uplifting power might be made manifest. This form is the *liturgy of Holy Mass*.

Christ Himself gave us only the essential core of the liturgical celebration; the externals had to be furnished by men. These the Church has worked out in a slow development, year by year. And as in a structure which has been building for centuries, the Mass-liturgy is not always constructed along the same uniform lines, either in whole or in its single parts. Of course, the basic outline, the form of the Eucharist, once it was chosen, remained untouched. And we are bound to admire the piety that held fast to what was established and seldom allowed new ideas to tamper with what was long existing and familiar. But in other matters, what changes! In stressing certain aspects, in responding to the religious temper of the times,

and in veering with the general atmosphere through which the Church has had to pass, some things were brought to the fore, others, on the contrary, allowed to disappear.

The liturgy of the Mass has become quite a complicated structure, wherein some details do not seem to fit very well, like some venerable, thousand-year-old castle whose crooked corridors and narrow stairways, high towers and large halls appear at first sight strange and queer. How much more comfortable a modern villa! But in the old building there is really something noble. It treasures the heirloom of bygone years; the architectures of many successive generations have been built into its walls. Now these must be recovered by the latest generation. So, too, in the Mass-liturgy, only a historical consideration of the evolutionary work of the centuries can make possible a proper appreciation. Of course it would not be unthinkable—rather it would be the ideal toward which all further development should tend—that the Mass-liturgy should be so constructed that, while remaining true to the past, it should be understandable, both in general plan and in single details, without reference to history. Many an old cathedral—as I myself noticed especially on a visit to Trier's revered *Dom*—displays such a solution perfectly. If this were the case, explanations could be reduced to a minimum. A consideration of the growth would then really be of only historical interest, something about which people would not ordinarily have to bother.

But this is not the case with the Roman Mass. To gain a thorough understanding of it, whether as a complete unit or in detail, one is forced to rely on historical investigation. Such historical investigation, serving as it does to explain what is actually at hand, has since the sixteenth century been zealously turned to the analysis of the liturgy of Holy Mass. The last few centuries have been at it with special diligence and considerable success. To summarize the results of these inquiries and to round them out as much as possible is the task the following pages propose to do.

To determine just how broad the field must be which this historical analysis will cover, it is important to discover the precise meaning of the word "liturgy." Is it concerned only with the activity of the priest who celebrates, so that the participation of the people and the forms under which he celebrates are only accidental concomitants, to be considered perhaps in pastoral theology and canon law but not in a liturgical disquisition? Or are the Christian people joined to the priest in the compass of the term? A cursory glance at the older periods of Christian worship forces the latter solution, for in early times the Mass-liturgy was definitely cast in the form of a communal exercise. The Council of Trent, too, declares that Christ left the Mass to his *Church*. The Church, however, is something more than just the clergy; it is the whole Christian people under the leadership of proper authority.

If nowadays we appear to be stressing more and more the participation of the laity in the liturgical function, this is only a result of a return to

that larger concept of the Church which the circumstances of the time and the demands of the cure of souls have forced upon us.¹ If this enlarged concept is clearly kept in mind, new light will be shed on many questions regarding the Mass-liturgy.

From what has been said, one can formulate the plan of this book. The main portion of the book is concerned with a genetic explanation of the various rites and prayers of the Roman Mass. This is preceded by two introductory and preparatory parts. The first is a quick glance at the history of the Mass from the first Maundy Thursday till today. Non-Roman liturgies must also be considered, for the comparative study of these will help us to derive the lines of development. This historical prospectus will bring to our notice more plainly the various forces that have in the course of centuries contributed to building the structure of the Mass, and thus can be outlined the larger phases of the development which the complete picture unfolds and which will be repeated more specifically at numerous points. Of this development the earlier period has indeed been presented often. Batiffol, in his *Leçons sur la Messe* has given us a fine picture of the developments of the early Middle Ages. Of the later period, a more precise view is offered for the first time in the following pages.

The second preparatory section deals with those changes in the liturgy of the Mass which arise from the diversity of the ways of the Church's participation. On the one hand there are the various modes of celebration necessitated by the variety of celebrants—from pontifical functions right down to private Masses. On the other hand there are various modes of congregational participation, limited by considerations of ritual as well as of time and place. Here in particular the function of the people in relationship to the liturgy must be carefully worked out. To test the conclusions regarding the part the people play in the celebration of Holy Mass, a chapter is prefixed on the essence of the sacrifice of the Mass, to illustrate the essential meaning of the sacrifice of the Mass as worship, in contrast to the sacrifice of the Cross. We can see at the same time in this offering of worship that the role of the Church—and therefore of the people—is not that of passive by-standers; that, rather, all active resources must be drawn upon in taking part in the sacerdotal work of the High-Priest Eternal who—in regard to the material offering—sanctifies and transfigures even the sensible world of unreasoning creation.

The Mass has been called the central artistic achievement of Christian culture. The dramatist Hugo Ball (d. 1927) held the opinion: "For the Catholic there can really be no theater. The play which dominates his life and entralls his every morning is holy Mass."² Paul Claudel, after the initial impressions which culminated in his conversion, was thrilled by the sacred drama unfolded at Notre Dame in Paris. "It was the most profound

¹ See J. A. Jungmann, "Was ist Liturgie?" *ZkTh, LV* (1931), 83-102; reprinted in the volume *Gewordene Liturgie*, 1-27.

² E. Hennings-Ball, *Hugo Balls Weg zu Gott* (Munich, 1931), 42.

and grandiose poetry, enhanced by the most august gestures ever confided to human beings. I could not sufficiently satiate myself with the spectacle of the Mass. . . ."³

These are the words of seers, words that compel our attention. When an inspired faith has grasped the invisible mystery hidden beneath these forms, then these modest forms themselves begin to shine under the revealing light of the mystery.

We must not, of course, be deceived into thinking that the words "artistic work" as usually understood, tell more than a half-truth. There is wanting a disciplined conservativeness in incident—and this is true not only of the Roman liturgy; there is wanting, even up to the final outgrowths, any consciously determined and accomplished plan. Men of many centuries and speaking many languages have all contributed to the work, perhaps with some common ideal that was itself subjected to a diversity of shades and accents—as we learn from the history of dogma and even more from the still unwritten history of Christian preaching. Still these men were all members of one Church, men, in fact, so identified with that Church that we but seldom know their names; and the common ideal was a pattern of such force that their work did not fall apart but preserved its unity and so gained a special beauty. However, it is not properly the beauty of an art-product which is manifested here, but rather the beauty of a living thing such as we admire in a blossoming tree which, no matter how irregular and haphazard the branches and twigs and leaves and flowers might be, yet maintains a dominant symmetry, because a life-principle, a soul, guides its growth. It is in this sense that Sigismund von Radecki speaks of the accomplishment of the prophetic and operative words of Holy Mass: "This is not art but rather the pattern and source towards which all art is striving."⁴ In Holy Mass the world beyond reaches down into our earthly world. In the power of this invasion, in the fire of this meeting of man with God, the iridescent form of earthly artistry is lost and entangled in the balanced rhythm of resonant human words.

On the other hand the greatness of the thing, the reverent enthusiasm for the sublime work which is given us men to do, lures us on to dare the very heights. In a thousand different attempts the Church in the course of her long history has endeavored to reform and improve her liturgy by means of the most diverse agencies, which time and again were called in to retouch the work in orderly and accomplished fashion. Nor will she in future desist from this pressing and eternally unfinished task. We may hope that this care for the holy of holies which she guards will prove to be all the more fruitful as the ideal patterns which for centuries have guided this care become clearer.

³ From "In the Grip of God," in S. and S. Lamping, *Through Hundred Gates* (Milwaukee, 1939), 202.

⁴ S. v. Radecki, *Wort und Wunder* (2nd

ed.; Vienna, 1942), p. 51, in the essay, "Das Verborgene Wort." Also in *Liturgisches Leben*, VI (1939), 73.

It is the task of the history of the liturgy to bring to light these ideal patterns of past phases of development which have been hidden in darkness and whose shapes are all awry. After the tiresome preparation of studying and transcribing manuscripts, publishing, dating and localizing them properly, and assembling and interpreting facts, history must gather these all together to reproduce and focus the ideal patterns. In many points this review of pictures of older forms will serve to make us understand—and so to cherish—what we have received as our inheritance. It is not the fact of antiquity that makes liturgical customs valuable, but their fullness of content and their expressive value. Even newer ceremonies, like the priest's blessing at the end of Mass, can possess a great beauty.

In not a few places this objective review will bring to notice many rites gained and many rites lost which ought not to have been. With reference to the position taken by the deacon while singing the Gospel at a solemn Mass, the saintly Cardinal Bona (d. 1674) makes the rather cogent remark:

*Hinc apparet, quam verum sit . . . multa hodie pro lege haberi in his quæ pertinent ad ecclesiasticas observationes, quæ sensim ex abusu irrepserunt; quorum originem cum recentiores ignorent, varias conantur congruentias et mysticas rationes invenire, ut ea sapienter instituta vulgo persuadeant.*⁵

Of course it stands to reason that not any and everyone can start these reforms on his own initiative. The great Mabillon (d. 1707), when publishing his edition of the Roman *Ordines*, prefaced it with a pertinent warning, while at the same time he expressed the wish that those whose concern it was to see to the proper conduct of divine worship might keep these older patterns in mind.

*Hæc autem non eo animo referimus, quasi veterum huiusmodi rituum usus privata auctoritate revocari velimus, aut recentiorum (quod absit) induci contemptum, sed ut eos qui eiusmodi officiis præpositi sunt invitemus ad consulendam antiquitatem, quæ quanto fonti præcipua, tanto venerabilior est.*⁶

⁵ Bona, *Rerum liturg.* 1. II, 7, 3 (670). The rubricist, Cardinal Merati (d. 1744), uses almost the same words: Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus* I, 11, 6 (I, 111).

⁶ J. Mabillon, *In ord. Rom. Commentarius prævius*, c. 21 (PL LXXVIII, 934 D).

Part I

THE FORM OF THE MASS THROUGH THE CENTURIES

1. Mass in the Primitive Church

THE FIRST HOLY MASS WAS SAID ON "THE SAME NIGHT IN WHICH HE was betrayed" (1 Cor. 11:23). Judas' resolution had been taken, the next few steps would bring our Lord to the Mount of Olives where an agony would overtake Him and His enemies seize Him. In this very hour He gives His disciples the Holy Sacrament which for all time would be the offering of the Church. The setting was significant—the paschal meal. Since the withdrawal of the people out of Egypt the paschal lamb had served year after year to prefigure the great expectation. The fulfillment, too, would serve to recall the exodus not only from Egypt but from the land of sin, and the arrival not into a promised land but into God's kingdom. From this hour on it was to continue as a fond reminiscence from generation to generation.¹ But the records of the Last Supper contain few details concerning the ceremonial of the meal, probably because this ceremonial was not meant to be the lasting setting of the celebration.²

And still we should like to know more about that first Mass. Attempts have been made, through research into the form of the paschal meal in Christ's time and a thorough study of the New Testament accounts, to reconstruct the events of the Last Supper.³ Attention must be called to the apparent differences in these accounts—differences even in detailing the

¹ The thought of Christ as the true Easter Lamb is emphasized in John 19:36. For this same reason, to show clear proof that Christ was *pascha nostrum*, St. John appears to lay stress on the fact that Jesus died on the very day when the Sanhedrists were eating the paschal lamb, on the *παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα* (John 19:14). On the other hand, almost all exegetes are at one in considering our Lord's Last Supper on Thursday night a paschal meal. For the problem this creates, and the various solutions suggested, see: W. Goossens, *Les origines de l'Eucharistie* (Paris, 1931), 110-127; A. Merk, "Abendmahl," LThK,

I, 17-19; A. Arnold, *Der Ursprung des christlichen Abendmahles im Lichte der neuesten liturgiegeschichtlichen Forschung* (2nd ed.; Freiburg, 1939), 57-73.

² The hypothesis, that the primitive form of the ecclesiastical celebration of the Eucharist is to be explained from the paschal supper, is defended by G. Bickell, *Messe und Pascha* (Mainz, 1872) and recently by J. B. Thibault, *La liturgie Romaine* (Paris, 1924), 11-37 (Ch. I, "La liturgie primitive et le grand Hallel"). The hypothesis is generally discarded.

³ Matt. 26:26-29; Mark 14:22-25; Luke 22:15-20; 1 Cor. 11:23-25.

form of the words of institution; these differences must arise from the differences in the liturgical practice from which the accounts sprang.⁴ In Matthew and Mark the words spoken over the bread are followed by those over the chalice, while in Luke and Paul a more or less large interval elapses: μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι—as the Roman rite itself announces: *simili modo postquam cœnatum est*. Seemingly at the Last Supper the presentation of the eucharistic Chalice was separated from the presentation of the sacramental Body. It was the liturgical practice of the primitive Church which first brought them together. The older exegesis, indeed, apparently attempted a justification of the time elements of the text without sundering the two consecrations.⁵ But the modern interpretation, even of Catholics, is almost unanimous in taking the words at their face value.⁶ Besides the natural meaning of the words, another argument is to be found in the ease with which we can thus dovetail the narrative into the paschal rite current in our Lord's time, as research has revealed it.⁷

In Christ's day the paschal meal was surrounded with a very complicated ceremonial. Before the meal proper, at which the Easter lamb was eaten, there was a little preliminary—a serving of bitter herbs and unleavened bread that recalled the want felt during the journey out of Egypt. Both before and after this preludial meal the cup was filled. Then the son of the family or the youngest of those present had to place the question: what did these unusual customs signify? With a prayer of thanks to God, the father of the house then told the story of the ancient days in Egypt and of the liberation from darkness into light, from bondage into freedom (*Haggada*). This closed with the singing of the first part of the *Hallel* (Vulgate, Psalms 112; 113:1-8), in which all those at table joined by answering "Alleluia" after each half verse.

Only after this did the meal proper begin. The father of the house took one of the loaves of unleavened bread, broke it, pronounced over it a little blessing and passed it around. This ceremony of brotherly communion in one bread was the signal for starting the meal. Then the paschal lamb was

⁴ F. Hamm, *Die liturgischen Einsetzungsberichte im Sinne vergleichender Liturgieforschung untersucht*, LQF, XXIII, (Münster, 1928), 2; J. Gewiess, *Die urapostolische Heilsverkündigung nach der Apostelgeschichte* (Breslau, 1939), 158f., 164f., 167; Brinktrine, *Die Hl. Messe*, 18f.

⁵ Cf. R. Cornely, *Commentarius in I. Cor.* (Paris, 1890), 342f.; W. Berning, *Die Einsetzung der hl. Eucharistie in ihrer ursprünglichen Form nach den Berichten des. N. T., kritisch untersucht* (Münster, 1901), 243f. Both place the double consecration at the end of the meal.

⁶ J. M. Hanssens, S.J., *Institutiones liturgicæ de ritibus orientalibus* (Rome, 1930),

II, 407-413 (cf. 410, in reference to the same author's studies for clarifying the theological difficulties); Goossens, *Les origines*, 151; J. Sickenberger, *Die Briefe des hl. Paulus an die Korinther und Römer* (4th ed.; Rom. 1932), 54; Arnold, 75-79.

⁷ H. L. Strack - P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (Munich, 1928), IV, 41-76. H. L. Strack, *Pesachim. Der Mischnatraktat "Paschafest" mit Berücksichtigung des N.T. und der jetzigen Paschafeier der Juden nach Hss und alien Drucken, herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert* (Leipzig, 1911).

eaten, with no ritual to hem in the eating and drinking. But after the meal was over the father of the house took the cup, newly filled with wine, and sitting upright he lifted it slightly while he spoke the grace after meal, the real table prayer. Then all drank of it. This was the third cup, called "the cup of the blessing," or "chalice of benediction."⁸ All then sang the second and larger part of the *Hallel* (Vulgate, Psalms 113:9—117:29 and 135) and, after a last blessing, drank the fourth ceremonial cup.

Into this arrangement our Lord's Last Supper fits very easily. The consecration of the bread is connected with the blessing before the eating of the lamb, grafted on to the rite of breaking the bread. For this blessing Matthew and Mark employ not the word εὐχαριστήσας, but another word which better describes such a prayer, εὐλογήσας.⁹ The bread which the father of the house passed around in the preliminary *Haggada* was to be accompanied (according to an old Aramaic formulary) with the words: "See the bread of misery which was eaten by our fathers who passed out of Egypt." Our Lord hands it to His disciples with the weighty words, "This is my body which is to be given for you."¹⁰ The consecration of the chalice is connected with the grace after meal and with the third cup,¹¹ the cup of the blessing (chalice of benediction), of which all could partake in common, whereas during the rest of the meal each of those at table drank from his own individual cup.¹² For the table prayer a special formula was prescribed; Jesus devised one of His own.¹³

Our Lord concluded the institution with the command, "Do this for a commemoration of me." How did the Apostles and the primitive Church carry out this order? As the New Testament accounts intimate by their omission of nearly all details of the paschal feast, the setting of the paschal rite was not considered. Its repetition was not only impracticable, because of the surrounding ceremonial, but it was impossible from the standpoint of law, for in the Old Testament law, to which the Apostles still clung, the eating of the paschal lamb was set for only one time of the year. Promi-

⁸ For the meaning of this "chalice of benediction" also at other meals, cf. H. Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl* (Bonn, 1926), 208f.

⁹ The fact that Paul, and after him Luke, employ the word εὐχαριστήσας is explained as a Græcism. For a discussion of this, see Gewiess, 164.

¹⁰ Hanssens, 412; J. Jeremias, *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu* (Göttingen, 1935), 23.

¹¹ This is clear from the reference to a "hymn" following immediately (Matt. 26:30; Mark 14:26). The exegetes who have the two consecrations follow each other immediately place them therefore in this spot at the end of the meal. The fourth cup was apparently not used at our Lord's

paschal supper.

¹² Goossens, 151f., referring to G. Dalmann, *Jesus-Jeschua* (Leipzig, 1922), 140f. Strack - Billerbeck, IV, 58f., 76, consider the common cup an exception. For the designation of "cup of the blessing," cf. τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας in St. Paul (1 Cor. 10:16: "a cup that we bless").

¹³ The disciples at Emmaus recognized our Lord in the "breaking of the bread" (Luke 24:31); what is meant perhaps is His manner of saying the table-prayer attached to the action—His address to the heavenly Father or His gaze uplifted heavenward; cf. Goossens, 170-172.

The formulæ we will have occasion to refer to later, *infra* Notes 24 and 25.

ment in the narrative of St. Luke and St. Paul is the placing of the consecration of the chalice after the meal; Matthew and Mark do not take any special notice of this peculiar circumstance. When Matthew and Mark wrote, it must have already been customary in their locality to put the two consecrations together. Does that mean that Paul and his disciple Luke still suppose an actual separation? At least in this case there would be some basis for the related opinion that in the early community the Eucharist was, as a rule, bound up with a meal. But unfortunately we cannot clear up this or any similar question, nor can we recreate the form of the Mass-liturgy up to the middle of the second century except through little vestiges and hints and by deductions from later facts.

The Acts of the Apostles mentions three times the "breaking of bread" in the Christian congregation¹⁴—mentions it in such a way that it designates not some introductory ceremony at a meal but a complete and self-contained action. In this term "breaking of bread" we have an entirely new, Christian mode of expression, a term alien to both Jewish¹⁵ and classical literature. The term evidently corresponds to a new thing, the holy Bread of the Christian community.¹⁶ The neo-converts of Whitsunday lived in holy happiness; "and continuing daily with one accord in the temple . . . , and breaking bread in their houses" (Acts 2:46). Besides the liturgy of the Old Law in which everyone regularly took part,¹⁷ there was also this new celebration, which was referred to only by suggestion, and to which the Christians had to come in smaller groups and in their own dwellings. "And they continued steadfastly in the teaching of the Apostles and in the communion of the breaking of the bread and in the prayers" (Acts 2:42). Reference is made to prayer conjoined to the breaking of bread.¹⁸ We can discover nothing further.

In a later chapter we read that there was an assembly one Sunday night at Troas "for the breaking of bread" (Acts 20:7). A long sermon by St. Paul precedes this "breaking of bread" and partaking of the Eucharist (Acts 20:11).¹⁹ From the words "breaking of bread" we cannot infer any-

¹⁴ Acts 2:42, 46; 20:7.

¹⁵ Only Jer. 16:7 employs it poetically in the particular meaning of "to hold a funeral feast" or "to hold a wake."

¹⁶ The latest investigators rather generally agree that in all these instances there is reference to the Eucharist. Goossens, 170-174; Arnold, 43-47; Gewiss, 152-157. This explanation is given for at least Acts 2:42, 46 in a fundamental study by Th. Schermann, "Das Brotbrechen im Urchristentum," *Bibl. Zeitschrift* VIII (1910), 33-52; 162-183; esp. 169f. But some writers are explicitly opposed to the opinion that the Eucharist is meant: A. Steinmann, *Die*

Apostelgeschichte (4th ed.; Bonn, 1934), 40-42; J. M. Nielen, *The Earliest Christian Liturgy* (St. Louis, 1931), 29ff.; A. Wikenhauser, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Regensburg, 1938), 35f.

¹⁷ Cf. Acts 3:1.

¹⁸ O. Bauernfeind, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Theol. Handkommentar zum N.T., 5, Leipzig [1939]), 54, is inclined to interpret the whole passage, 2:42, in a liturgical sense: listening to the teaching of the Apostles, making one's offering, breaking the bread and praying. "What Luke is really saying is: Their fellowship was essentially a fellowship in the evening meal."

¹⁹ Cf. Goossens, 136.

thing more. Since the words were not used simply for "to have a meal," we cannot conclude from them alone that the essential sacramental rite, which our Lord had instituted with the breaking of bread, and which was thereafter so spoken of, was always bound up with a real meal.

But several other arguments do lead to this conclusion. When we see the Apostles gathered together after our Saviour's resurrection, it seems to be the common table that brings them together. That could also have been the case after Pentecost. This was then the opportunity at set times to combine with it the memorial meal of the Lord, just as He Himself had combined it with a meal.²⁰ Every meal was already impressed with a reverential character, since it was always begun and ended with prayer.²¹ Especially the Sabbath meal—the meal on Friday night which initiated the Sabbath—possessed a highly religious stamp. An expansion of the table company beyond the family circle was a well-loved practice on this day just as at the Easter meal.²² Like these Sabbath meals in character were the community banquets which were held on certain occasions for one's circle of friends (*Chaburah*).²³

One of the ceremonies which appears to have been part and parcel of the practice at such meals was for the master of the house to bless the bread, break it and distribute it.²⁴ Thus the entire company was drawn together by the blessing and the eating in common. Of course the blessing of the wine would naturally be added. The "cup of the blessing" itself was filled at the end of the meal, right before the saying of grace which concluded the meal. As an invitation to drink of this cup, a prescribed formula was used. At a later period the prayer was composed of four doxologies of which the first two can be traced back to the time before the destruction of Jerusalem, namely, the "Praise of the Meal" and the "Praise of the Land."²⁵

Certain it is that this custom (with the proper changes) was continued within the Christian communities. We have striking proof of this in the prayer of the *Didache* near the end of the first century:

²⁰ Goossens, 133. Perhaps we must regard our risen Saviour's companionship at meals with His disciples as a link between the Last Supper and the eucharistic meal of the primitive church. In fact, if we dare stress the symbolical meaning attached to the meal, we will be able to trace a very significant line from the accounts of the evangelists regarding these meals and the great messianic meal of eternity, and thereby gain a new light into the eucharistic mysteries. See Y. de Montcheuil, "Signification eschatologique du Repas eucharistique," *Recherches de Science religieuse*, XXXIII (1946), 10-43.

²¹ E. Kalt, *Biblisches Reallexikon*, (2nd ed.; Paderborn, 1939), II, 868f.

²² Cf. Luke 14:1.

²³ Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 206-210.

²⁴ Strack - Billerbeck, IV, 621; Lietzmann, 206. According to Berachah 6, 1, the blessing reads: "Praised be Yahweh, our God, the king of the world, who makes the bread to come from the earth."

²⁵ Strack - Billerbeck, IV, 627-634. The praise of the land begins: "We thank Thee, Yahweh, our God, for having given our forefathers as their inheritance this lovable, good and wide land, for having led us, O Yahweh, our God, out of the land of Egypt and for having freed us from the house of bondage. We thank Thee for Thy covenant, which Thou hast sealed on our flesh, for Thy Torah which Thou hast taught us. . . ."; *ibid.*, 631.

- (9.) Regarding the Eucharist. Give thanks as follows:

First concerning the cup:

"We give Thee thanks, our Father, for the Holy Vine of David Thy servant, which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus, Thy Servant."

"To Thee be the glory forevermore."

Next, concerning the broken bread:

"We give Thee thanks, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus, Thy Servant."

"To Thee be the glory forevermore."

"As this broken bread was scattered over the hills and then, when gathered, became one mass, so may Thy Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom."

"For Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forevermore."

Let no one eat and drink of your Eucharist but those baptized in the name of the Lord; to this, too, the saying of the Lord is applicable: *Do not give to dogs what is sacred.*

- (10.) After you have taken your fill of food, give thanks as follows:

"We give Thee thanks, O Holy Father, for Thy holy name which Thou hast enshrined in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus, Thy Servant."

"To Thee be the glory forevermore."

"Thou, Lord Almighty, hast created all things for the sake of Thy name and hast given food and drink for men to enjoy, that they may give thanks to Thee; but to us Thou hast vouchsafed spiritual food and drink and eternal life through [Jesus,] Thy Servant."

"Above all, we give Thee thanks because Thou art mighty."

"To Thee be the glory forevermore."

"Remember, O Lord, Thy Church: deliver her from all evil, perfect her in Thy love, and from the four winds assemble her, the sanctified, in Thy kingdom which Thou hast prepared for her."

"For Thine is the power and the glory forevermore."

"May grace come, and this world pass away!"

"Hosanna to the God of David!"

"If anyone is holy, let him advance; if anyone is not, let him be converted. *Maranatha!*" "Amen."

But permit the prophets to give thanks as much as they desire.²⁸

Much as these prayers have been discussed, little has been achieved in the way of clarifying their precise meaning and import. In every case we have table prayers in the setting of a Christian meal: Blessing of wine and bread, and grace at the end. That the meal included the sacramental Eucharist is hardly likely.²⁷ The call at the end of the final grace may per-

²⁸ Tr. J. A. Kleist, S.J., *The Didache* (Ancient Christian Writers, VI; Newman Press, Westminster, Md., 1948), 20-21. Quoted with permission of the publisher.

²⁷ However the opinion has again been advocated lately in a thorough discussion of the two *Didache* passages by C. Ruch, "La messe d'après les Pères," *DThC*, X (1928), 865-882. In his reconstruction the prayers

of the congregation are said in common, but no one joins in the prayers of the officiant. The opinion comes up against one objection particularly, in the expression: *μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι*; this does not appear in a solemn prayer (like the *Satiati* of the Roman post-communions), but in a rubric. On the other hand, *εὐχαριστία* and *εὐχαριστεῖν* do not refer unequivocally to the Blessed

haps relate to the Eucharist. But again it is not clear how it is connected here.²⁸ At a much later time, after the close of the second century, we learn more about the agapes which the Christian community conducted for the benefit of the poor and to foster the spirit of Christian concord.²⁹ But these agapes are absolutely separate from the Eucharist. We cannot therefore directly derive anything more from them than the picture of a religion-sponsored meal.³⁰

From what has already been said, this only can be deduced with certainty, that the various forms of table customs taken over by the young

Sacrament, for the terms are used even in the following centuries in a wider sense. Cf. *inter alia* Arnold, 23-29; Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 50f.; P. Cagin, *L'Eucharistia* (Paris, 1912), 252-288.

²⁸ Th. Schermann, *Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung, frühchristliche Liturgien und kirchliche Überlieferung*, (Paderborn, 1915), II, 282f., holds the opinion that what is here in question was the consecrated bread preserved from the previous Sunday's celebration. We would then have a first form of the *Missa præsantificatorum*. We could also, with A. Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie*, 7f., think of a house-Mass in the proper sense, with a real consecration of the bread and wine. This opinion about a domestic Mass was already advanced in P. Drews, "Untersuchungen zur Didache IV," *Zeitschrift f. d. neut. Wissenschaft*, V (1904), 74-79. Such a domestic Mass could be considered only if there was present someone possessing the power to consecrate—which was seldom the case; cf. *Did.* 15, 1. The booklet itself, which was intended not for bishops but for the congregation and its catechists (cf. possibly the *διδάσκαλοι* in *Hermas, Pastor*, Mand. 4, 3, 1), did not have to contain the consecratory texts. Cf. in the same sense, Arnold, 26-29.

Against the opinion that the thanksgiving prayer in c. 10 is to be considered a consecratory eucharistic prayer, cf. *ZkTh*, LXIII (1939), 236 f.

A new explanation, based on reasons of sound worth, is developed by E. Peterson, "Didache cap. 9, 10," *Eph., liturg.* LVIII (1944), 3-13. According to this, the prayers which are used in the *Didache* as table prayers have the form of a christological hymn, such as was early used at the celebration of the Eucharist, at the *fractio panis*.

²⁹ Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 39. Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* The textual material in *Dix*, 45-53. The fullest text is the Ethiopian, but it too is mixed up; cf. the text as set forth by E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentl. Apokryphen*, p. 581; complemented in *ZkTh*, LXIII (1939), 238.

These are the proceedings as described by Hippolytus: In the evening all gather for the agape. The deacon brings a light into the room; the light is blessed with a prayer to which are prefaced "The Lord be with you" and "Let us give thanks to the Lord" (but not "Up with your hearts," which is reserved for the celebration of the Eucharist), and the respective replies. Then the deacon takes the cup and intones an alleluia-psalm; the presbyter and bishop do the same. The gathering responds with an alleluia. Then the meal begins. Before he starts eating, each one accepts a piece of blessed bread from the bishop; "this is 'eulogy', but not 'eucharist' like the Body of the Lord." Each one also takes his cup, says a blessing over it, and then drinks and eats. The catechumens receives exorcized bread, but may not take part in the meal. Everyone may eat his fill, and also take home what is left over (the *ἀποφορητόν*), but so that there is enough for the host to send to others. Talk at table is led by the bishop, or by the priest or deacon in his place; no one talks unless he is called upon or questioned. Proper conduct is continually inculcated. In the case of a meal for the widows, care should be taken that they get home before dark.

³⁰ It is significant that various features clearly indicate the connection with the Jewish meal ceremonial: the responsorial psalmody at the beginning, the initial breaking of the bread, the cup-blessing spoken by the individuals.

Church from Judaism³¹ easily led to employing for Christ's institution the setting of a meal even outside the paschal meal. The grace after meals was the given occasion for the consecration of the chalice, no matter whether the consecration of the bread had occurred earlier, at the very start of the meal, or took place here.³²

To prove that in this early period of the Church the Eucharist was actually bound up with a meal, we have only one corroborating fact in the example of Corinth, as described by St. Paul.³³ The first undoubted fact is that the Corinthians really connected the holy celebration with a great banquet, but certain abuses had crept in which were in glaring contradiction to the spirit of Christ's institution. As might have been expected,³⁴ the meal was supplied not from a common stock but from the provisions brought by the well-to-do. But instead of spreading out all in common and awaiting the start of the supper, the people divided into little groups and consumed their own supplies with a selfishness that was often climaxed by drunkenness. Under such circumstances the words and the ceremonies of the holy action became a secondary matter, a formality which the officiant could perform at his own table and scarcely be noticed. Add to the scandal the painful situation of those guests who had brought nothing. Denouncing such conduct, St. Paul speaks with solemn seriousness of the content and worth of Christ's institution. It might surprise us that he introduces the phrases about the chalice with the words already noticed, μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι, and thus has the intervening meal of the community precede. That would hardly make it appear as if he wanted to suppress the meal itself.³⁵ Rather we have an indication of how Paul wanted it set in order—and it was to be enclosed by the two consecrations! And so he could very correctly speak of the whole thing as a unit under the term "a supper of the Lord."³⁶

³¹ E. von der Goltz, *Tischgebete und Abendmahlsgebete in der altchristlichen und in der griechischen Kirche*, TU, XXIX, 2b. (Leipzig, 1905).

³² For the consecration of the bread at this latter spot a favorable starting point was thought to have been the Jewish practice of keeping a piece of the bread broken at the beginning till the end of the meal and then producing it; cf. von der Goltz, *Tischgebete*, 6f. But the observance seems to be of a later date, and not Palestinian but Babylonian in origin; cf. A. Marmorstein, "Miszellen I. Das letzte Abendmahl und der Seder-Abend," *Zeitschrift f. d. neutest. Wissenschaft*, XXV (1926), 249-253; Arnold, 55f.

³³ 1 Cor. 11:17-34. Cf. especially E. B. Allo, *Première épître aux Corinthiens* (Paris, 1934), 269-316.

³⁴ Reference is made to the statement regarding the *cultores Dianæ et Antinoi* of Lanuvium (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, XIV, n. 2112 [II, Z. 14-16]), according to which the four members whose turn it was that year were to bring to the six annual *cænæ*: each an amphora of good wine, for each guest a loaf of bread, four sardines, a cushion to lie on, and service.

³⁵ This is to be stressed, in opposition to the concept of Goossens, 136-141, and some other interpreters, that Paul condemned the meal itself as an abuse, and that by the emphatic τοῦτο ποιεῖτε he meant to declare that nothing was to be done except what he called attention to in his account.

³⁶ That the words *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον* (1 Cor. 11:20) refer to the whole proceeding is defended by Arnold, 101-105, following E. B. Allo, *op. cit.* In Hippolytus, *Trad.*

That we are not making a mistake in this deduction is indicated by another remnant which we meet about the beginning of the third century. In the church regulations of Hippolytus of Rome, a special provision is made for the Easter Mass at which the newly baptized are to receive their first Holy Communion. After the Body of the Lord is given them, they are to receive, besides the consecrated chalice, also two others, one filled with milk and honey and the other with water, and these, it would seem, before the consecrated chalice, which comes at the very end.³⁷ As new-born children of God they get the children's meal, milk and honey, to strengthen them and to recall to their minds God's promises; they receive, too, the water that suggests that cleansing of soul which they have just experienced.³⁸ Although the consecration had already for a long time been bound together by a single eucharist, this solemn Communion at Eastertide harks back to a time when the meal was interposed before the consecration of the chalice.

The drawing together of the doubled thanksgiving prayer into one was naturally the concomitant of the drawing together of the two consecrations. And this must have occurred even in apostolic times, when the meal was still connected with the celebration of the Eucharist. If the latter followed the meal, the next step was to take up and enlarge the closing thanksgiving prayer—a solution which the appearance of later liturgies clearly points to. But the eucharistic celebration, along with the prayer of thanksgiving, could also be set first, and there are traces of such a solution too.³⁹

On the basis of all these facts we can now attempt to outline the probable development of the eucharistic celebration in the first century of its existence. The Apostles fulfilled the command of our Lord given them at the Last Supper by celebrating regularly in the setting of a meal which was conducted with the ritual forms of a Jewish community meal. The most important point of contact was the grace after meals and the "cup of blessing" (chalice of benediction) connected with it. The grace or prayer of thanks was introduced by an invitation from the host to the guests.⁴⁰ This

Ap. (Dix, 46) the independent agape still bears the name "Lord's Supper."

Perhaps these and other details in Hippolytus' arrangement of the agape can be taken to indicate that at an earlier period the agape was actually connected with the Eucharist; see H. Elfers, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts von Rom* (Paderborn, 1938), 169.

³⁷ Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 40-42). The later version of the baptismal rite in *Canones Hippolyti*, c. 19, 15 (Riedel, 213) has the milk and honey follow the consecrated chalice, obviously out of regard for the law of fasting.

³⁸ Elfers, 166-175. The confusion in later

versions of the Church Order shows that there was no longer any knowledge of the old rite; *ibid.*, 174. See below, p. 22.

³⁹ In the *Epistola apostolorum*, a work of the middle of the second century, preserved in two translations, a Coptic and an Ethiopian, the Coptic for the celebration of Easter night calls for the Remembrance of the Lord first, and then the agape, the Ethiopian in reverse, agape first and then the Remembrance of the Lord. C. Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu* (TU, XLIII; Leipzig [1919]), 54 f.

⁴⁰ *Berachoth*, VII, 3: "How does one word the invitation? If there are three persons

invitation must have fused already in this early period into the double exclamation, *Sursum corda* and *Gratias agamus*, which we find, along with their corresponding answers, practically unaltered in all the succeeding liturgical traditions. The grace or thanksgiving prayer itself, which even in its pre-Christian original had led from gratitude for food and drink into gratitude for the benefits of the grace-filled guidance of God's people,⁴¹ could and did take on Christian features.

This new Christian concept is revealed in the prayers of the *Didache*, which are ever so much more meaningful if they are considered simply as table prayers. Besides, the *Didache* also stresses (10, 7) the improvisation of this prayer of thanks by the "prophets." Certainly if anything in the story of Redemption was to be the occasion for happy remembrance and thanksgiving, it would be this moment of fulfillment in Christ. To build up these thoughts expressly, the example of the Jewish Easter and feast-day Haggada would provide a model, although this was scarcely necessary since the apostolic preaching itself supplied ample material for such memories. Many of the heavenly songs which in St. John's Apocalypse are sung to God and the Lamb can very well be placed in the mouth of an earthly congregation which is gathered with its officiant for the celebration of the Eucharist.⁴²

The consecration of the bread which stands at the beginning of the service must have been drawn over to the consecration of the cup of blessing, and this very soon, perhaps even in the first generation, at least in the sense that bringing them together was considered admissible. Our Lord's words of institution used on these two occasions were thus merged into a single two-part account, and the εὐλογία—εὐχαριστία spoken over the bread became then a thanksgiving prayer which introduced or even enclosed the account and the double consecration therein contained. For the words, "For as often as you shall eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the death of the Lord," with which St. Paul continues his narrative of the institution, and even the sense of Jesus' own command, would early have given rise to the practice of expressing these thoughts right after the account itself, as we again actually find it in all the liturgies, namely in the anamnesis.⁴³

Since, on the one hand, the prayer of thanks was thus enriched and rounded out and settled in form, and on the other, the growing communi-

present, he says, "Let us praise (him whose food it is we have eaten)!" At larger gatherings the invitation was more solemn. Strack - Billerbeck, IV, 629. An invitation of this sort presupposes chiefly a situation where the transition to prayer is not from a previous silence but from conversation. Hence, to keep the practice even after conversation and meal were dropped could be significant of the special holiness of the

action that followed.

⁴¹ *Vide supra*, Note 25.

⁴² Apoc. 4:11; 5:9-14; 17f.; 15:3f. Cf. C. Ruch, "La Messe d'après la S. Ecriture," DThC, X, 858, 860.

⁴³ Cf. amongst others Gewiess, *Die urapostolische Heilsverkündigung*, 165, who takes the καταγγέλλετε of 1 Cor. 11:26 as an imperative, so that a "heralding" or proclamation in words is demanded.

ties became too large for these domestic table-gatherings, the supper-character of the Christian assembly could and did fall out, and the eucharistic celebration stood out as the proper form of divine worship. The tables disappeared from the room, except for the one at which the presiding official pronounced the eucharist over the bread and wine. The room was broadened into a large hall capable of holding the whole congregation. Only in isolated instances was the connection with a meal continued into the following centuries.⁴⁴ And the ideal toward which all energetically strove was to hold in each congregation only one single Eucharist.⁴⁵

It was both the Jewish and hellenistic practice to hold the meal, as a δεῖπνον, at an evening hour, but once the meal disappeared there was nothing to hinder the choice of another time of the day for the celebration. Since Sunday, as the day of the Resurrection, was very early promoted as the day for the celebration,⁴⁶ and attention was thus focused on the remembrance of the story of Redemption and especially of its glorious outcome, the next step was easy, namely, to transfer all to the morning hours, since it was in the morning before sunrise that Christ had risen from the dead.⁴⁷ The earliest Easter celebration known to us was an evening celebration but it followed the time-schedule mentioned and its climax was not reached till early in the morning at cockcrow.⁴⁸ Sunday service, too, would fit nicely into this scheme, for if one began to see in the sunrise a picture of Christ rising from the dead,⁴⁹ one would lay considerable store in the notion of greeting Christ himself with the rising of the sun.⁵⁰ And besides, as long as Christianity was not publicly acknowledged, the circumstances of the laborer's life would have urged the choosing of an hour outside the usual time of work.

⁴⁴ For Maundy Thursday, St. Augustine, *Ep.* LIV, 7, 9 (CSEL XXXIV, 168) tells of the practice of imitating the Last Supper by having a meal just before the evening Mass. Last vestiges of this custom were still to be found in the fourteenth century; Eisenhofer, II, 304.

In Egypt, according to Socrates, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 22 (PG LXVII, 636), it was still customary in the fifth century to celebrate the Eucharist on Saturday as the conclusion of a meal.

Besides, we must remark that in the domestic celebrations of Mass, which were continued alongside the congregational celebrations for several centuries (see *infra*, Part II, ch. 5), the connection with a meal was maintained considerably longer, since here there were not the difficulties that confronted the congregational celebrations.

⁴⁵ Ignatius of Antioch, *Ad Philad.*, c. 5, Σπουδάσατε οὖν μὴ εὐχαριστία χρῆσθαι.

⁴⁶ Acts 20:7; *Didache* 14.

⁴⁷ Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 258, thinks that the connection with the service of reading and prayer held in the synagogue on the Sabbath morning was what drew the eucharistic celebration from the evening to the morning. But then the reading and prayer service would have to be considered the main thing. Lietzmann also mentions (*ibid.*, Note 2) the idea of H. Usener, that the transfer was in some way conjoined to the Greek custom of "sacrificing to the gods of heaven at sunrise," but very properly puts no stock in the influence of this observance.

⁴⁸ O. Casel, "Art und Sinn der ältesten christlichen Osterfeier," *JL XIV* (1938), 1-78, esp. 5, 23f., 29.

⁴⁹ Dölger, *Sol salutis*, 364-379; cf. 123f.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 119f., with reference to the passage in Wis. 16:27f., which concerns the manna but was early given a Christian turn: δεῖ φθάνειν τὸν ἥλιον ἐπ' εὐχαριστίαν σου.

When about 111-113 A.D., Pliny the Younger, Legate of Bithynia, had arrested and examined a number of Christians, he established the fact that they were in the habit of meeting on a certain fixed day before dawn (*stato die ante lucem*) and of singing in alternate verses a song to Christ their God; they bound themselves by solemn oath not to do any wrong; they then dispersed but assembled again at a later hour for a harmless meal.⁵¹ Quite probably we have in the first-named gathering the celebration of the Eucharist, and in the hymn sung alternately the prayer of thanks which opened with alternate prayer and closed with the Amen of the people and which might even have included the *Sanctus* said in common.⁵² The second assembly, which was considered less important and which was discontinued after Pliny intervened, would then be the evening agape as we see it continuing even later on.⁵³ If these conjectures are right, then we have further in the act of moral obligation bound in with the morning celebration, a distant parallel to the Sunday confession of sins, of which the *Didache* speaks.⁵⁴ Although we are completely in the dark as to the form and performance of this act, the general sense of it is doubtless the securing of that state of mind which Paul had already demanded for the Eucharistic celebration⁵⁵ and which in one case is looked upon as a contrite confession, in the other as a resolve and sacred promise of amendment. We see later on, time and again, new forms arising from the same root.⁵⁶ Besides we can acknowledge that the kiss of peace which we soon

For the early morning divine service cf. also Dölger, 118 ff.; Schümmer, *Die altchristliche Fastenpraxis*, 109 ff.

Later Cyprian, *Ep.* 63, 15 f. (CSEL III, 713f.) expressly witnesses to it: We celebrate the Eucharist as a morning sacrifice, *in sacrificiis matutinis*, even though it was instituted in the evening, because we commemorate therewith the Resurrection of the Lord.

The injunction to remember the Resurrection during home morning prayers is frequently met with in the pertinent writings, e.g. Cyprian, *De or. dom.*, c. 35 (CSEL III, 292).

⁵¹ Pliny, *Ep. ad Trajanum*, X, 96. For the text of the letter see Kirch, *Enchiridion fontium hist. eccl.* (5th ed.; Freiburg, 1941), 22ff.; also Dölger, *Sol salutis*, 105f., who discusses some of the contents more thoroughly, 106-136.

⁵² See Volume II, Chapter 2, 4. The *Ter-Sanctus* is probably an acquisition from the Jewish schema, and even then was to be said before sun-up; *Berachoth* I, 2; Dölger, 121.

⁵³ A Eucharistic celebration in the morning and an agape at night is also the sur-

mise of C. Mohlberg, *La Scuola cattolica*, LXIV (1936), 211-213; *idem.*, "Carmen Christo quasi Deo," *Revista d'Archeologia Cristiana*, XIV (1937), 93-123. Dölger, *Sol salutis*, 127f., considers the hymns to be of the type of those in the Apocalypse, which, of course, are exactly the materials for eucharistic prayer; see Note 22 above. Other interpretations are reviewed in A. Kurfess, "Plinius und der urchristliche Gottesdienst," *Zeitschrift f. d. neutest. Wissenschaft*, XXXV (1936), 295-298.

⁵⁴ *Didache* 14, 1 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 12f.): *Κατά κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε προεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾗ.*

⁵⁵ 1 Cor. 11:28f.

⁵⁶ Here belong the various formulas of self-accusation which especially since the early Middle Ages appeared as apologies in the priest's prayers both East and West. In our Roman Mass we have the *Confiteor* at the beginning and just before the distribution of Communion. To the latter corresponds the "prayer of penance" in every Mass of the Ethiopian rite, after which the priest turns to the people and pronounces

will meet up with and which we have already supposed as the opening of the holy celebration even in this early period⁵⁷ had a similar function.⁵⁸

If we thus see forming in this early period the large outlines of the later Mass-liturgy, there still remains the task of pointing out a great many details of a later and even present-day practice, in which, within the Mass celebration, a primitive and apostolic liturgy survives, a liturgy adapted by the Apostles from the usage of the synagogue.⁵⁹ Here belongs the common way of starting and ending the prayer: At the beginning came the greeting with *Dominus vobiscum* or a similar formula, the answer to which was the genuinely Hebraic *Et cum spiritu tuo*. The close of the prayer referred in some way to God's boundless dominion, which lasts *in saecula saeculorum*. The stipulated answer of the people remained, in fact, untranslated: Amen. Thus with particular reference to the prayer of thanks, the general scheme remained unaltered, no matter how the contents changed. This holds true in every instance for the conclusion just mentioned and likewise for the introductory dialogue of which we spoke earlier. For the opening formula of the prayer of thanks itself, the formula of the customary Jewish *berachah*⁶⁰ did not persist; but even the opening with *Vere dignum et justum est* must have been adapted by the primitive congregation from some older tradition. For the further conduct of the prayer of thanks and for the transition into the triple *Sanctus* various hints from the Sabbath service of the synagogue must have been at work for this contained a very expansive praise of God for His creation and His provident care of Israel.⁶¹ It could even be that the first phrase of the *Sanctus* stems from this source.

an absolution. Cf. Brightman, 235-237.

A rite for the purification of the souls of the assembled congregation at the beginning of the Mass proper appeared after the tenth century in the form of a *culpa* or "public confession" to which was added a formal absolution. See *infra*, p. 492. We may take the exhomologesis in *Didache* 14, 1 in much the same sense; cf. B. Poschmann, *Penitentia secunda* (Bonn, 1940), 88-92, who considers it parallel to the *Confiteor* and designed to forgive venial sins, but he excludes sacramental penance. But in opposition see K. Adam, "Buszdisziplin," *LThK*, II (1931), 657, who in reference to the testimonies for the absolution prayers of the Church, alludes to the *Did.* 14, 1, as follows: "This 'confession' (ἐξομολογεῖσθαι, Jas. 5:16) in church, made effectual by the prayer of the liturgical congregation, is, for sins not mortal, the ordinary form of apostolic church-penance."

⁵⁷ It is remarkable how often the letters of the Apostles close with an invitation to

greet one another with this kiss of fellowship: Rom. 16:16; 1 Cor. 16:20; 2 Cor. 13:12; 1 Thess. 5:26; 1 Pet. 5:14. Perhaps the reading of the letter was annexed to the celebration of the Eucharist.

⁵⁸ An indication of this is the fact that we encounter the kiss of peace as well as the prayer of penance at the start of the Mass proper and at the preparation for Communion.

⁵⁹ For further discussions, see the authors cited for the individual texts and formulas.

⁶⁰ The name "Berachah" comes from the opening word of the grace at table, "Praised." The type beginning in this fashion survives, e.g., in the formula of our table prayer, *Benedictus Deus in donis suis* . . . The beginning of the table prayer in the *Didache*, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι — also stemming, no doubt, from pre-Christian tradition—we will find again as the start of the eucharistic prayer in Hippolytus.

⁶¹ Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 54f. This element is clearly evident in the

A second stream of adaptation from the primitive judæo-Christian community emerges in the service of readings of the fore-Mass, as we shall meet it in Justin. The tie with the Temple, which (according to the Acts of the Apostles 2:46) the emergent Christian church still maintained along with its own eucharistic gatherings, entailed above all, here as elsewhere, attendance at the synagogue for the Sabbath service, which was primarily a reading of the Scriptures. Only after the break with the synagogue, consequent upon the persecution of the year 44, did the hour of worship devoted to reading take on a specially Christian shape, and gradually combine with the eucharistic celebration as the fore-Mass. This old legacy is also definitely retained in the imitation of the two-fold division of the Law and the Prophets (which is at the basis of several Christian pericope lists) and in the arrangement of the singing in between.

In all these instances we are concerned only with the materials and the ground-plan which were taken over in the new structure of Christian worship. But there was also a new soul by which it was transformed. And what is of greater consequence in this formation and growth is not the age of the materials used in the building, but the building itself, the new architecture of the Mass itself which arose from within, the body which the new soul had shaped for itself from the old material and which even in the earliest phases of development—and precisely in these—had undergone a considerable change of appearance.

From the very start the basic motif was to observe the memorial of our Lord, the remembrance of His redemptive Passion, in the form of a meal. Therefore at first, the framework of a supper remained in the foreground. The faithful sat at table; under cover of simple nourishment they feasted upon the Body and Blood of Him who had laid down His life for us all and who should some day come again to gather His own into His Kingdom. The spoken word would slip easily from the recital of the words of institution and the command therein contained into such thoughts of memory and expectation. Union with our Lord in His glory came as strongly into the consciousness as union amongst themselves came visibly to the eye by means of the meal. But this framework of a meal could not even in the very beginning delimit and define the type of eucharistic service. The meal was not an ordinary meal but a sacred banquet, not only hallowed and inspired by the memory which gave it value and which in its course was sacramentalized, but also borne Godwards by the word of the prayer that was added to it. For if, in primitive Christian culture, every meal imported not only various blessings but the prayer of thanks as well, it was truer still of this meal.

The mind of a man not blinded by pride will be turned toward God even by a natural meal. Nowhere is it more plainly and visibly seen that man

eucharistic prayer of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (*infra*, Chapter 4), and also, e.g., in certain prefaces of the Spanish *Misale mixtum* (PL LXXXV, 271f., 286f.).

is a receiver, than when he takes nourishment to keep his life powers together. Therefore a meal has always been the incentive to acknowledge one's own creation by means of a prayer of thanks which is bound up with the meal. In Christianity man is a double receiver. Not only is he fitted out with goods of the natural order, but he is gifted beyond measure and beyond his capacity; because it is God who imparts Himself to man. That prayer of thanks is the right echo responding to God's wondrous benefits to man.

Nothing is therefore more natural than that thanksgiving to God should be the very basis of Christian conduct, that thanksgiving in the prayer of the nascent Church should become a mighty sound growing ever stronger, that as the *εὐχαριστία* it should be combined with that holy meal in the sacramental core of which the highest of God's gifts is continually renewed.

Hallowing the meal by means of the Eucharist soon accomplished a result which affected its liturgical appearance very much, namely a gradual ousting of the meal itself. This result corresponds to that spiritualization in matters of worship which is for incipient Christianity—in contrast to the synagogue—very significant.⁶² For the conduct or guidance of those who participated, the movement of prayer became—if it had not already been so from the very start—settled and determined. The Eucharist became the basic form and shape of the Mass-liturgy.⁶³

The prayer of thanks in the adopted table customs of the judæo-Christian communities was thus combined with our Lord's *εὐχαριστήσας* to form

⁶² Cf. H. Wenschkewitz, *Die Spiritualisierung der Kultusbegriffe Tempel, Priester und Opfer im Neuen Testament* (Leipzig, 1932); see O. Casel, *JL*, XII (1934), 301-303.

⁶³ A certain *visible* residue of the ancient fundamental meal form is still to be noted in the Mass today: the table, on which bread and wine are set, and the partaking of the transubstantiated gifts in Communion. The sacrificial or offering element is also indicated to the eye in the gestures of presentation at the offertory, in the course of the canon, and especially in the little elevation at the closing doxology at the end of the canon. Such a lifting on high belonged to the ritual of table prayer in the olden Jewish banquet: at the start of the meal the person presiding took the bread lying before him in his hands and spoke the blessing. He likewise picked up the cup while saying the blessing over the wine. But especially with regard to the "cup of the blessing"—the one reciting the grace was to grasp it with both hands, and then hold it with his right hand a few inches off

the table as he spoke the blessing. Strack-Billerbeck, *IV*, 621-628. Psalm 115:4 (13): *Calicem salutaris accipiam*, is explained as referring to this ceremony; see the passages from Talmud *bab.*, *Pesach* f. 119b, in Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 209. For the elevation or lifting of the bread, cf. E.v.d. Goltz, *Tischgebete*, *TU* XXIX, 2 b, 7, 57 ff.

On the other hand, stress on the prayer posture at the Eucharist outweighed the previous table posture, so that for a long time all stood up, the presiding officiant and the *circumstantes*.

The problem of the basic form of the Eucharist has been discussed by R. Guardini, *Besinnung vor der Feier der heiligen Messe*, *II* (Mainz, 1939), 73 ff. I was able to argue out the matter in a number of conversations with the author, and thus arrive at the distinctions already pointed out. Cf. also G. Söhngen, *Das sakramentale Wesen des Messopfers* (Essen, 1946), 57-61. J. Pascher, *Eucharistia* (Münster, 1947. J. A. Jungmann, "Um die Grundgestalt des messfeier," *StZ*, CXLIII, p. 310.

the starting point of a development which seemed to demand externalization. In the hellenistic surroundings this development found just the soil it needed to grow.⁶⁴

The *Didache* already uses a double phrase, and in reference to Sunday worship combines with the old term "breaking of bread" the newer term "offering thanks."⁶⁵ Ignatius of Antioch simply employs εὐχαριστία as the name of the Sacrament of the "Eucharist."

2. From Justin to Hippolytus of Rome

Justin, the philosopher and martyr, who wrote his *First Apology* in Rome about 150, preserved to us the first full account of a Christian Mass celebration. The picture is valid in the first instance only for Rome, but surely the features included hold true for the whole Christian world through which Justin had travelled from East to West.¹ After speaking about Christian Baptism, Justin continues . . .

(c. 65) After we have baptized him who professes our belief and associates with us, we lead him into the assembly of those called the Brethren, and we there say prayers in common for ourselves, for the newly-baptized, and for all others all over the world. . . . After finishing the prayers, we greet each other with a kiss. Then bread and a cup of water and wine mixed are brought to the one presiding over the brethren. He takes it, gives praise and glory to the Father of all in the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and gives thanks at length for the gifts that we were worthy to receive from Him. When he has finished the prayers and thanksgiving, the whole crowd standing by cries out in agreement: "Amen." "Amen" is a Hebrew word and means, "So may it be." After the presiding official has said thanks and the people have joined in, the deacons, as they are styled by us, distribute as food for all those present, the bread and the wine-and-water mixed, over which the thanks had been offered, and also set some apart for those not present.

⁶⁴ A strong tendency in the philosophic and popular-philosophic thinking at the time of Christianity's inception, a tendency molded by Plato and the Stoics, liked to emphasize how little the deity required our gifts, since the deity was ἀνευδής. The only offering worthy of the deity was silence or at most a prayer clothed in the pure garment of words, the εὐλογία. According to Plato, the activity most conformable to God's nature is doing good, the activity most conformable to that of creation, thanking God (εὐχαριστεῖν), since creation can present no adequate counter-performance. The beauty and order of the cosmos, which at that time had been newly disclosed by maturing natural sciences, formed the foremost theme of such medi-

tations. O. Casel, *Das Gedächtnis des Herrn in der altchristlichen Liturgie* (Ecclesia Orans 2; Freiburg [1918]).

⁶⁵ *Didache* 14, 1 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 12f): κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε.

⁶⁶ Ignatius of Antioch, *Ad Eph.* 13; *Ad Philad.* 4; *Ad Smyrn.* 7, 1; *ibid.* 8, 1 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 335 f.).

¹ The local diversity of the earliest liturgies, which is emphasized by A. Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie*, 29 ff., must be understood only in the sense that, for want of precise legislation, certain minutiae might change from place to place; Justin, to cite an instance, did not know of any fixed text for the thanksgiving prayer.

(c. 66) And this food itself is known amongst us as the Eucharist. No one may partake of it unless he is convinced of the truth of our teaching and is cleansed in the bath of Baptism. . . .

(c. 67) . . . And on that day which is called after the sun, all who are in the towns and in the country gather together for a communal celebration. And then the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read, as long as time permits. After the reader has finished his task, the one presiding gives an address, urgently admonishing his hearers to practice these beautiful teachings in their lives. Then all stand up together and recite prayers. After the end of the prayers, as has already been remarked above, the bread and wine mixed with water are brought, and the president offers up prayers and thanksgivings, as much as in him lies. The people chime in with an Amen. Then takes place the distribution, to all attending, of the things over which the thanksgiving had been spoken, and the deacons bring a portion to the absent. Besides, those who are well-to-do give whatever they will. What is gathered is deposited with the one presiding, who therewith helps orphans and widows. . . ."²

The double picture shows precisely that the liturgical appearance of the Mass at this time was essentially defined by the εὐχαριστία. Notice, too, the sharp emphasis which Justin puts on the seemingly unimportant matter of the congregation's Amen. The thanksgiving spoken by the one presiding comes from the heart of the whole assembly and is confirmed by all. Justin, who was himself a layman, bears witness by this detail how much value the faithful set on their pronouncing this word. This community spirit, this feeling of oneness which was so immediately expressed when the celebration had the character of a meal, continues thus to put its stamp on the worship. And it was even more strongly impressed in the Communion which by its nature united the entire community.

What was received in Communion was designated the "Thank-you gift" (τὰ εὐχαριστηθέντα, ὁ εὐχαριστηθεὶς ἄρτος), and the Amen was intoned as a *thanksgiving*. In Justin's description of the Mass, the expression of thanks, the very notion of thanks, stand out as the second significant and characteristic feature.

That we really have here an idea which was currently operative in the Christian community can be gathered not only from the fact that εὐχαριστία is now generally used as the technical term for the Mass,³ but even more from the explanation which is given this word. Justin himself says elsewhere⁴ that Christ gave us "the bread of the Eucharist" as a memorial of His Passion, and "that through it we might thank God, both for establishing the world and all that is in it for man's sake, and for freeing us from the evil in which we were born and, through Him who had willingly undertaken to suffer, entirely destroying the Powers and Forces." Irenæus also sets it down as a basis for the institution: the disciples of Christ should

² Greek text of Chapters 61 and 65-67, with explanatory notes, in Quasten, *Mon.*, 13-21. Cf. Schuster, *The Sacramentary*, I, 59-61.

³ The expression is also in the semi-Gnostic apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. Cf. Th.

Schermann, "εὐχαριστία und εὐχαριστεῖν in ihrem Bedeutungswandel bis 200 n. Chr.," *Philologus*, LXIX (1910), 375-410.

⁴ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryphone*, 41, 1 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 337).

"not be sterile and ungrateful."⁵ Origen maintains: "We are not men with thankless hearts. True, we do not make any offerings, we do not sacrifice in worship things which, far from being of benefit to us, are really our enemies. But toward God, who has showered us with benefits . . . we are ashamed not to be grateful. The token of our gratitude to God is the Bread which we call Eucharist."⁶

One cannot help but notice with what enthusiasm the ecclesiastical writers of this period describe God's benefactions; first of all, those in the order of creation, but more especially those with which the children of the Church have been favored. And with what energy they urge that deep feeling of self-sacrifice and of subservient obedience, from which gratitude proceeds. According to Clement of Alexandria, the Christian owes God a life-long gratitude; this is the expression of true reverence.⁷ "The offering of the Church," thus Clement continues, "consists in a prayer in which all our thoughts, given over to God, are wrapped up along with the offering."⁸

The subjectiveness and spirituality of worship and the offering of the heart to God are so emphasized in the Christian sources of this period⁹ that one might have supposed that there was an absence of outward offering; before Irenæus (so runs the opinion), no offering was recognized in the Church except that which consisted in thanksgiving.¹⁰ Actually, many pronouncements during this period lend a semblance of verity to this supposition and appear to our ears very exaggerated. God "does not demand an offering of victim or drink nor of any visible things."¹¹ He requires "not blood-oblations and drink, not the odor of flowers or of incense, since He is the perfect perfume, without want or blemish." The highest sacrifice one can offer Him is to acknowledge Him and tender Him our spiritual service.¹² The only honor worthy of Him is to put His gifts to use for ourselves and for the poor, and to "be thankful and by our spirit send heavenward

⁵ Irenæus, *Adversus hæres.*, IV, 17, 5 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 346).

⁶ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VIII, 57 (PG XI, 1601 f.).

⁷ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 7, 7 (PG IX, 449 C).

⁸ *Ibid.*, (PG IX, 444 C). Cf. the exposition of the devotional ideas which form the background for the eucharistic teaching of the second century, in Elfers, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts*, 263-275. From a later period, cf. for thanksgiving as a basic Christian notion, Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.*, V, 5 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 100), Chrysostom, *In Matth. hom.*, 25, 3 (PG LVII, 331); *In I Cor. hom.*, 24, 1 (PG LXI, 199).

⁹ Cf. the chapter "Das Opfer im Geiste" in O. Casel, *Die Liturgie als Mysterienfeier* (5th ed.; Ecclesia Orans 9; Freiburg

[1923]), 105-134, and the other works of the same author there referred to, 105.

¹⁰ Fr. Wieland, *Der vorirenäische Opferbegriff* (Munich, 1909). Wieland had expressed the same ideas in two earlier writings (since 1906), which led to a controversy with E. Dorsch; see esp. E. Dorsch, *Der Opfercharakter der Eucharistie einst und jetzt* (2nd ed.; Innsbruck, 1911). See the summary of the results of the dispute in G. Rauschen, *Eucharistie und Buszsakrament in den ersten Jahrhunderten der Kirche* (2nd ed.; Freiburg, 1910), 71-95; Goossens, *Les origines de l'Eucharistie*, 58-71; 367-369.

¹¹ Aristides, *Apology*, par. 1, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. IX. (New York, 1912.)

¹² Athenagoras, *Legatio*, c. 13 (TU IV, 2, p. 14).

songs of praise and hymns of glory for our creation and for every means of prosperity, for the qualities of the different kinds of things, and for the changes of season."¹³ For this reason, the apologists explained, the Christians had no altar and no temple.¹⁴

But if one were to decide from such expressions that in the minds of the Christians of the time there was a Eucharist but no eucharistic sacrifice properly so called, one would be jumping to conclusions. Along with phrases of this sort, meant to emphasize the differences between Christianity and paganism, there are found from the very beginning other phrases which not only declare that the eucharist was pronounced over the bread and wine, but which speak plainly enough of gifts which are sacrificed to God in the Eucharist,¹⁵ or which simply designate the Eucharist as an oblation or presuppose its *sacrificial* character.¹⁶ There are expressions which can be interpreted, without violence, in a broader sense, like the repeated reference to the prophecy of Malachy which is fulfilled in the celebration of the Christian Eucharist.¹⁷

We are therefore certain from the very start that in the Eucharist not only do prayers of thanksgiving rise from the congregation to God, but that at the same time a gift is offered up to God.¹⁸ It is another question, however, how the offering of a gift is evaluated in the rite of that period. But remember, it is not necessary that the details of eucharistic theology appear in the rite. Even in the developed Mass-liturgy of today many pertinent points of dogma are entirely omitted. So it is quite understandable that in a primordial form of the celebration, evolving chiefly either from the memorial of our Lord,¹⁹ or from the prayer of thanks, little would be

¹³ Justin, *Apolog.* I, 13 (PG VI, 345); cf. also Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 7, 3, 6 and elsewhere.

¹⁴ Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, c. 32, 1, CSEL II, 45; cf. c. 10, 2, *ibid.*, 14; Tertullian, *De spect.*, c. 13 CSEL XX, 15.

¹⁵ Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.* 36, 1: Clement calls Christ τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν προσφορῶν ἡμῶν. Cf. *ibid.*, 40-44.

Justin, *Dial. c. Tryphone*, c. 41, (PG VI, 564); cf. for this Elfers, pp. 257-259.

¹⁶ *Didache*, 14: The Sunday Eucharist is twice called θυσία. In Ignatius of Antioch, it is true, θυσιαστήριον is not yet the material altar of sacrifice. But at least in *Ad Philad.*, 4, the expression is used in connection with the Eucharist: The Flesh of Jesus Christ and the chalice of His Blood form a θυσιαστήριον to which the Christians gather; cf. Elfers, 287 f.

For Heb. 13:10, cf. the exegetic discussion in Goossens, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-222. He is inclined to understand by the

θυσιαστήριον, which is contrasted to the Old Testament expiatory sacrifice, not only the sacrifice of the Cross, but the eucharistic altar too. In any case, here as in 1 Cor. 10:21 the existence of a sacrificial meal is taken for granted. Further bibliography on the Eucharist as a sacrifice, in Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 ff.

¹⁷ *Didache*, 14, 3; Justin, *Dial. c. Tryphone*, 41; cf. *ibid.*, 28, 117.

¹⁸ How much this thought coincides with the notion of εὐχαριστία is manifest from the fact that already in Philo εὐχαριστία does not mean only thanksgiving but a sacrifice for the purpose of rendering thanks. Schermann, *op. cit.*, 385 f.; cf. p. 379.

¹⁹ Such a form, for instance, as is found in the spurious *Acts of St. Thomas*, a second/third century work of Gnostic origin, c. 158 (Hennecke, *Neutestamentl. Apokryphen*, 287 f.; Quasten, *Mon.*, 345). Another conjecture suggests that the prayer that comprised the Eucharist might have been

said about oblation and sacrifice. Such, in fact, is our conduct whenever we present a gift that is due; we do not talk much about the gift we are tendering, preferring instead to concentrate on the labors and merits that occasioned the gift.

But actually we do find in the oldest text of the Eucharist, in Hippolytus of Rome, an expression of sacrifice, immediately connected with the anamnesis, right where all later Catholic liturgies employ a similar word: *memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis eius offerimus tibi panem et calicem . . .*²⁰ It is possible that these words of oblation, or words like them, were included in the prayer of thanks at an earlier stage, perhaps even from the very first.²¹

On the other hand, many obstacles had to be overcome before the oblation to God—and with it, the sacrificial character of the Eucharist—would be expressed not only in words but in the external appearance of the celebration, and thus stretch out beyond the framework of a prayer of thanks connected with a meal. We have already heard the apologists of the second century who set the heathen sacrifice with its intoxication of the senses and its external pageantry over against the simple and spiritual worship of the Church, a worship that strives only to prove the grateful offering of those hearts assembled before God in Christ. The only outward symbol of this offering added to the words of the prayer, was something exalted high above the offerings of heathen and of Jew—the body of our Lord, which had been obediently sacrificed, and the blood that He shed, manifested to the eye as a piece of bread and a chalice of wine. The New Law does not have an oblation that is a “man-made one.”²² Thus was excluded the notion that a true and genuine oblation to God could be discerned in the gifts of bread and wine which were placed on the table for the Eucharist, or in those things presented by the faithful for the agape or for alms. This view Justin holds quite firmly.²³ Tertullian has watered it down.²⁴ But Irenæus plainly takes a new stand. In explaining the Eucharist,

drawn from the thoughts contained in Christ's farewell address and his high-priestly prayer; see Ruch, “La Messe,” DThC, X, 855 f.

²⁰ Hauler, 107; Dix, 8 f.

²¹ In reference to the whole passage see also Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 181: “What stands there could . . . have been spoken in Corinth or Ephesus in the time of the Apostle Paul. Lietzmann would like to make Paul the creator not only of the liturgical type to be found in Hippolytus, but also of the eucharistic doctrine and the eucharistic practice therein contained regarding bread and chalice. As a further application of his biblio-critical method, he contrasts with the Pauline basic type another basic type in the primitive congrega-

tion at Jerusalem, a chaliceless type which continued for a short while in Egypt. This second type did not endure. Regarding Lietzmann's theories, cf. Arnold, 11-53; Goossens, 86-96; 353-359.

²² *Epistle of Barnabas*, c. 2, 6: *μη ἀθρωποποίητον ἔχη τὴν προσφοράν*: “its (the New Law's) oblation should not be a man-made one.”

²³ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryphone*, c. 117.—*Apol. I*, 67, 1. 6, the collect is cited; it follows the celebration of the Eucharist and is not marked by any words as a sacrifice or offering to God. Ruch, “La messe d'après les Pères,” DThC, X, 905 ff. Cf. Elfers, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts*, 236 ff.

²⁴ Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 28 (CSEL, XX, 198 f.); *De exhort. cast.*, c. 11 (CSEL

he emphasized the fact that we offer the firstlings of creation.²⁵ At the Last Supper our Lord took “bread growing out of creation” and a “chalice coming from our creation,” spoke the words over them, and thus taught His disciples the new oblation of the New Testament. He had therefore commanded the disciples “to offer up to God the firstlings of creatures, not because He needed them, but that they themselves might not be sterile and ungrateful.”²⁶ These words show that for Irenæus no less than for his predecessors, it was the inner intention, the offering of the heart that was decisive before God,²⁷ and that only the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ presented the clean oblation of which Malachias had spoken.²⁸ For only in Christ is all creation gathered together and sacrificed to God, as Irenæus does not tire of repeating.²⁹

But in taking a position against the exaggerated spiritualism of the Gnostics, Irenæus appears to be compelled to defend the worth of earthly creation. With clear vision he sees the symbolic meaning of what occurred at our Lord's institution of the Blessed Sacrament, when things of this earth of ours were so exalted that by the word of God they became Christ's flesh and blood and were thus empowered to enter into the clean oblation of the New Covenant.

Once the natural gifts of bread and wine were recognized as symbols of the internal oblation of the heart, nothing stood in the way of developing the ceremony of their presentation into an oblation to God, and so giving a stronger expression to the sacrificial element which was at the center of the Eucharist—not only in words but in the external rite. Since the beginning of the third century there appear accounts of an offering by the faithful preceding the eucharistic prayer. From then on this is liturgically revised in various ways and gradually shaped into a genuine offertory procession.³⁰ But even so, it is only the broader notion of oblation that receives a liturgical stamp, not the narrow idea of a sacrifice in the sense of the changing or destruction of a gift.³¹ We get the first

LXX, 146 f.). See the explanation of both these passages in Elfers, 294 f.

²⁵ Irenæus, *Adversus hæres.* IV, 18, 1 (PG VII, 1024 f.; *al.* IV, 31, 1, Harvey, II, 201).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 17, 5 (PG VII, 1023; *al.* IV, 29, 5, Harvey, II, 197 ff.). Cf. Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*, I, 14 (CSEL XLVII, 308).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 18, 3: “The sacrifice does not hallow the man, for God does not require sacrifice, but the conscience of the offerer, if it is pure, hallows the sacrifice and effects God's accepting it as from a friend.” Cf. *ibid.*, IV, 18, 4 (PG VII, 1026 f.; *al.* IV, 31, 2 f., Harvey, II, 203 f.). On the devotional doctrine behind St. Irenæus' eucharistic teaching, cf. Elfers, 263-274.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 17, 5; cf. V, 2, 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 18, 1; 19, 3; 21, 10, and *passim*.

³⁰ A more complete discussion in Vol. II, Chapter 1, 1.

³¹ In the Orient an expressive and interpretative oblation in the narrower sense is worked out in the prelude to the sacrifice, within the proskomide, namely the rite of “Slaughtering the Lamb,” that is, dividing the species of bread with the “holy lance”; see Brightman, 356 f. The ceremony is already extant in the oldest form of the explanation of the liturgy by Ps.-Germanus, assigned to the ninth century; Hanssens, III, 22. The Latin Middle Ages often explained the breaking of the host after the *Pater noster* in much the same sense.

inklings of the liturgical development of the rite in question in the church regulations or church order of Hippolytus of Rome. Over this document which brings the history of the Mass-liturgy out of the twilight of scattered accounts into the light of day, we must delay awhile. For in it we find for the first time the complete text of the eucharistic prayer.

3. From Hippolytus to the Separation of Liturgies

The work we are here dealing with was known for a long time under the title *The Egyptian Church Order*. But it was not till recently that its authorship was ascribed to the Roman presbyter, Hippolytus, the skilful controversialist writer of the third century.¹ He had come into sharp conflict with two popes, Zephyrinus (d. 217) and Callistus (d. 222), had in fact set himself up as anti-pope in opposition to the latter, but at last he was reconciled with the Church and died as a martyr (235), as his cultus in Rome bears witness even up to this very hour. He is commemorated on August 13. The name of the work, composed in Greek, is Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις. As representative of the conservative wing, Hippolytus had in mind compiling what were esteemed as the "apostolic traditions" in the regulation of ecclesiastical life. The work was probably completed about 215, before the schism which broke out when Callistus was chosen pope. The division that followed, together with the fact that the work was done in Greek, explains why the *Apostolic Tradition*, like so many of the writings of Hippolytus, was almost entirely forgotten in Rome and in the West, while in the Orient, in Egypt as well as in Syria, precisely because it claimed to present the apostolic tradition and because it came from Rome, it had a tremendous success. And that explains why, except for a few tiny fragments, it has survived not in the original text, but in translation—in Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopian and partly in Syrian. Some important fragments of a Latin version have also come down, contained in a collection of oriental legal papers.² For our knowledge of ecclesiastical life in Rome in the third century, this document is the most important source.³

¹ E. Schwartz, *Über die pseudoapostolischen Kirchenordnungen* (Strassburg, 1910); R. H. Connolly, *The So-called Egyptian Church Order* (Cambridge, 1916). In opposition to the opinions previously expressed, the authorship of Hippolytus is convincingly vindicated by H. Elfers, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts von Rom* (Paderborn, 1938).

² E. Hauler, *Didascalie apostolorum fragmenta Veronensia* (Leipzig, 1900), 101-121.

³ No absolutely critical text has so far been published. The most important investigation is G. Dix, *The treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome* (London, 1937). Other studies and editions are cited in Quasten, *Monumenta*, 27. The text has been made available to wider circles through the anonymous (H. Edmayr) volume, *Die Apostolische Überlieferung des hl. Hippolytus* (Klosterneuburg, 1932).

The text begins with directions for the consecration of a bishop. The newly-consecrated prelate is acclaimed with the cry: ἄξιος. Then the deacons bring up the gifts (προσφορά). Accompanied by all the presbyters, the bishops lay their hands over the gifts and begin the prayer of thanks:

*Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Sursum corda. Habemus ad Dominum. Gratias agamus Domino. Dignum et iustum est. Et sic iam prosequatur. Gratias tibi referimus, Deus per dilectum puerum tuum Jesum Christum, quem in ultimis temporibus misisti nobis salvatorem et redemptorem et angelum voluntatis tue. Qui est Verbum tuum inseparabile, per quem omnia fecisti et bene placitum tibi fuit. Misisti de caelo in matricem Virginis, qui- que in utero habitus incarnatus est et Filius tibi ostensus est ex Spiritu Sancto et Virgine natus. Qui voluntatem tuam complens et populum sanctum tibi acquirens extendit manus cum pateretur, ut a passione liberaret eos qui in te crediderunt. Qui cumque traderetur voluntariae passioni ut mortem solvat et vincula diaboli dirumpat et infernum calcet et iustos inlu- minet et terminum figat et resurrectionem manifestet, accipiens panem gratias tibi agens dixit: Accipite, manducate: hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis confringetur. Similiter et calicem dicens: Hic est sanguis meus qui pro vobis effunditur. Quando hoc facitis, meam commemorationem facitis. Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis eius offerimus tibi panem et cali- cem gratias tibi agentes quia nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare. Et petimus ut mittas Spiritum tuum Sanctum in oblationem sanctae Ecclesiae. In unum congregans des omnibus qui percipiunt sanctis in repletionem Spiritus Sancti ad confirmationem fidei in veritate, ut te laudemus et glorificemus per puerum tuum Jesum Christum, per quem tibi gloria et honor Patri et Filio cum Sancto Spiritu in sancta Ecclesia tua et nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.*⁴

At the conclusion the remark is added: If anyone offers oil, or cheese or olives, a similar prayer of thanks may be said over it—and, as an example, a short blessing is appended.⁵ After some regulations about the other degrees of orders, and about church offices, there follow precepts for the catechumenate and Baptism. At the conclusion of this last we find—as in Justin—further mention of the Mass. But here there is only the note that the participation of the newly-baptized in the service of the congregation begins with the common prayer and the kiss of peace before the offering of the gifts.⁶ There are also regulations for the peculiar usage—already touched upon—of offering at this Mass of the newly-baptized, besides the sacramental Eucharist, also a chalice filled with milk and honey and a third one with water.⁷

It would be a mistake to envision in this text which Hippolytus proposes, *the Roman Mass of the third century, pure and simple*. That would hardly coincide with the stage of liturgical development reached at that

⁴ Hauler, 106 f.; Dix, 7-9.

⁵ A portion of this came by a very roundabout way into the Roman Pontifical, and here survives within the ceremony for the consecration of the oils on Maundy Thursday, at the close of the canon, as in Hippolytus; cf. J. A. Jungmann, "Beobachtungen zum Fortleben von Hippolytus 'Apostolischer Überlieferung'," *ZkTh*, LIII (1929), 579-585. The additional prayers for communion found in the Egyptian text-transmission are not Hippolytus'.

⁶ Dix, 39 f.; Hauler, 111 f.

⁷ *Supra*, Chapter 1, p. 15.

period. At this time there is still no fixed formulary for the Mass-liturgy, but only a fixed framework which the celebrant fills out with his own words, as older accounts clearly indicate.⁸ Hippolytus presents his text only as a suggestion, and expressly stresses the right freely to extemporize a text⁹ as a right which remained long in force.¹⁰ This right Hippolytus himself here laid claim to. Favorite thoughts, favorite turns of expression from his other writings recur time and again.¹¹

The Eucharist of Hippolytus does on the whole exhibit a type of the contemporary liturgy, but not the only type then in use.¹² For it is rather

⁸ *Didache*, 10, 6; Justin, *Apol. I*, 67; see *supra*, Chapter 2, p. 22.

⁹ As an appendix to the prayers for ordination (Dix, 19): "It is absolutely not necessary for the bishop to use the exact wording which we gave above, as if he were learning them by heart for his thanksgiving to God. Rather each one should pray according to his capability. If he is ready to pronounce a grand and solemn prayer, that is well; if on the contrary he should say a prayer according to a set form, no one may hinder him. But the prayer must be correct and orthodox." Cf. also J. Lebreton in Fliche-Martin, *Histoire de l'église*, II (1935), 70, note 3.

There is a significant commentary on the development of the liturgical practice in the fact that the Arabic and Ethiopian texts leave out the "not" in the quotation cited; they read: "It is absolutely necessary . . ."

¹⁰ The free creation of a text—which need not mean improvising in the strict sense, but like a good sermon could be a work carefully drawn-up and well-memorized—was still in practice at Rome when in the year 538 (or perhaps 558) a preface of the Leonine Sacramentary mirrored the one single case of the anniversary of a Pope's ordination coinciding with Maundy Thursday; see Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 32 f. In Spain fixed texts were the rule, but the right to compose Mass formulas freely is still demonstrable in the seventh century; P. Sejourné, *S. Isidore de Séville* (Paris, 1929), 175.

In general fixed texts were the rule since the fourth century.

For the beginning of liturgical books, see Fortescue, *The Mass*, 113 ff.; also Abbot Cabrol, *The Books of the Latin Liturgy* (London and St. Louis, 1932), 13-19.

Even when liturgical books were in existence, the texts were not necessarily read off; rather—as Hippolytus seems to provide for (cf. previous note)—they had to be learnt by heart and recited, a thing not too difficult in the case of the uniform formulas of oriental liturgies. In the West there is testimony to the reading of the texts in Gregory of Tours (d. 594), *Hist. Franc.*, II, 22 (PL LXXI, 217 f.). Sidonius [d. about 489] was able to dispatch everything correctly even when the wonted *libellus* was taken away; *Vita patrum*, c. 6 (PL LXXI, 1075). Cf. Eisenhofer, I, 59 f.

¹¹ Elfers, 50-54, adduces six such instances in the eucharistic prayer alone. The expression *Verbum inseparabile* is intended to counter the suspicion raised against Hippolytus of teaching a separation between God and His Logos. For the striking phrase *extendit manus* there is a commentary in Hippolytus, *De Antichristo*, c. 61: "Nothing is left for the Church in persecution except the wings of the great Eagle, that is, of belief in Jesus Christ, who stretched out His hands on the holy wood . . . and [who] calls to Himself all who believe in Him and guards them as a bird guards its young." Even the meaning of the puzzling expression *ut terminum figat* is cleared up somewhat by a fragment of Hippolytus: Christ wanted to teach the just about the moment of the general resurrection. (Elfers, 54). The final doxology too, at least in regard to the interpolated naming of the three divine Persons, could well be Hippolytus' own work. Cf. also R. H. Connolly, "The Eucharistic Prayer of Hippolytus," *Journal of theol. Studies*, XXXIX (1938), 350-369, where other parallels are cited.

¹² The distinction here borne in mind has nothing in common with the distinction made by Lietzmann, who contrasts with the

surprising that ideas derived from the Old Testament, which play such a major role in most of the later texts, and which one rightly deduces from synagogue traditions, are here entirely absent. No reference is made to the work of creation, nor to God's salvific plan in the pre-Christian era—a point which remained the rule in later Greek liturgies. The *Sanctus*, too, is missing, along with the corresponding introduction. Only the work of Redemption is gratefully delineated, and in such an ingenious way that the account of the Institution is organically conjoined. The prayer therefore gives the impression of a well-rounded completeness. Hippolytus appears to have striven consciously for this completeness in his model formulary, sharply distinguishing it from the forms at hand in which the connection seems somewhat loose. Perhaps this other type developed from the circumstance that, when the Eucharist was disjoined from the evening agape, it was linked with an already existent Sunday morning church service, in which the Sabbath morning service of the synagogue—already mentioned¹³—lived on, with its readings on the one hand and on the other its praise of God for the creation and for His gracious guidance of His people, with its mention of the angelic choirs and its cry of the threefold *Sanctus* from the vision of Isaias.¹⁴

But besides the strictly christological type of Hippolytus and the type derived from the synagogue, a third type must also have developed quite early, a type of thanksgiving, or rather of praise, in which the thoughts of the Christian acknowledgment of God were clothed in the phrases of hellenist philosophy. The infinite greatness of God was presented by the repetition of negative attributes, as a rule formed with the privative *a*: "God non-inchoate, unsearchable, inexpressible, incomprehensible to everything made."¹⁵ Or creation is reviewed, with that feeling for nature that is reawakened in those centuries, and from this is shaped a glorification of God's power and wisdom.¹⁶

It stands to reason that these types did not ever have independent forms

type in Hippolytus a second primitive type which was originally chaliceless; see *supra*, Chapter 2, note 21.

¹³ *Supra*, p. 19.

¹⁴ Thus Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 54-56, in reference to the *Epistle of St. Clement*, ch. 24 (*lege* 34).

The passage in Clement is sometimes regarded as the earliest indication of the use of the *Sanctus* in the liturgy of primitive Christianity; cf. H. Engberding, "Trishagion," *LThK*, X (1938), 295.

For an appreciation of the eucharistic prayer of Hippolytus, cf. Arnold, *Der Ursprung des christlichen Abendmahls*, 164-166.

¹⁵ This is the form of address in Serapion's anaphora (Quasten, *Mon.*, 59 f.).

Cf. Th. Schermann, *Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung, frühchristliche Liturgien und kirchliche Überlieferung* (Paderborn, 1915), II, 462-465.

¹⁶ Justin already mentions thankfulness for creation in the eucharistic prayer; cf. *supra* p. 25.

An early example of a religious contemplation of the wondrous work of nature is found in St. Clement of Rome's *Epistle to the Corinthians*, ch. 20. Cf. O. Casel, *Das Gedächtnis des Herrn in der altchristlichen Liturgie* (Ecclesia Orans 2, Freiburg [1918]), 15 ff., 31 ff. Also G. Bardy, "Expressions stoiciennes dans la Prima Clementis," *Rech. des sciences rel.*, XII (1922), 73-85.

or exist by themselves in a pure state, for the basic Christian and christological motif of the prayer of thanks could indeed wane but never entirely vanish.¹⁷ But they comprise components which formed parts of the eucharistic prayer, or directions toward which it tended—until the word of authority and the official text put a stop to the development. In the sources of the Mass-liturgy surviving from the fourth century, we meet, besides the organic growth of liturgical forms and usages, also concrete examples of the types noticed.

From what has been said we are forced to conclude that the liturgical prayer texts were, in the third century, still elastic and continually subject to new influences. But at the same time there is a good deal to show that, for the general course of the liturgy in the Church as a whole, there was a unified order, a network of still flexible regulations stamped with the authority of custom. These statutes regulated the building of the house of God, the time and manner of service, the division of functions, the way prayers were to begin and end, and so forth. The fundamental design of the prayer of thanks—the Eucharist—is everywhere the same: it begins invariably with a short dialogue and closes with the Amen of the people. When in 154 Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna visited Pope Anicetus at Rome, the latter invited him to celebrate the Eucharist in church,¹⁸ an honor for the episcopal guest which the Syrian Didascalia of the third century makes compulsory in analogous instances.¹⁹ There was no fear, therefore, of any disturbing deviation because of the strange liturgies. The same thing is indicated by the transfer of the liturgical formulary of Hippolytus from Rome to distant Egypt and as far away as Ethiopia where it remains even till today, the usual Mass formulary under the title “Anaphora of the Apostles.” What was here set down fitted without trouble into the indigenous order of the strange country. We can therefore, in this wider sense, speak of a unified liturgy of the first centuries.²⁰

¹⁷ Schermann, *op. cit.*, 469 f., enumerates, in addition to the judaistic, christological and hellenistic types, a fourth type, the trinitarian, but he does not have the Mass-liturgy precisely in mind.

In this connection, however, one could just as well speak about a christological-trinitarian type instead of a christological one, since the work of salvation, lauded in the Great Prayer, is extended to include its completion through the operation of the Holy Spirit. Even Hippolytus presumes this extension in the prayer for the fullness of the Holy Ghost. The laudatory mention of the Holy Ghost, and the conjoined naming, one after the other, of the three divine Persons in the manifestation of their work for our sanctification is regularly found since the fourth century in

the Mass-liturgy of the Orient, where the Holy Ghost epiklesis is an established law.

In this sort of anaphora, constructed much like the symbol, W. H. Frere, *The Anaphora or Great Eucharistic Prayer. An eirenical study in liturgical history* (London, 1938), perceives the ideal of the eucharistic prayer.

¹⁸ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 24.

¹⁹ *Didascalia*, II, 58, 3 (Funk, I, 168).

When the guest, through modesty, excuses himself from this honor, he should at least speak the words over the chalice. The later revision, in *Const. Ap.*, II, 58, 3 (*ibid.*, 169) substitutes for the last remark: he should at least pronounce a blessing over the people.

²⁰ Fortescue, 51-57. The idea of an *una, sancta, catholica et apostolica liturgia* has

4. The Mass In the Orient after the Fourth Century

With the coming of the fourth century an important differentiation makes its appearance. In the organization of the Church, especially within Greek territory, there grew up, bit by bit, over and above the individual communities with their episcopal overseers, certain preponderant centers, above all Alexandria and Antioch. From these centers and their provincial synods there radiated special legislation that in time gave a particular stamp to the church life of those affected. Thus, too, divergent liturgies gradually acquired their fixed form. This was a necessary development. The speedy spread of congregations, for whom, since Constantine, numberless buildings of often vast proportions had been erected, required a more rigid control of common worship, and demanded a greater carefulness about the text of the prayers than was needed in the smaller groups where the officiant might perhaps on occasion extemporize.

So it became more and more the rule that the text should be set down in writing. And so, too, it became necessary to borrow texts from other churches. The possibility of a strict control was also heightened. In North Africa they were satisfied to issue a warning that this borrowing should not be haphazard, but that the texts should be carefully passed upon by capable brethren (in episcopal office).¹ The result was the gradual standardization of formulas to be used unvaryingly throughout a province.

From the turn of the fourth century, however, there survive two collections of liturgical texts which emanate from the two leading oriental metropolises already mentioned, and the Mass formulas they contain differ considerably from the later authorized forms. From the sphere of Alexandria-Egypt we have the *Euchologion* of Bishop Serapion of Thmuis. From the sphere of Antioch-Syria we have the liturgy in the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, also called the Clementine liturgy. A closer inspection of both these documents will be rewarding.

Serapion, bishop of Thmuis, a little town in lower Egypt, is well-known as a friend of St. Athanasius and of the hermit St. Anthony. He was a bishop between 339 and 362. The *Euchologion* authored by him, first dis-

been vigorously propounded by F. Probst (d. 1899) in several of his works, but tied in with a rather unhappy reference to the so-called Clementine liturgy (see the chapter following). In opposition to this notion, Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 30, makes the emphatic statement: “The historical progress of the liturgy is not a growth from an ancient unity to an ever larger local diversity, but rather from the latter to an accretive unification.” But this

can only be understood to mean that originally the text of the prayer and other details differed from place to place and from case to case, not the general plan or outline; cf. Baumstark’s own detailed explanation, *ibid.*, 29-36.

¹ Synod of Hippo (A.D. 393), Can. 23 (Mansi, III, 884; cf. 850 C, 895 D). The precept is repeated in subsequent African synods (Mansi, III, 884 B, 922 C).

covered in a monastery on Mt. Athos in 1894, contains amongst other things the liturgy of the Mass, but unfortunately with no explanatory rubrics.²

The list of Mass prayers begins with a prayer for a fruitful reading of the Scriptures. There follows a prayer "after standing up from the homily," then a group of formulas for the general prayers for the Church: for the catechumens, for the people, for the sick. To each of these groups is appended a *χειροθεσία*, a blessing by the bishop—for a good crop, for the church, for the bishop and the Church, and finally a "genuflectional prayer," probably a closing benediction. These prayers—like the eucharistic prayer that follows—display a definitely theologizing trend, and, in their broad unfolding of parallel periods, the ornament of Greek oratory. Remarkable is the uniformly recurring doxology, which is characteristic of the third/fourth century. The doxology is directed to God through Christ in the Holy Ghost. The prayer, for instance, will make mention of our Lord and then continue somewhat in this fashion: Through whom there is to Thee honor and power in the Holy Ghost now and forever!

More important for us is the eucharistic prayer. It begins: "Fit it is, and proper, to praise, to glorify and to exalt Thee, the everlasting Father of the only-begotten, Jesus Christ." Then is lauded the unsearchable being of God, made known to us through the Son. And praise turns to prayer for a right understanding and to the vision of the angelic choirs over whom God reigns:

Before thee stand a thousand thousand and ten thousand ten thousand Angels and Archangels, Thrones, Principalities, Dominations, and Powers. Before Thee stand the two six-winged Seraphim, with two wings hiding their face, two their feet, and flying with two, and they praise Thee. With them do Thou accept our praise, as we say: Holy, holy, holy Lord of Sabaoth, heaven and earth are full of His glory.

Typical of this, as well as of all later Egyptian Mass-liturgies, is the passage from the *Sanctus* to the account of the Institution; peculiar is the interruption of the account with prayers—reminiscent of the usages of the primitive Church.

Complete this sacrifice with Thy power and with Thy participation, for it is to Thee we have offered up this living sacrifice, this unbloody gift. To Thee we have offered this Bread, the oblation [ἑσποσίωμα] of the body of the Only-begotten. This Bread is the oblation of His holy Body; for on the night . . . [there follows the words over the bread, 1 Cor. 11:23-4.] Therefore we too, ratifying the offering of His death, have offered up the Bread, and we cry out through this offering: Be merciful to us all and be appeased, O God of truth! And as this Bread was scattered . . . so gather Thy Church together . . . into one living Catholic Church. We have also offered up the chalice, the offering of His Blood; for the Lord Jesus . . . [Here is inserted the passage from Matt. 26:27 ff.]. Therefore we have also offered up the chalice as the offering of Blood. May Thy holy Logos,

² Text in Quasten, *Mon.*, 48-67. The exact arrangement of the prayers is not certain.

O God of truth, come down upon this bread, so that it become the Body of the Logos. . . . and grant that all who partake may receive a medicine of life. . . .

This petition for a fruitful Communion passes over into an intercessory prayer for the dead (presupposing a reading of the names) and for the living. The prayer then closes with the doxology. Then follows the breaking of the bread, to the accompaniment of a prayer by the celebrant, and then the Communion of the clergy, a blessing of the people, their Communion, and finally a closing thanksgiving prayer spoken by the celebrant.

The Mass-liturgy found in the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*³ is, in several respects, of a very different stamp. This is often called the Clementine liturgy because it is contained in the long, eight-book collection of Church legislation which posed as the work of Pope Clement I, a pupil of the Apostles. Actually it is a product of the late fourth century.

The eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* is, in its structure and its legal regulations, little more in general than a revision of the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus. But as regards the Mass-liturgy the traces of Hippolytus' draft are faint. In its place we have the usage, by now somewhat fixed, of the Syrian capital. But the eucharistic prayer itself is textually a creation of the redactor, a model formulary that could be spun out to vast proportion, and must therefore be looked upon not as a real usage⁴ but as a suggested source to which the celebrant could turn in freely composing his prayer. In this liturgy the service of reading is definitely combined with the sacrificial worship. The Clementine liturgy begins with the readings which here, as in the case of Hippolytus, precede the consecration of a bishop. It presupposes a fourfold reading. There is a reading from the Law and from the Prophets—the synagogue tradition, quite obviously—and then from the Apostles and the Gospels. Afterwards there is a homily. Then those who are not full members are dismissed—the catechumens, energumens, candidates for Baptism and the penitents—each group after an intercessory prayer of the congregation and a blessing by the bishop. Then there is a two-part prayer for the faithful. After the kiss of peace and the washing of hands, the gifts are brought in and the eucharistic prayer begins. We will do well to try to visualize at least its outline and sequence. The prayer begins with the introductory dialogue, and continues:

(VIII, 12, 6) Fit indeed it is, and proper, that we praise Thee above all, the true God, who wast before all creation, from whom all paternity in heaven and on earth takes its name, alone without becoming, without beginning, over whom there is no king and no lord, who needest nothing and grantest every good . . .

(7) . . . Thou hast called all things from nothing into being, through Thine only-begotten Son, and Him hast Thou conceived before all times. . . .

³ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 5, 11-15, 11 (Funk, I, 476-520; Quasten, *Mon.*, 196-233). ⁴ Cf. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée*, 22.

(8) . . . Through Him hast Thou created before all else the Cherubim and the Seraphim, the eons and the Dominations, the Virtues and the Powers . . . and then this visible world and all that is in it.

(9) Thou didst build up the sky like a vault and didst stretch it out like a hide. . . .

(10) Thou who didst make the water for drinking and cleansing, the air for breathing and carrying the tone of the voice . . . [praise is meted out for the fire, the sea and its tides, the earth with its changes of wind and rain; finally for man].

(17) Thou hast made him of an immortal soul and a decaying body, the former created from nothing, the latter from the four elements. . . .

(18) Thou, almighty God, hast planted Paradise in Eden towards the east. . . .

(20) [After the trial and fall] hast justly driven him from Paradise, but in Thy goodness didst not despise him who was entirely lost, since he was Thy creature [the stories of Cain and Abel, Abraham, Melchisedech, Job, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses and Aaron, and the wonders of the Exodus from Egypt are recounted⁵].

(27) For all this, glory to Thee, omnipotent Lord! Thee do the uncounted hosts of angels praise, the archangels . . . who . . . without ceasing and without becoming silent cry out:—*and all the people should say together*:—Holy, holy, holy Lord of Sabaoth, Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. Praised forever! Amen.

(28) *And the bishop continues*: (29) Holy indeed art Thou and all-holy, the highest and most exalted in eternity;

(30) But holy, too, is Thine only-begotten Son, our Lord and God, Jesus Christ . . . who did not disdain the race of men, that had perished, but . . . [and another review of the history of Israel and its continued faithlessness] . . . according to Thy pleasure resolved to become man, He the creator of men. . . .

(32) He lived holily and taught justly, and banished every sickness and every weakness from men. . . .

(33) He was turned over to the Governor Pilate, and was judged, He the Judge, and was condemned, He the Saviour, and was nailed to the cross, He who was not subject to suffering, and He died, He the Lord of nature, and was buried, He who gave life, in order to conquer suffering and to tear away from death those for whose sake He had come, and to loose the devil's fetters and free men from his deceit.

(34) And He arose again from the dead, and after spending forty days with His disciples He ascended into heaven and sat down at Thy right hand, O God and Father.

(35) Remembering what He has suffered for us, we give thanks, omnipotent God, not in accordance with our debt but in accordance with our ability, and we fulfill His command.

(36) For on the night in which He was betrayed . . .

After the words of consecration there follows the anamnesis in which, besides the death of our Lord and His resurrection, His second coming is

⁵ This passage, 12, 21-26, is derived from the post-exilic Temple service; see A. Baumstark, "Das eucharistische Hochgebet und die Literatur des nachexilischen Ju-

dentums," *Theologie u. Glaube*, II (1910), 353-370, esp. 364 ff.; *idem.*, *Liturgie comparée*, 54 f.

mentioned. The arrangement of the rest of the text is like Hippolytus', with this distinction, that an epiklesis and an intercessory prayer are added:

(38) Recalling . . . we offer Thee, King and God, according to His command, this Bread and this Chalice, by giving Thee thanks for having considered us worthy to stand before Thee and perform our priestly service,

(39) And we beg Thee, look with favor, O God of riches, upon these gifts that lie before Thee, and let them be pleasing to Thee, for the honor of Thy Christ, and deign to send down upon this sacrifice Thy Holy Ghost, the witness of the Passion of Jesus, that He might manifest (*ἀποφάνη*) this Bread as the Body of Thy Christ and this Chalice as the Blood of Thy Christ, so that all who partake might grow in devotion, obtain the forgiveness of their sins, be freed from the devil and his deceit, and, filled with the Holy Ghost, might be made worthy of Thy Christ and partakers of everlasting life, if thou be merciful to them, almighty Lord.

Then follows the intercessory prayer, the ten sections of which each begin with the phrase, "We ask Thee further." The final doxology ends with the Amen of the people. For the Communion, too, a special liturgical frame is provided.⁶ True, the *Pater noster* is still missing, although it is elsewhere—a short time later—mentioned as a Communion prayer, but there is presupposed a long prayer of preparation to be said by the bishop after a litany by the deacon. Then is the cry raised: *Τὰ ἄγια τοῖς ἀγίοις*, with the hymnic response of the people. During the Communion of the congregation Psalm 33 is sung. After a preparatory admonition by the deacon, comes the finish, a prayer of thanksgiving and the final benediction of the bishop.

Although the text of the Mass-liturgy in both cases is not yet that which is standardized in the later liturgies of Alexandria and Antioch, still the external outlines of the liturgical usages of the East are clearly discernible, especially in the Clementine liturgy whose prescriptions would soon be established and enlarged by that great preacher of Antioch, St. John Chrysostom.⁷ If we compare these fourth-century liturgies with what is seen in the contemporary Roman Mass, we notice in them a longer list of readings and a richer development of the general prayer for the Church which follows. We also notice, in this general prayer for the Church—and elsewhere, too—the prominent role of the deacon, who introduces the celebrant's prayer with a dialogue between himself and the people, and thus insures the latter a closer bond with the course of the sacred action. The eucharistic prayer (preface and canon) has indeed introduced the first suggestion of petitions, but its lines are so firmly drawn that the whole is presented as a large unit. The *Sanctus* and the epiklesis appear in it as two climactic points. The Communion, too, is enriched in its surroundings.

⁶ *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 13-15 (Funk, I, 514-520; Quasten, *Mon.*, 227-233).

⁷ The material is gathered in Brightman, 470-481.

The appendix in Brightman's work, p.

459-522, contains all the text fragments concerning the Mass-liturgy and all the references of older writers in the Orient, arranged according to liturgical provinces or territories.

The fourth century, especially in the Orient, is still a time of lively development. But the fundamental liturgical texts are already beginning to take on a fixed shape. A new investigation of the Basilian formula of the Byzantine Mass, and of the formularies related to it,⁸ permits us to get a clearer view of the manner in which the texts extant at that time were revised and expanded. A Greek redactor—there are good grounds to suggest St. Basil the Great (d. 379)⁹—came upon a prepared eucharistic prayer which was for him apparently too jejune, although it was not poor in scriptural allusions. He enlarged it, and enriched it with a stronger sifting of quotations from the Bible. The still extant basic text,¹⁰ had this to say, for instance, right after the *Sanctus*: After we had transgressed Thy command in Paradise, “Thou hast not thrust us aside entirely, but hast watched over us through Thy prophets, and didst appear to us in these latter days through Thine only-begotten Son, who took flesh of the holy Virgin and became man and showed us the way of salvation.” The redactor weaves into the text, after the mention of the Son, a number of phrases: the praise of His divinity, from Hebrews 1:2 f.; the quotation from Baruch 3:38 about the Wisdom that appeared on earth; the quotation about the nature of a slave, from Philippians 2:6 f.; and then the conquest of sin and of death, to which all had been condemned through Adam, in phrases from Romans 5:12 and 6:29.¹¹

It was also Basil who first makes us aware of a new trend which, as it grew, became for all oriental liturgies a fundamental trait. This trend was a growing consciousness of sin and a mounting reverence in the presence of the great mystery—a trend which increased to almost gloomy proportions.¹² Those celebrating the liturgy describe themselves as “Thy lowly and sinful and unworthy slaves”¹³ who should be tried “on the day of Thy just judgment.”¹⁴ This change in expression coincides clearly with the veering in theological attitude resulting from the struggle with Arianism, a struggle waged over the essential divinity of the Son. The noise of this battle penetrated even into the house of God and is reflected in the wording of prayers. In place of the doxology, customary up to then, which

⁸ H. Engberding, O.S.B., *Das Eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileios-liturgie* (Münster, 1931).

⁹ Engberding, p. lxxxiv, ff.

A talk with P. Engberding in November 1942 convinced me that the author wished his chain of reasoning and his deductions to be considered merely an hypothesis.

¹⁰ This is the Egyptian Basilian anaphora: Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orient. collectio*, I (1847), 57-85.

¹¹ Engberding, 10-21.

This example shows how questionable is the basic thesis of F. Probst's book, *Liturgie des vierten Jahrhunderts und deren*

Reform (Münster, 1893), that in the fourth century there was a general tendency to shorten the liturgy. Besides, Probst's thesis is founded on the repeated assumption that the Clementine liturgy—known at that time only from antiquity—was until the fourth century the basis of all liturgies.

¹² M. J. Lubatschiwskyj, “Des hl. Basilius liturgischer Kampf gegen den Arianismus,” *ZkTh*, LXVI (1942), 20-38.

¹³ Brightman, 317 Z, 12 f.; cf. *ibid.*, 329 Z, 13 f.

¹⁴ Brightman, 320 Z, 15 f. Arguments for attributing this and similar expressions to Basil are found in Lubatschiwskyj, 33 f.

offered praise to the Father “through the Son in the Holy Ghost,” Basil favored the new form, which offered praise to the Father “with the Son, at one with the Holy Ghost”¹⁵—a way of praying and of praising in which our vision is no longer cast upon Christ's humanity, by which He is our intermediary before God, but upon His divinity, in which He is one in nature with God. Emphasis is not on the grace which He brings but in the right that He exercises, His might as a fearsome judge, before whom we ought to tremble and be afraid.¹⁶ And already in Basil the sentiment towards the Eucharist is altered. The pertinent chapter in his *Shorter Rule* is entitled: “With what fear . . . we ought to receive the Body and Blood of Christ.”¹⁷ The same attitude towards the Blessed Sacrament, even aside from the thought of communicating, is noticeable in various parts of the eastern world. It is especially strong in Chrysostom, who time and time again talks about “the terrible sacrifice,” about the “shuddering hour” when the mystery is accomplished, and about the “terrible and awful table.”¹⁸ This attitude left its mark not only on the character of the oriental liturgies, but on the peculiar form of oriental piety.¹⁹ Even Chrysostom gave vent to the complaint that few dared approach the holy table for Communion. The decline in the frequentation of Communion in the East was already remarked by Latin Fathers of the fourth-fifth century.²⁰

It is therefore no mere accident that precisely in the Orient the celebration of the mysteries took on an ever greater splendor. The activities at the altar became the object of the awesome gaze and wonder of the assembled congregation. The clergy appear in splendid vestments, lights and incense are introduced into the service, an external ceremonial with bowings and Προσκύνησις is gradually evolved. Forms broaden out, following the pattern set by the Emperor and his highest officials on festive occasions.²¹ The bearing of gifts to the altar and, of course, the procession

¹⁵ Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, I, 3 (PG XXXII, 72 C). Cf. Lubatschiwskyj, 24; Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, 155-163.

¹⁶ Lubatschiwskyj, 25 f., 32 ff.

¹⁷ Basil, *Reg. brev. tract.* 172 (PG XXXI, 1195 BC); Lubatschiwskyj, 34 f.

¹⁸ E. Bishop, in an appendix to R. H. Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Cambridge, 1909), 92-97; Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 217-222. Remarkable is the fact that a man friendly to the Arians, like Philostorgius, *Hist. eccl.* II, 13 (Bidez, 25) should use the phrase τὴν φορικτὴν θυσίαν.

¹⁹ Cf. Karl Adam, *Christus unser Bruder*; English translation, *Christ our Brother* (London, 1931), 48-49. Against this line of thought already expressed by me previously, a number of considerations have been presented by, amongst others, O.

Casel, *JL*, VII (1927), 182 f., and by S. Salaville, *Eph. liturg.*, LIII (1939), 13. See also the latter's book, *An introduction to the Study of Eastern Liturgies*, trans. Barton (London, 1938), 96-7. But so far no scientific investigation of the question has been undertaken, aside from the work of Lubatschiwskyj already mentioned. Regarding Salaville cf. *ZkTh*, LXV (1941), 233 f.

²⁰ Cf. *Infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 11.

²¹ As Prof. Th. Klauser pointed out to me (in a letter of Oct. 18, 1942), the ceremonial rights were transferred to the bishops already under Constantine when they were raised to the rank of the official hierarchy. Amongst these ceremonial rights were the right to be preceded by lit torches and the προσκύνησις. Some of these ceremonies will engage us in the older Roman *Ordines*;

for their distribution in Holy Communion are turned into solemn parades of the clergy, who appeared like the legions of the heavenly spirits (as the festive hymns expressly declare).²²

In addition the line of demarcation between the altar-sanctuary and the people became more and more pronounced. The railings which lay between the two grew higher until at last they became the ikonostasis, the picture-wall which fully hides the sanctuary from the gaze of the people.²³ Thus the action at the altar is all the more raised in dignity. It is enveloped in an atmosphere of holy awe. As a further result, the actions before the liturgy—that is, before the readings—are formed into a more important prelude.²⁴ And so the divine service is noticeably lengthened. Later on, it would seem they strove for more brevity here by having the celebrant say some of his prayers silently, for instance, reading his oration softly even while the deacon is still repeating with the people the litanies which were intended as an introduction to the oration.

The details of the evolution in the oriental Mass do not fall within the scope of this book. However, in order to understand the various analogies which a comparative study of the liturgies of Rome and the East must necessarily draw between the two, it is imperative that we give at least a broad outline of the branching out of the eastern liturgies as this occurred since the fourth century.

Up till now we confined our attention exclusively to the liturgies in the Greek tongue, that great cultural language in whose ambit the Apostles themselves trod and within whose limits most of the liturgical evolution

cf. also the later discussion of incensing and the Gospel. Klauser is to assemble the material in the article "Hofzeremonial" in RAC. For handy reference see H. Leclercq, "Adoration," DACL, I, 539-546; A. Arnold, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhof," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Institutes, röm. Abt.* XLIX (1934), 1-118.

²² The details mentioned are noticeable as a group for the first time in the Syrian explanation of the Liturgy which is ascribed to Narsai (d. about 502); R. H. Connolly, *The liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Cambridge, 1909), and the appended discussion by E. Bishop, "Ritual Splendour," *ibid.*, 88-91. Bishop maintains that the pictures sketched by Narsai correspond to a wealth of cult such as the West reached about the thirteenth century. The later so-called "Great Entrance" with the offerings, is already described by Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), *Sermones catech. V* (Rücker, 21 f.), who compares the solemn parade of

the deacons to the procession of invisible angel hosts. See F. J. Reine, *The Eucharistic Doctrine and Liturgy of the Mystagogical Catecheses of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Studies in Christian Antiquity, 2; Washington, 1942), 90-94. For this growing splendor cf. further testimonies in Hanssens, III, 286 ff.

²³ There are great differences of opinion regarding the antiquity of the ikonostasis. For an early appearance, see Bishop, *op. cit.*, 91. On the other side, Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 666 f.

²⁴ See *infra*, p. 263.

²⁵ The main texts of all Mass-liturgies in the Orient are found in Brightman, *Liturgies*.

The introductory questions, in Baumstark, *Die Messe im Morgenland* (Kempten, 1906); P. de Meester, "Grecques (Liturgies)," DACL, VI (1925), 1591-1662. A compendious introduction is A. Raes, S.J., *Introductio in liturgiam orientalem* (Rome, 1947).

of the first centuries occurred. But the liturgy of the primitive Church in Palestine was certainly not Greek but Aramaic. Aramaic—that is, Syriac—was, by force of necessity, also the language of the ecclesiastical liturgy which penetrated to the North and East beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire. The liturgy that thus evolved was the *East-Syrian*.

The East-Syrian liturgy is known also as the *Nestorian*, because of the desertion to Nestorius, or as *Chaldean*, with reference to the groups who returned to communion with Rome. It is still employed by the descendants of these Christian peoples: by the Syrians in Mesopotamia and by the Christians living on the Malabar coast (the most important mission territory of the East-Syrians). The East-Syrian Mass, as recorded in the oldest documents, gives indications of a period of Greek influence, but this soon came to an end as this part of Christendom became gradually isolated. For the sacrifice or anaphora three different formulas are in use.

In the Greek world, as was already noted, there were two outstanding metropolises, Antioch and Alexandria. The former became the center of the *West-Syrian* liturgy, also called the Liturgy of St. James; after the fourth century it was Jerusalem that took the lead in this sphere. We can get an idea of the radiating power of this liturgy of Jerusalem from the description of the Gallic pilgrim-lady, Ætheria, who had visited the holy places about 390 or (according to other interpretations) 417, and to whose account we will have occasion to return more than once, although it touches on the Mass itself only in passing. However, a lengthy description of the Mass is recorded in the last of the conferences known as the *Mystagogic Catecheses*, ascribed to St. Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386). From Jerusalem, too, is derived the basic formulary for the sacrifice in the West-Syrian liturgy, the anaphora of St. James. After the Council of Chalcedon (451) the majority of the West-Syrians became Monophysites; their Church is called the Jacobite, after its tireless organizer (Jacobus Baradaeus). The non-Monophysite Christians are the Maronites. A growing national consciousness provoked the introduction of Syriac as the liturgical language, although after the suppression of the Syriac by the Arabic, the vernacular Arabic was later adopted for the readings (lessons) and the litanies. The West-Syrian liturgy is distinguished for its numerous anaphora which were composed in the course of centuries after the pattern of that of St. James and of which the older are Greek in origin. There are over sixty, but the present-day Syrians use only a small portion of them.

Parallel to that of the West-Syrian liturgy is the development of the *Egyptian* liturgy known as the Liturgy of St. Mark. In the Patriarchate of Alexandria after the Council of Chalcedon there is the same sort of movement: mass desertion to Monophysitism and the adoption in the liturgy of the ancient national language now called Coptic (and later on, in part, the use of Arabic and, in the Abyssinian highlands, of Ethiopic [Géez]). But, besides the *Euchologion* of Serapion and the papyrus of Der-Balyzeh

(containing remnants of a related Greek Mass-liturgy),²⁸ there survive also some documents of a Greek liturgy of St. Mark. The oldest of these are certain fragments of the basic anaphora of St. Mark, from the fourth-fifth century,²⁷ distinguished from the rest of the composition by the lack of many amplifications. The Copts possess only three anaphora formularies. The Ethiopian liturgy is known to have seventeen, but not all are in common use. The effect of the Monophysite attitude, which is inclined to view in Christ only His divinity, is noticeable in several anaphoras: the Coptic anaphora of St. Gregory Nazianzen, for instance, directs all prayers straight to Christ; the Ethiopian anaphora of Mary directs all to our Lady.²⁸

At the time when the liturgical texts were beginning to be definitely fixed and determined, a third center of Greek liturgy was gradually asserting itself alongside the other two, a center destined to surpass the others in point of influence—Byzantium-Constantinople. All of the East-Slavic countries adhere to the *Byzantine* liturgy, in this case a liturgy vested in the Old Slavonic (Staroslav) tongue. The constant contact with the Eastern Roman imperial court brought about in this liturgy above all, a rich development of forms. Still only two formularies are extant, although these take in not only the anaphora but almost the whole Mass-service. These are the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom and the liturgy already noticed,²⁹ that of St. Basil. The pronounced unchangeableness of the priest's prayers has had repercussions of some consequence in the multiplication of hymns and other songs which for the most part vary with the Church year, not to mention the readings which, of course, comprise a variable element in all liturgies.

Byzantine and Syrian forms have been combined with primordial materials in the *Armenian* liturgy, the language of which—after a brief Syro-Greek beginning—became and remained the national tongue, classical Armenian. In addition, as a result of the return of the Armenians to union with Rome, the liturgy has been considerably modified by Latin influences; there is Psalm 42 (*Iudica*) at the beginning, and the St. John prologue at the end.³⁰ For the Mass-sacrifice proper there are extant several anaphoras.

Of all these Eastern liturgies the Byzantine is nowadays by far the most important. For that reason we shall meet with it often in the course of the following study. But for the present we must content ourselves with an outline of its structure, along with a description of some of the peculiarities that set it apart. In that way we shall see that its ground-plan was already to be found in the Antiochene Mass of the fourth century.

²⁸ Quasten, *Mon.*, 37-45.

²⁷ M. Andrieu and P. Collomp, "Fragments sur papyrus de l'anaphore de s. Marc," *Revue de science relig.*, VIII (1928), 489-515; also Quasten, *Mon.*, 44-48.

²⁸ Cf. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 36 ff., 46 ff., 201 f.

²⁹ *Supra*, p. 38.

³⁰ Brightman, 416, 456.

The fore-Mass begins with two introductory rites of considerable length, which precede the readings. The first of these rites, developed during the course of the Middle Ages, is the *proskomide* or preparation of the offerings, which takes place at a special table, the *πρόθεσις*, at the north, or left, side of the altar—the churches are regularly oriented—amid many ceremonies. The second is the *ἔναρξις*, or opening, something like a condensed form of the Lauds in our Office, but supplemented by solemn incensations at the beginning and by the hymn *Μονογενῆς* at the end. The readings start with a solemn procession, the Little Entrance (*μικρὰ εἴσοδος*) of the clergy, carrying the book of the Gospels (which had previously lain on the altar) through the nave of the church and back again to the sanctuary. Several songs with the trisagion ("Ἄγιος ὁ Θεός) at the finish, accompany this procession. There are only two readings, the "Apostle" and the Gospel. The fore-Mass closes with a general prayer for the Church, which passes into a special prayer for the catechumens—who are then dismissed—and a prayer for the faithful; each of these sections consists of a diaconal litany and a prayer by the celebrant—a typical arrangement in the Byzantine liturgy.

The Mass proper begins with the Great Entrance (*μεγάλη εἴσοδος*), the beautiful procession in which the offerings are carried from the *πρόθεσις* on through the nave of the church and then back to the altar. Meanwhile the Cherubikon or Hymn of the Cherubim is sung. The kiss of peace and the recitation of the Creed follow. After the usual dialogue the great eucharistic prayer begins. The priest says the invariable preface secretly while the choir is singing a prolonged *Dignum et justum est*. He raises his voice at the transition into the *Sanctus*, again at the words of consecration, and lastly after the anamnesis at the words of offering: *τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφέροντες*. This is followed at once by the epiklesis and an intercessory prayer, and the reading of the diptychs by the deacon.

The train of thoughts in the eucharistic prayer is quite in line with the primitive tradition. In the liturgy of St. Basil it is much elaborated, in that of St. Chrysostom it remains very concise. The chief ideas of the latter—after the usual introduction and some references to the unfathomable greatness of God—are thanks for the creation and the Redemption:

Thou hast called us out of nothing into being, and when we were fallen, hast lifted us up again, and hast done everything to lead us to heaven and to give us the Kingdom to come.

Words of thanks to the Triune God carry over into adoration, into an invocation of the heavenly hosts and into the *Sanctus* sung by the people. The priest then takes up the cry: "Holy":

Holy art Thou, and holy is Thine only-begotten Son and Thy Holy Ghost. . . . Thou hast so loved the world as to give Thine only Son. . . . Who came and consummated the whole work of salvation for our sakes, and on the night when He delivered himself up, He took bread . . .

The eucharistic prayer ends after the mementos with a doxology and the Amen of the people.

The *Pater noster* which follows is said in common by all. It is introduced by a deacon's litany and a prayer of the priest, and ends with the trinitarian doxology, "For Thine is the Kingdom." The priest blesses the people and elevates the sacred Host saying, "Holy things to the holy" (Τὰ ἁγία τοῖς ἁγίοις), the Host is broken and a particle is placed in the chalice and the deacon adds thereto a little warm water (ζέον.) After the priest and the deacon have received Holy Communion, the latter goes to the open doors and invites the faithful to communicate. The choir, which has just sung the χοινωνικόν, intones an ἀπολυτίκιον. A prayer of thanksgiving and a blessing by the priest—as usual with an introductory litany by the deacon—form the closing portion of the service, but there are added various ceremonies like the distribution of the bread (antidoron), which had been blessed during the *proskomide* but had not been consecrated.

5. The Latin Mass in Christian Antiquity.

A Latin Christianity makes its first appearance in North Africa about the close of the second century, at a time when in Rome itself Greek was still the standard liturgical language. While for the Greek period of the Roman Mass we possess the valuable descriptions of Justin and Hippolytus, the incipient history of the Latin Mass in Rome, and in the West generally, is until the sixth century dim and uncertain. All we have are a few citations and the scanty light that can be thrown on the period by a reconstruction from later authoritative records. A close parallel can be drawn between the variegated history of oriental liturgies and that of the West; here, too, until well into the Middle Ages, there were various liturgies and therefore also various forms of the Mass. There is this distinction, however: in the West, Latin, which was the sole language of culture, was retained as the only language of the liturgy. Another feature which distinguishes the western liturgies as a whole from the eastern is the constant variation of the formulæ—or at least of specific formulas—in the course of the Church year.¹

From here on, we will consider the liturgies of the West other than the Roman, only in so far as such a consideration is requisite for a more complete exposition of the liturgy of Rome.

The Mass-liturgies of the West are broadly divisible into two families: the Roman-African and the Gallic. Although fixed forms were generally preserved, there were in both groups many local differences, consequent upon conditions in earlier times. No complete text of the African Mass

¹ The one exception for the Orient noted by Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 93 f., is the fragment of a peculiar Easter liturgy derived from ancient Chris-

tian Egypt (edited by H. Hyvernât).

Readings and chants are, however, determined by the church year calendar in the East as in the West.

has come down to us, but scattered references² give us sufficient grounds for believing that in many points it coincided closely with the Roman. The Gallic liturgies are further subdivided into four chief forms: the Gallican (in a narrower sense), the Celtic, the Old Spanish or Mozarabic, and the Milanese or Ambrosian.

The *Milanese* liturgy, still employed in the archdiocese of Milan, was from earliest times permeated with Roman forms, and to be more precise, right in the Mass itself, where the Roman canon was incorporated. But numerous details of pre-Roman usage survive, and even the parts taken over from Rome exhibit, to a degree, older forms than are found in the present Roman Mass.³

The *Old Spanish* or *Mozarabic* liturgy⁴ is also in use, but only in one place, a chapel of the cathedral of Toledo which the great Cardinal Ximenes had established around 1500 to insure the perpetuation of this rite. The Mass book used here, the so-called *Missale Mixtum*, which Ximenes had had compiled from the manuscripts then at hand, shows Roman influence in several instances.⁵ By using older manuscripts it has since been possible to regain a pure form of the Mozarabic Mass as it appeared before the Moorish invasion (A.D. 711).⁶

The term *Celtic* is applied to the Latin liturgies in use among the Celtic peoples of northwestern Europe, especially the Irish and the Scots. The chief propagators of this rite were the Scotch-Irish monks who in their pilgrimages and missionary journeys traveled through many countries. In the few documents that survive,⁷ the liturgy reveals the character of this wandering monasticism. So far as the Mass is concerned, it is a liturgy generally composed of foreign elements: Gallican, Roman, Mozarabic and (not least) oriental patterns were borrowed and in some way or other woven together, so that it is only in a broad sense that we can speak of a distinct liturgy.

In contrast, the *Gallican* liturgy, used in the Frankish realm during the early part of the Middle Ages, shows a magnificent independence and exclusiveness.⁸ Although it disappeared by the eighth century, at least the Mass from this liturgy is fairly well known. Amongst the documents that have come down, there is especially the work which originated near the

² E. Dekkers, *Tertullianus en de geschiedenis der liturgie* (Brussels, 1947); W. Roetzer, *Des hl. Augustinus Schriften als liturgie-geschichtliche Quelle* (Munich, 1930); F. Cabrol, "Afrique (Liturgie)", *DAFL*, I, 591-657.

³ P. Lejay, "Ambrosienne (Liturgie)", *DAFL*, I, 1373-1442; P. Borella, "La Messa Ambrosiana," an excursus in Rigetti, *Manuale*, III, 508-568.

⁴ Cf. H. Jenner, "Mozarabic Rite," in CE, X, 611-623. See also Dom German Prado, *Historia del rito mozarabe* (San Domingo

de Silos, 1928).

⁵ *Missale mixtum*, with notes by A. Lesley, S.J. (1775) in Migne, PL, LXXXV.

⁶ M. Férotin, *Le Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum* (Paris, 1912); idem., *Le liber ordinum* (Paris, 1904).

⁷ L. Gougaud, "Celtiques (Liturgies)", *DAFL*, II, 2969-3032. For the Mass, the Stowe Missal of the beginning of the ninth century comes to mind. The Missal of Bobbio is also often referred to.

⁸ L. Leclercq, "Gallicane (Liturgie)", *DAFL*, VI, 473-593.

end of the seventh century, the so-called *Missale Gothicum*,⁹ a sacramentary which is supposed to have come from the monastery of Gregorienmünster in Alsace.¹⁰ There are also authoritative records of the systematized list of pericopes.¹¹ In addition there are countless references to various particulars, especially in Gregory of Tours (d. 594), and in the seventh century *Expositio Missæ* at one time ascribed to St. Germanus of Paris.¹²

All the Gallic liturgies can be reduced to a simple basic type, especially in reference to two peculiarities in the priest's Mass prayers. These are composed, not as in the Orient—at least for the Mass proper—of a continuous prayer, not even for the anaphora, but of a series of individual prayers, even for the great (or eucharistic) prayer. Furthermore, not only are certain of these prayers subjected to the variations of the church year, but the whole series. Every feast of our Lord and every saint's feast had as a rule a distinctive formulary, although this did not exclude the possibility of having neutral formulas to be used at any time, of which the Masses discovered and published by Mone (the Reichenau fragments) offer fair samples.¹³

One question that up till now has been given no uniform answer is, where this liturgical type had its origin. How could such an important liturgical sphere arise in Western Europe without having the Roman mother-church, whose leadership was commonly accepted, as a center? How opposite to what we saw happening in the Orient, apparently without there being any such center at all. Msgr. Duchesne has suggested a solution¹⁴: he proposes Milan as just such a center. During the fourth century Milan was the residence of the Emperors. In ecclesiastical affairs Milan's influence later extended as far as Spain.¹⁵ Accordingly, if we suppose that one of Milan's bishops who came from the Orient—like the Cappadocian Auxentius (355-374)—had established this liturgical type, then we can explain many of the coincidences with oriental usage, more particularly with Antioch—coincidences which are features of the Gallican liturgies and distinguish them from the Roman. Such points of coincidence are the offertory procession after the fore-Mass, the position of the kiss of peace,

⁹ Amongst others, Muratori, II, 517-658; also Migne, PL, LXXII, 225-318. An edition in facsimile, with introduction by C. Mohlberg, appeared in Augsburg, 1929.

¹⁰ G. Morin, "Sur la provenance du Missale Gothicum," *Revue d'hist. eccl.*, XXXVII (1941), 24-30.

¹¹ Above all, the Lectionary of Luxeuil (7th cent.), edited by J. Mabillon (PL LXXII, 171-216). Cf. P. Radó, "Das älteste Schriftlesungssystem der altgallikanischen Liturgie," *Eph. liturg.*, XLV (1931), 9-25; 100-115.

¹² *Expositio antiquæ liturgiæ gallicanæ Germano Parisiensi ascripta*, ed. J. Quasten (Opuscula et Textus, ser. liturg. 3; Münster, [1934]); also Migne, PL, LXXII, 89-98. The late date above assigned to the work is occasioned especially by the dependence on Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (about 620); see Quasten, 5 f.

¹³ F. J. Mone, *Lateinische und griechische Messen aus dem 2.-6. Jh.* (Frankfurt, 1850); Migne, PL, CXXXVIII, 863-882.

¹⁴ Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 90-95.

¹⁵ Duchesne, *Ibid.*, 32 ff, 91 f.

the epiklesis. However, a great change must then have taken place even under St. Ambrose, for the canon of the Mass, as Ambrose describes it, is essentially Roman.¹⁶ The opinion advanced by others, that the Gallic liturgy was originally the common liturgy of the West, abandoned later on by Rome and, particularly, by Milan, runs up against one big difficulty, namely, that the Gallic liturgical type itself exhibits a relatively late stage of evolution, so that, with all its complications and enrichments, it could hardly be earlier than the fourth century.¹⁷

The Gallic liturgy did not last long. In France the lack of any regulating center and the resulting multiplicity of forms brought on a growing distaste for this particular liturgy, so that by the eighth century the Roman rite was being substituted for it. On the British Isles it was the advance of the Anglo-Saxon element that forced the introduction of the Roman Mass. In Spain it was the recapture of the peninsula by the young kingdoms which had, in the interval, adopted the Roman system. We shall later come upon many details of the Gallic rites in our exposition of the Roman Mass. The following survey takes in the condition of the Gallic Mass in its final stage.¹⁸

The Mass begins with a fourfold song sequence. First there is a psalmody which, like the Roman introit, accompanies the entrance of the clergy. After the bishop has greeted the congregation (*Dominus sit temper vobiscum*) there follows the singing of the trisagion ("Αγίος ὁ θεός"), in Greek and Latin. Then the *Kyrie eleison*, sung by three boys, and finally the canticle *Benedictus* (Luke 1:68-79), which is concluded with an oration. The service of readings consists of three lessons. The first is as a rule taken from the Old Testament, the second from the Acts or the Epistles, the third from the Gospels. After the first reading, the Cantic of the Three Young Men in the Babylonian furnace, *Benedictus es*, is interposed, along with a responsorial chant. The trisagion is again introduced, both before and after the Gospel. Before the Gospel there is a solemn procession led by seven torch-bearers. Following the reading of the Gospel there is a homily. And the fore-Mass is brought to a conclusion with the general prayer for the Church, which is in two parts: a prayer for the faithful and a prayer for the catechumens (who are then dismissed)—both parts, as in the East, introduced by the dialogue of the deacon in the form of a litany.

The Mass proper begins with a second solemn procession, in which the

¹⁶ *Vide infra*, p. 52.

A solution along the same lines was suggested recently by G. Morin, "Depuis quand un canon fixe à Milan?", *Revue Bénédict.*, LI (1939), 101-108.

¹⁷ Duchesne, 93 f.

This thesis was argued by F. Probst, *Die abendländische Messe vom 5. bis 8. Jh.* (Münster, 1896), 264-268. In earlier works also Cabrol; but cf. F. Cabrol, *La messe*

en Occident (Paris, 1932), esp. 37, 166 ff., where Cabrol no longer talks about a Gallic type which Rome had given up, but rather (by minimizing the peculiarities of Roman liturgy) about a common Western Mass.

¹⁸ Cabrol, *La Messe en Occident*, 139-156; Duchesne, *Origines*, 200-240; A. Wilmart, "Germain de Paris (Lettres attribuées à) V, 1. La messe," *DACL*, VI (1924), 1066-1090.

clergy carry the offering-gifts to the altar—the offering of the gifts by the people had already taken place before Mass. This is the entrance of the triumphant Christ. The procession is accompanied by the chanting of what is called a *sonus*, and is brought to a close with another song. A kind of opening address (*præfatio missæ* or *missa* it is called) expounds in carefully contrived periods the motive and meaning of each particular festivity; an oration follows. Next comes the reading of the diptychs with the names of those who are offering the sacrifice, or for whom the sacrifice is being offered in a particular way. This closes with a prayer; then there is the kiss of peace, and another prayer. After that, at last the eucharistic prayer.

There is the customary introductory dialogue, then the first part or preface—called *immolatio* or *contestatio*, whose basic motif is thanksgiving but which frequently turns to petitions. This leads into the *Sanctus*. After the *Sanctus*, and usually linked to some word of it, comes the *Post Sanctus*, which forms a simple transition to the words of consecration. The next prayer is designated *Post secreta* or *Post mysterium* (in Spain, *Post Pridie*); it comprises mostly both an anamnesis and an epiklesis. What follows, the breaking of the Bread and the arrangement of the particles on the altar, is carefully regulated; an antiphonal chant accompanies the ceremony. A special prayer, variable like all the others, leads into the *Pater Noster*; this is said by the entire assembly, and ends in a frequently changing embolism. The culmination and climax of the Gallican Mass comes, at least at a pontifical service, just before Communion, when the deacon invites all to receive the blessing and the blessing is given; there are special collections of the formulas for this blessing, fitted to each changing feast. The Communion itself is accompanied by the chanting of Psalm 33 or appointed selections thereof or some other song; it is concluded with an oration.

Even this rough sketch makes one thing sure. The plan of the Gallican Mass, which reappears with slight changes in all the liturgies of the type, shows a definite leaning towards splendor and ceremonial. Even if we deduct some of the chants, which obviously belong only to the later stages of the liturgy, the trend is still discernible. The same impression is given by the rhetoric employed, ornamental and diffuse, often spinning its message out to such an extent that the form is lost and a prayer becomes an address, and an address becomes a prayer. The theological thought-structure reflects the constant upheavals provoked by christological battles; after all it was not only in Spain that the opposition to Germanic Arianism had an effect on Christian life. As an example, this excerpt from the *Missale Gothicum* will do; it is a *collectio ad pacem* for the feast of St. Clement. In it the favorite Gallican address to the Trinity becomes an address to Christ.

Concordator discordiæ et origo societatis æternæ, indivisa Trinitas, Deus, qui Sisennii infidelitatem ab Ecclesiæ unitate disiunctam per sanctum Cle-

*mentem antistitem et subdis catholicæ fidei et innectis perpetuæ caritati: exaudi preces nostras illamque nobis pacem tribue, quam quondam ætherem ascensurus Apostolis reliquisti, ut qui præsentium labiorum impressione inlegati fuerint osculo, tua custodia pacifici parmaneant in futuro. Quod ipse præstare digneris qui cum Patre.*¹⁹

6. The Roman Mass from the Third to the Sixth Century

The beginnings of the Latin Mass in Rome are wrapped in almost total darkness. The oldest documents to register such a Mass are nearly all the work of diligent Frankish scribes of the eighth and ninth centuries, and even with all the apparatus of literary criticism and textual analysis, we can hardly reconstruct any records back beyond the sixth century, certainly not beyond the fifth. For the most part whatever is here transmitted as the permanent text—especially the canon, but likewise the major portion of the variable prayers of the celebrant, and the readings—is almost identical with present-day usage. We are thus brought face-to-face with a sharp contrast: the Latin Mass as it has been practiced ever since, and the Greek Mass to which Hippolytus attests—and a broad gulf between. In place of the earlier freedom within a given schema, there is now to be found a fast and solid rigidity of forms. Of these forms there is a veritable treasure, their variety conditioned by the course of the church year. Although well within the stiff limitations of the new outline, these forms seem to have explored every possibility of the newer arrangement. There are hundreds and hundreds of variable texts, especially for feasts of martyrs. There are one or two prayers by the celebrant in the fore-Mass, a prayer over the sacrificial gifts, an ever-changing text for the *præfatio* before the *Sanctus*, and a prayer after the Communion. This is the content of the older formularies of the priest's Mass prayers for each day's celebration.

The tendency to diversify the texts is set in bold opposition to the stability of what was later called (in a narrow sense) the canon, the essentially unchanging text of the prayer from the *Te igitur* to the concluding doxology, and its continuation from the *Pater noster* to the dismissal. In contrast to the smooth-flowing eucharistic prayer recorded by Hippolytus, the Roman canon, with its separate members and steps, and its broken-up lists of saints, presents a picture of great complexity. For the new science of liturgy, schooled as it was in philology, here was an alluring problem. The new science, as it developed till the turn of the century, had only the Clementine liturgy of the fourth century as the last link before the appearance of the Roman canon; how to fill in the hiatus, at least by hypotheses, proved an inviting question.

¹⁹ Muratori, II, 554. For the theological bearing, cf. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi*, 78-93; 195-198.

Thus a number of theories were developed to explain the origin of the Roman canon, but as a result of their mutual disagreement little more is left of them now than ruins.¹ One of the boldest of these theorists, Anton Baumstark, not long ago, while making a new examination of the problem, himself summarized it in this very way.² That does not mean, however, that there is absolutely no hope of clearing up the history of this development. The only thing that seems doomed to failure is the attempt to gather from here and there bits of text that appear to be similar, and then expect to explain the whole configuration, for such similarities are to be found everywhere. The liturgy of Rome must have developed in Rome itself, although there may have been influences there from outside.

The first thing that was to be done during that interval between the third and the sixth century, was to translate the liturgy from Greek into the Latin tongue, the result, no doubt, of the changed composition of the Roman community. This transition was not a sudden one. The inscriptions on the papal tombs are found in Latin during the second half of the third century, beginning with Pope Cornelius (d. 253). If there were in Rome already before Constantine more than forty churches,³ it is possible that Latin congregations had existed before Cornelius.⁴ Yet even as late as the

¹F. Cabrol, "Canon Romain," DACL, II (1910), 1847-1905, gives an extensive notice of this problem; likewise Fortescue, *The Mass* (1912), 138-171; idem., "Canon of the Mass," CE, III (1908), 255-267. The most important solutions proposed are: Chr. Bunsen (1854): in the canon two different parts have been shoved together, the main text of the priest and the the diaconal "diptychs"; P. Cagin (1896): the "diptychs" are an insertion which previously, in the older, ostensibly Gallican arrangement of the Roman liturgy, had had a place before the preface; P. Drews (1902): after the *Santus* there followed a continuation of the thanksgiving prayer, while the *Te igitur*, the *Memento* for the living, and *Communicantes*, after the model of the liturgy of St. James, originally had a place after the consecration as a resumption of the *Supplices*; Baumstark (1904): in addition, the prayers of oblation, *Hanc igitur*, *Quam oblationem*, *Supra quæ*, and *Supplices*, are to be traced from Alexandria by way of Ravenna; Buchwald (1906): the present-day text, aside from the "diptychs" is developed from what was left of an epiklesis, which in turn was bound up with the *Supra quæ*; and W. C. Bishop (1908): the clue to the original arrangement of the Roman canon

is to be found in the Roman prayers for the blessing of baptismal water, which must have been modelled on the original canon, now lost.

²A. Baumstark, "Das 'Problem' des römischen Messkanons," *Eph. liturg.*, LIII (1939), 204-243. Quite a number of liturgists have for a long time steered clear of the whole puzzle, e.g., Batiffol, *Leçons* (1927; first appeared 1918), 223 ff.

³Optatus, *Contra Parmen.*, II, 4 (CSEL, XXVI, 39).

⁴C. P. Caspari, *Ungedruckte, unbeachtete und wenig beachtete Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols*, III (Christiania, 1875), 303-466, esp. 456 f.

Cf. Eisenhofer, I, 151 f.; G. Bardy, "Latinisation de l'église d'occident," *Irénikon*, XIV (1937), 1-20; 113-130; idem., "Formules liturgiques grecques à Rome au IV^e siècle," *Recherches de science relig.*, XXX (1940), 109-112, referring to Ambrosiaster, *In ep. I ad Cor.*, 14, 14 (PL, XVII, 255), according to whom many Latins had been overjoyed to join in the singing of the Greeks (*græce cantare*); it is rather questionable whether this refers to liturgical song.

Th. Klauser, "Der Übergang der römischen Kirche von der griechischen zur lateinischen Liturgiesprache," *Miscellanea G.*

year 360 the Roman rhetorician Marius Victorinus cites a Greek quotation from the Roman *oratio oblationis* of his day: σῶσον περιούσιον λαὸν ζηλωτῆν καλῶν ἔργων.⁵

While the variable formularies of the Latin Mass book could naturally arise only by a slow process, and even the principle of change and the method of its employment could not have been uniform all at once, there must have been from the start a requirement regarding the formulation of the great eucharistic prayer that could not be rejected. Was this first formulation already our Roman canon? The conjecture has indeed been put forth, and an attempt made to support it.⁶ But it is more probable that the change-over from Greek to Latin produced many intermediary forms, particularly since in the third century we have not in general to reckon with any universally fixed texts. Besides, it is hardly likely that the sober temper of the Romans, which speaks so plainly even in the prayer-language of the canon, would have penetrated through and through immediately after such a transition.

On the other hand, at least the *core of the Roman canon* must have existed by the end of the fourth century. In an anonymous writing of this period a phrase is cited from the *Supra quæ*; the unknown author remarks in connection with his rather remarkable opinion that Melchisedech was the Holy Ghost:

*Similiter et Spiritus Sanctus missus quasi antistes, sacerdos appellatus est excelsi Dei, non summus, sicut nostri in oblatione præsumunt*⁷

Mercuri, I (Rome, 1946), 467-482, takes the stand that this change of language was much less simultaneous and quite a bit later (under Damasus). Cf. for an opposite view, B. Botte, *Bulletin de Théol. anc. et. méd.*, V (1948), 374.

⁵Marius Victorinus, *Adversus Arianos*, II, 8 (PL, VIII, 1094); cf. *ibid.*, I, 30 (VIII, 1063).

Cf. Frere, *The Anaphora*, 142 f. In this expression (which depends on Titus 2:14) there is question probably of an excerpt from a blessing which was spoken either before or after the Great Prayer; cf. *Const. Ap.*, II, 57, 20; VIII, 41, 8 (Funk, I, 167, 552). A more external parallel in the East-Syrian Mass: Brightman, 264, 3.

⁶A. Baumstark, "Ein Übersetzungsfehler im Messkanon," *Studia catholica*, V (1929), 378-382; idem., *Missale Romanum*, 13 f. In the phrase *summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech* the word *summus* is somewhat surprising. According to Baumstark this is explained on the supposition that the fundamental Greek text read: τὴν προσφοράν Μελχισέδεκ τοῦ ἱερέως σοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου; in

the translation the words τοῦ ὑψίστου were erroneously construed with ἱερέως.

Cf. in opposition H. Engberding, "Einfluss des Ostens auf die Gestalt der römischen Liturgie," *Ut omnes unum* (Münster, 1939; 61-89), 67. C. Mohlberg has also voiced disagreement, *Theol. Revue*, XXVII (1938), 43. A decisive argument is that the word ἀρχιερεύς, which has much the same force as *sumus sacerdos*, was already used in reference to Melchisedech in *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 23 (Funk, I, 502); cf. Botte, *Le canon*, 65. A word of like purport, *pontifex*, is also sometimes applied to him by Latins, e.g., Jerome, *In Ezech.*, c. 44 (PL, XXV, 429 B); Leo the Great, *Serm.*, 5, 3 (PL, LIV, 154 C).

⁷*Quæstiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, c. 109, 21 (CSEL, L, 268; PL, XXXV, 2329). The author is probably the Jew Isaac who had been a Christian for a time. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, (Freiburg, 1912), III, 520-525; G. Bardy, "Melchisedech dans la tradition patristique," *Revue Biblique*, XXXVI (1927), 25-37; Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 10.

The words of the canon that immediately adjoin these, namely the words which designate Melchisedech's gift as a sacrifice, are attested for the middle of the fifth century by the *Liber Pontificalis* which gives an account—here more trustworthy—of Pope Leo the Great's insertion *intra actionem sacrificii* of the words *sanctum sacrificium et cetera*.⁸ Further, Jerome seems to play on the words of introduction to the Lord's Prayer, *audemus dicere*.⁹ But it is above all St. Ambrose who, in his instructions to the newly-baptized, gives us an extensive excerpt from the Mass prayers, which differs very little from the respective prayers of the present Roman canon.¹⁰ He is trying to show his listeners that it is Christ's creative word which turns the earthly gifts into the Lord's Body and Blood:

Accipe, quæ sunt verba. Dicit sacerdos: Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod figura est corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur, in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, respexit in cælum ad te, sancte Pater omnipotens æterne Deus, gratias agens benedixit, fregit fractumque apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit dicens: Accipite et edite ex hoc omnes, hoc est enim corpus meum, quod pro multis confringetur. Similiter etiam calicem, postquam cœnatum est, pridie quam pateretur, accepit, respexit in cælum ad te, sancte Pater omnipotens æterne Deus, gratias agens benedixit, apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit dicens: Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes, hic est enim sanguis meus.

Vide quid dicat: Quotiescunque hoc feceritis, toties commemorationem mei facietis, donec iterum adveniam. Et sacerdos dicit: Ergo memores gloriosissimæ eius passionis et ab inferis resurrectionis et in cælum ascensionis offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationabilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem vitæ æternæ; et petimus et precamur ut hanc oblationem suscipias in sublimi altari tuo per manus angelorum tuorum, sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahamæ et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.

Certain details of this text will engage us elsewhere. Right now we must

⁸ Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 239.

⁹ Jerome, *Contra Pelag.*, III, 15 (PL, XXIII, 585 A).

St. Jerome's authorship of a phrase which plays on the words of the *Nobis quoque* is questionable: *In psalm. 72* (PL, XXVI, 109, resp. 1033): “. . . ad capessendam futuram beatitudinem cum electis eius, in quorum nos consortium non meritorum inspektor, sed veniæ largitor admittat Christus Dominus.” Cf. Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 10, and note 11.

¹⁰ Ambrose, *De Sacramentis*, IV, 5 f. (Quasten, *Mon.*, 160-162). Quasten, 137 f., has all the literature regarding the question of authorship, undisputed till a short while ago. The argument for Ambrose's authorship has meanwhile been continued by H. Frank, “Ein Beitrag zur ambrosianischen

Herkunft der Predigten De sacramentis,” *Theol. Quartalschrift*, CXXI (1940), 67-82, and O. Faller, “Ambrosius, der Verfasser von De sacramentis,” *ZkTh*, LXIV (1940), 1-14, 81-101. According to Faller (99 f.) this work of Ambrose is a stenographic report of his preaching, which was not restricted by the laws of the *arcana*, in marked contrast to the *De Mysteriis*, and could thus give us such precious accounts. This explanation had already been suggested, but only as a conjecture, by F. Probst, *Liturgie des 4. Jahrhunderts und deren Reform* (Münster, 1893), 238 f. The same contention has been lately insisted on by R. H. Connolly, *The De Sacramentis a work of St. Ambrose* (Downside Abbey, 1942).

accept this as certain: the core of our Mass canon, from the *Quam oblationem* on, including the sacrificial prayer after the consecration, was already in existence by the end of the fourth century. We do not know for sure whether the slight differences in wording are to be traced to a divergent older text or are to be charged to the episcopal orator who, to be sure, was really concerned only with the words of consecration.¹¹ At least the first words, which have no real connection with anything preceding, would be a free rendering of the sense, since the prayer for the changing of the gifts, as thus introduced, is presumably the continuation of a previous presentation of the material gifts.¹² This fourth-century canon exhibits, by comparison with the eucharistic prayer of the third, only these new elements: a more pronounced expression of the prayer that the gifts will be graciously accepted, and the explicit prayer for a change in these gifts.

We might ask, are the intercessory prayers contained in our Roman canon, particularly the doubled *Memento*, part of the fourth-century contents? We saw how in the Orient these intercessory prayers, which had their roots in an earlier stage of the eucharistic prayer, had actually become part of it during the fourth century, and in part precisely in conjunction with the enumeration of the names.¹³

Another striking allusion to the Roman canon is to be found in the remark by which Ambrose introduces the quotation already given; everything, he says, that precedes the efficacious words of transubstantiation, is but human utterance:

*reliqua omnia, quæ dicuntur in superioribus, a sacerdote dicuntur, laudes Deo deferuntur, oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro ceteris.*¹⁴

This could refer to prayers of intercession which would be inserted after the preface (*laudes*). Still the intercessory prayers mentioned are such as the people would be invited (*petitur*) to make, and that is certainly unusual within the canon. Ambrose is probably telling off the prayers in reverse order, from the consecration backwards. His mind would recall the arrangement in which the general prayer for the Church preceded the Mass proper, the arrangement which was continued in the Gallican liturgies.

The question of arranging the diptychs was one that was at that very time much discussed so far as the Roman liturgy was concerned. In the year 416, Bishop Decentius of the Apennine town of Gubbio had consulted Pope Innocent I on this very point of usage. The bishop had been wont to

¹¹ Batiffol, *Leçons*, 215.

¹² By quoting Gallic canon-prayers, which are strikingly like Ambrose's, Botte, *Le canon*, 26, 37, 41, 43, builds up a more complete text and presents some noteworthy arguments that Ambrose was citing an existing text word for word. However, it still seems more probable that the original of the Gallic prayers was not Ambrose but

some other canon-text that was making the rounds.

¹³ Serapion, n. 13 (*supra*, p. 35); *Const. Ap.*, VIII, 12, 40-49 (*supra*, p. 37); Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. mystag.*, V, 8-10 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 102 f.).

¹⁴ Ambrose, *De sacramentis*, IV, 4, 14 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 158).

have the names read (by the deacon) before the celebrant, by his prayer, commended the gifts to God. But now some openly objected to this arrangement. Innocent replies to Decentius' question as follows:

De nominibus vero recitandis antequam precem (al. preces) sacerdos faciat atque eorum oblationes, quorum nomina recitanda sunt, sua oratione commendet, quam superfluum sit, et ipse pro tua prudentia recognoscis; ut cuius hostiam necdum Deo offeras, eius ante nomen insinues, quamvis illi incognitum sit nihil. Prius ergo oblationes sunt commendandæ ac tunc eorum nomina, quorum sunt, edicenda; ut inter sacra mysteria nominentur, non inter alia quæ antea præmittimus, ut ipsis mysteriis viam futuris precibus aperiamus.¹⁵

The passage is not very clear, but despite a variety of interpretations, this much seems sure: according to Pope Innocent the reading of the names (on the diptychs) should not take place till after the gifts have been commended to God. The commendation must be understood to refer to the *secreta*. But the words that follow, that the names should be mentioned *inter sacra mysteria* indicate a recitation within the eucharistic prayer or canon,¹⁶ perhaps after a prayer corresponding to our *Te igitur*.

That the continuation of the *Te igitur* was also in existence at this time, we can gather from papal letters of the years immediately following, which speak of a remembrance of the Emperor *inter ipsa mysteria*,¹⁷ *oblatis sacrificiis*.¹⁸

We thus account for at least three formulas in the canon (before the consecration) at the start of the fifth century: *Te igitur* (with the continuation: *in primis quæ tibi offerimus*), *Memento Domine* (or some such formula for introducing the listing of names), and *Quam oblationem*. It is striking that the Spanish *Liber ordinum*, which in several other places contains a mixture of old Roman materials,¹⁹ actually exhibits a Mass

¹⁵ Innocent I, *Ep.* 25 (PL, XX, 553 f.).

¹⁶ Cf. R. H. Connolly, "Pope Innocent I de nominibus recitandis," *Journal of theol. studies*, XX (1919), 215-226.

The *alia quæ antea præmittimus* are obviously the *secreta*, or more correctly, the general prayers for the Church of which the *secreta* at that time formed the last member. The closing phrase, *ut ipsis . . . aperiamus*, defies elucidation. The explanation on which P. Drews, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Kanons* (Tübingen, 1902), 35, built his theories in good part, namely, that through the consecrated elements the way is readied for the intercessory prayers that follow, gives a new turn to this clause, which is apparently intended to present the purpose of the preceding prayers; according to this very unlikely suggestion, the *mysteria* have a subservient role over against the intercessory prayers. Batiffol,

Leçons, 219, is inclined to read *oblationibus* instead of *mysteriis*. Connolly, 219 ff., and with him V. L. Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass* (Rome, 1938), 23; cf. also F. E. Brightman, *The Journal of theol. studies*, XXIII (1922), 410, would construe *mysteriis* with *futuris* (dative: the prayer as preparation for the mysteries). But then the words have to be rearranged, and even so *futuris* is hard to fit in. The same sense is more easily attained by reading *fusus* for *futuris*.

¹⁷ Boniface I (418-422), *Ep.*, 7 (PL, XX, 767).

¹⁸ Celestine I (422-432), *Ep.*, 23 (PL, L, 544 C).

Cf. Kennedy, 21.

¹⁹ For example, the notice of the use in Spain even before 580 of Roman formulas for penance of the sick; see Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 110 ff., 113.

prayer which welds precisely these three elements into one.²⁰ Thus it would seem that these three prayers at one time actually existed alone, and the question then arises, whether the independent *Memento* had been from the beginning bound up with both the others.²¹

Only the following parts of our Roman canon could not be found at the beginning of the fifth century: *Communicantes*, *Hanc igitur*, and after the consecration, *Memento etiam* and *Nobis quoque*. However, these formulas too (with the exception of the *Memento* of the dead), are to be found in the oldest extant manuscripts of the Roman canon, in a form that must at all events belong to the sixth century. During the interval all these prayers came into being; and the others took on, where they differed, the form they have at present.²² The authentic version goes back possibly to Pope Gelasius I (492-496), to whom the finished canon of the so-called Stowe Missal is ascribed: *Incipit canon dominicus papæ Gilasi*,²³ and to whom many other references point.²⁴

But there is something distinctive even about the more ancient shorter version, in which the prayers mentioned above are missing. If we join to this version the preface and the *Sanctus*, and compare it then with the anaphoras of the Orient, we will notice the vast difference. Of course the difference is not so great but that in many spots a glimmer of the most antique tradition peers through, displaying again and again the resemblances to peculiarities of the Egyptian liturgy.²⁵ We have here to do with traditional material from a period when the congregations of Rome and Alexandria were linked not only by an intense sea commerce, but by the ties of a common language and culture, a period when there were still no

²⁰ Férotin, *Le Liber ordinum*, 321 f. Cagin, *L'eucharistie*, 62 f., was the first to refer to this prayer, a *Post-Prædix* formula; cf. Batiffol, 220 ff. It runs: *Per quem te petimus et rogamus, omnipotens Pater, ut accepta habeas et benedicere digneris hæc munera et hæc sacrificia inlibata, quæ tibi in primis offerimus pro tua sancta Ecclesia catholica, quam pacificare digneris per universum orbem terrarum in tua pace diffusam. Memorare etiam, quæsumus Domine, servorum tuorum qui tibi in honore sanctorum tuorum illorum reddunt vota sua Deo vivo ac vero pro remissione suorum omnium delictorum. Quorum oblationem benedictam, ratam rationabilemque facere digneris, quæ est imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Jesu Christi Filii tui ac Redemptoris nostri.*

Cf. Férotin, *Le Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum*, n. 1440.

²¹ To the *Memento* we must append the second part of the *Te igitur*: *in primis quæ tibi offerimus*, which, in meaning, properly

belongs to it. In this way there is a smooth connection between *Quam oblationem* and the preceding section: *uti accepta habeas . . . hæc sancta sacrificia inlibata. Quam oblationem*. This readjustment would give us the first form of the Roman canon, before the insertion of the names, which could have been made not long before Innocent I; the first evidence of the canon comes just a few decades sooner; cf. *supra*, p. 51 f.

²² Leo the Great especially must have been at work here; see C. Callewaert, "S. Leon, le Communicantes et le Nobis quoque peccatoribus," *Sacris erudiri*, I (1949), 123-164.

²³ Botte, *Le canon*, 32.

²⁴ Kennedy, *The Saints*, 32-35; 58.

²⁵ The instances of relationship are collected in Baumstark, *Das 'Problem' des römischen Messkanons*, 212-232; some also in Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 22, Note 1, and Lietzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*, 45 f., 59 f. The following points of contact deserve special mention: A sort of *secreta* precedes

fixed texts but a living custom that sought uniformity with friendly sister-churches.

In an effort piously to preserve such traditions, someone in the fourth century must have worked out the basic text of the Roman canon. That this text, compared with the great eucharistic prayer of other liturgies, incorporated the lineaments of a greater antiquity, has already been demonstrated more than once.²⁶ To try to name the author would be a thankless undertaking.²⁷ But it will be well to point out a few of the author's stylistic peculiarities. He has a preference for word-doubles (the coupling of synonyms or related expressions):

rogamus ac petimus; accepta habeas et benedicas; catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei; quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio; sanctas ac venerabiles

the eucharistic prayer. The intercessory prayers stand just before a *memento* of the dead, after the consecration. Before the consecration there is a plea for the consecration (epiklesis).

There is also a whole round of agreements in the formulation of the prayers: In the introduction only Egypt has the form of greeting like our own: 'Ο κύριος μετὰ πάντων (ὑμῶν), while otherwise a longer formula from 2 Cor. 13, 13, is used here. There is almost the identical wording in the cry: "Ἄνω (ἡμῶν or ὑμῶν,—both probably secondary addenda) τὰς καρδίας. Among parallels to *Vere dignum et iustum est æquum et salutare*, only Egypt has, for one thing, the simple wording of the initial words, 'Αληθῶς γὰρ ἄξιόν ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιον ... instead of 'Ὡς ἀληθῶς... *et al.*; and for another, it employs the word *salutare* (ἐπωφελές). The connecting link *Per Christum Dominum nostrum per quem* has only one parallel, namely the equivalent in the anaphora of St. Mark: 'Ι. Χρ., δι' οὗ σοι... εὐχαριστοῦντες προσφέρομεν. The same thing holds for the asyndetic and consecutive naming of the angelic choirs: *Laudant angeli, adorant dominationes* . . . , and in the transition to the song of the angels, in the form of a plea for the gracious acceptance (*admitti iubeas*) of our song of praise, to which the congregation is expressly invited. And the fact that the oblation not only of the material but of the consecrated gifts is ascribed to the faithful (*qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*) is again reflected only in Egypt (Μνήσθητι . . . τῶν προσφερόντων τὰ ἅγια δῶρα ταῦτα). There are also identical amplifications of the account of the institution, amongst others,

ad te Deum Patrem suum. To the Roman *offerimus præclaræ maiestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis* there corresponds in Egypt not a simple Τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σὸν σοι προσφέροντες, but the formal sentence τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σὸν δῶρων προσθήκαμεν ἐνώπιον τῆς ἀγίας σου δόξης. —Strangest by far is the parallel in the prayer begging the Father's acceptance: διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου λειτουργίας God should take the gifts to the heavenly altar, ὡς προσεδέξω τὰ δῶρα τοῦ δικαίου σου "Ἀβελ τὴν, θυσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν 'Αβραάμ. The Egyptian counterpart belongs to the pre-consecratory intercessory prayers; there is an immediate connection with the text of Ambrose. The agreement has suggested the possibility that the entire canon is derived from Egypt; see *supra*, Note 1. Further discussion regarding the Egyptian links to the *Memento* of the dead and the *Nobis quoque, infra*.

Other points in common are found in the extra-eucharistic liturgy.

²⁶ Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 89 f., refers to the simplicity of the introductory dialogue and the lack of an epiklesis, in place of which there is a simple prayer begging acceptance.

²⁷ G. Morin many years ago suggested Firmicus Maternus, and more recently considered the conjecture well-founded; *Revue Bénéd.*, LI (1939), 103 f. The phrase of Gregory the Great, *Ep.* IX, 12 (PL, LXXVII, 957) regarding the *prex quam scholasticus composuerat*—which is considered as a good lead for this opinion—can really be referred to the canon only with difficulty; see *infra* in the discussion concerning the *Pater noster*.

manus; de tuis donis ac datis; respicere et accepta habere; sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam; omni benedictione cælesti et gratia; partem aliquam et societatem; non æstimator meriti sed veniæ largitor; omnis honor et gloria.

Even in the prelude to the *Pater noster* that same trait is dominant: *præceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati*. Sometimes he employs a three-member phrase, and in the petition for the consecration (epiklesis) and in the prayer of blessing before the closing doxology there are even five members: *benedictam, adscriptam* . . . , and *creas, santificas* . . .²⁸

In the same era in which the canon got its final shape other portions of the Roman Mass must likewise have been altered and amplified. The oldest sources of the Latin Mass of Rome exhibit, in every single Mass formula, along with the current expansion of the canon, by way of the preface, a regular tripling (or even quadrupling) of the priest's orations, as is still the rule: one (or two) at the beginning, one over the sacrificial offerings, one after the communion. Thus the communion obtained a conclusion in prayer, and the offering of the gifts, as its counterpart, is made grander in such wise that the gifts of the people are accented and emphasized. This latter is a peculiarity of the Roman liturgy. The valuation of the material gifts already insisted on by Irenæus has thus discovered a corresponding expression in ritual and prayer, more pronounced than in other liturgies. Besides these, there is also, just as nowadays, an oration before the readings.

The documents of the fourth century still show the Mass beginning abruptly with the lessons,²⁹ and these are followed—as in the oriental and Gallic liturgies of the following centuries—by the general prayer for the Church. With regard to both of these items the Roman Mass made changes.

The general prayer for the Church was still a part of the Roman rite under Pope Felix (483-492), and precisely with a division into prayer for the catechumens and prayer for the faithful.³⁰ After that there are no further records of it, and the oldest sources of the Latin Mass show it to have disappeared.³¹ On the other hand an oration has appeared just before the lessons. This can be explained only as a part of some already existing introductory act, like those subsequently developed in other liturgies.³² The adopting of such an introductory act, with the opening oration just spoken of, must be as old as the oldest examples of the Mass formularies which are regularly fitted out with such an oration. Now these reach back at

²⁸ Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 228-230; Cabrol, *La messe en Occident*, 76 f.

²⁹ Thus especially clear *Const. Ap.*, II, 57, 5 ff.; VIII, 5, 11 ff. (Funk, I, 161 ff., 476 ff.)

³⁰ Felix II, *Ep.* 13 (Thiel, 263). Further details in the special discussion, *infra*.

³¹ The probability that the second of the

four orations of the older sacramentaries belonged to this prayer for the Church, is discussed *infra*, p. 484.

³² For the citation to show that this was the first part of the Roman fore-Mass, and for further details regarding the entrance rite, see *infra*, p. 263. ff.

least as far as the middle of the fifth century.³³ The introductory act was then filled out further with song and prayer. There is much to be said in favor of the view that it was under Felix II's successor, Pope Gelasius I (492-496), whose liturgical activity is celebrated in the *Liber Pontificalis*,³⁴ that here and elsewhere many important changes were introduced into the Roman Mass. It must have been Gelasius who introduced the *Kyrie*-litany, thus providing for the oration a preliminary dialogue after the oriental fashion, the prayer traditionally styled *deprecatio Gelasii*. Note, however, that the list of petitions in this litany coincides rather closely with the themes of the general prayer for the Church as it is to be found in Rome prior to Gelasius. We are justified in concluding that Gelasius had removed the general prayer for the Church, and had substituted the *Kyrie*-litany.³⁵ A concomitant factor in deciding to make this exchange might have been the thought that intercessory petitions had now been included in the canon—it might even have been Gelasius who gave them greater prominence³⁶—and the further consideration that, since circumstances had voided the custom of separating catechumens from the faithful, there was no longer any reason for continuing a series of prayers, the apparent basis for which was gone.³⁷

The framework of the Roman Mass—and this is the conclusion to be drawn from all the facts we have established—must therefore have been essentially determined by the turn of the fifth century, at least as regards the public utterance of prescribed prayers by the priest. Later on, in the course of our study of various Mass-elements, we will encounter only a few modifications by Gregory the Great (590-604)—chiefly in the *Kyrie*, *Pater noster*, preface and *Hanc igitur*; but these are for the most part a return to older simpler forms.

As far as the time of establishment or fixation is concerned, what was said about the arrangements for the prayers holds true similarly for the singing which served as an added embellishment to the prayers and readings. Not indeed that the texts were fixed this early, but the type had been determined and the scheme planned out. This is certain in regard to the old simple chants between the lessons, and probable in regard to the pro-

³³ Many formulas exhibit in their wording a striking resemblance to the style of Leo the Great (440-461); F. Cabrol, "Léonien (sacramentaire)," *DACL*, VIII (1929), 2552; cf. also C. Callewaert, *S. Léon le Grand et les textes du Léonien* (Bruges, 1948), ed. D. E. Dekkers. There are also indications that Damasus (366-384) was the first author of some of the Mass prayers handed down; F. Probst, *Liturgie des 4. Jahrhunderts und deren Reform* (Münster, 1893), 455 f.; R. Buchwald, *Das sogenannte Sacramentarium*

Leonianum (Vienna, 1908), 23 ff.

³⁴ *Liber. pont.* (Duchesne, I, 255): *Fecit etiam et sacramentorum præfationes et orationes cauto sermone.*

Cf. also *supra*, p. 55.

³⁵ Kennedy, *The Saints*, 7-38, esp. 33 ff.

³⁶ Kennedy, 38, 189, traces the respective form of the *Memento* for the living and the *Communicantes*, as well as the *Memento* for the dead along with the *Nobis quoque*, back to Gelasius.

But cf. the opposite in Note 22 *supra*.

³⁷ Kennedy, 34.

cessional chants at the beginning, at the offertory and Communion. A more minute study will be provided later on in the chapters devoted to the particular chants. In any case, however, at this early period before the sixth century we have to reckon only with a very unpretentious type of singing, still affected by that timid attitude towards the musical arts which caused the Church to ban every instrument from divine service.³⁸

The fifth century was for Rome a time of great calamity indeed, but the following century, with its Gothic threat and its Lombard invasion, was one long succession of disasters and oppressions. Yet it was in this very period that Roman worship unfolded into ever-increasing splendor. This development is closely linked with the extraordinary esteem in which papacy and Church were held in the Eternal City during these years. The papacy had become the one only glory and pride of the Roman population.³⁹ As the pope became more and more the only support of the afflicted city, and finally found himself burdened with the cares of civil administration, the papal church-service became the prime expression of civic life.

Gradually, along with the simple services held Sundays and feast days in the many titular churches of the city for the people attending, there arose also a community service, conducted by the pope himself in the church privileged as the day's *statio*, and attended not only by members of the court but by people from every quarter of Rome.⁴⁰ Stational worship of a similar sort is mentioned also in connection with other episcopal churches of the early Middle Ages.⁴¹ These services must necessarily have been more modest in character. It was Rome that produced the most extensive results in setting down in writing this new type of service. Two

³⁸ J. Quasten, *Musik und Gesang in den Kulturen der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit* (LQF, 25; Münster [1930]), 84 ff.

³⁹ G. Schnürer, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter*, (Paderborn, 1924), I, 322; cf. 257.

⁴⁰ Cf. J. P. Kirsch, "L'origine des Stations liturgiques du Missel Romain," *Eph. liturg.* XLI (1927), 137-150; idem., *Die Stationskirchen des Missale Romanum* (Ecclesia Orans, 19; Freiburg [1926]).

The stational services continued in Rome till the popes removed to Avignon. After their return the essential part, the celebration of Mass, was established as a *Cappella Papale* (nowadays as a rule in the Sistine chapel), in which the representation of the city was restricted to the highest circle of nobles: see G. Moroni, *Le Cappelle pontificie, cardinalizie e prelatizie* (Venice, 1841). On the other hand, the introductory *collecta* or *litanias*, which was connected with the stational service more and more, especially

in Lent (see *infra*, p. 184) is still continued in Lent (under the name *stazione*) as an evening penitential procession at the church marked in the missal as the stational church of the day, people and clergy from all parts of the city participating.

⁴¹ There are accounts for the fourth to the sixth century from Jerusalem, Antioch, Oxyrhynchus, and Tours; see A. Baumstark, in Mohlberg-Baumstark, *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des Liber sacramentorum*, 16* f.

For a somewhat later time and for Transalpine territory (Augsburg, Mainz, Trier, Cologne, Metz, Angers, *et al.*) pertinent notices are assembled in J. Dorn, "Stationsgottesdienst in frühmittelalterlichen Bischofsstädten": *Festgabe A. Knöpfler zum 70. Geburtstag* (Freiburg, 1917), 43-55; L. Pfleger, "Frühmittelalterliche Stationsgottesdienste in Strassburg," *Archiv für elsässische Kirchengeschichte*, VII (1932), 339-350.

factors contributed: the greater splendor of the Christian capitol, and the Roman's native sense of order. The effect was not only to fix forms, but to fix them in such wise that they were regulated for the whole course of the year—*per circulum anni*, as the caption puts it. With this we come to the books of the Roman Mass over which we will tarry long enough to get to understand the references made to them in our later elucidations.⁴

7. The Oldest Books of the Roman Mass

What we get to know from the books of the old Roman liturgy is, as has been said, first of all the great festival services. This follows from the very character of the books themselves. They are divided according to the persons or groups performing the prescribed actions. For the celebrating priest or bishop there is the *liber sacramentorum* or *sacramentarium*, which contains the orations and prefaces that vary from feast to feast. Only in later times were the ordinary or fixed parts included, and among these the canon of the Mass, for the latter was anteriorly to be found on a special tablet¹ or was presumed to have been memorized by the celebrant.² For the lessons (readings), which were of course recited by two different readers, two separate books were prepared, the *apostolus* for the reader of the Epistle, and the *evangelium* for the deacon who read the Gospel. Further, a book was required containing the texts for the group of singers that now appear, the *schola cantorum*³ who had to accompany the processions at the entrance, the offertory and the communion with their antiphonal singing. There was also a special book, the *cantatorium*, for the individual singer who took the lead in singing the old traditional responsorial chants between the lessons. And not to be overlooked, finally, there was the book of directions to help regulate the functions, in view of the great array of liturgical factors, especially for the rites that occur only on certain days of the year. This book even took into account the ordinary celebration of the station services which took place each time at a different place and partly under diverse surroundings. The books which were composed for this purpose were the *ordines*, rubric-books for the cleric whose function it was to act as a sort of master of ceremonies in directing

⁴ For a more detailed study, cf. above all A. Baumstark, *Missale Romanum* (Eindhoven-Nijmegen, 1929); Eisenhofer, I, 60-87; 103-111.

¹ Cf. H. Lietzmann, *Auf dem Wege zum Uregregorianum*, JL (1929), 136. Cf. the *rotulus* with the text of the canon sent by Pope Zachary to St. Boniface in 751; Zachary, *Ep.*, 13 (PL, LXXXIX, 953 B). A "canon tablet" from the 13th century in Ebner, 159. Cf. A. Manser, "Kanontafeln," LThK, V, 785.

² That the fixed main prayer of the Mass (*prex sacerdotis*) was recited by heart (*memoriter tenere*) is taken for granted in Augustine, *Contra litt. Petiliani*, II, 68 f. (CSEL, 52, 58 f.); Roetzer, 120 f.

³ *Schola* here means not a school but only a group, a choir.

⁴ See Salavile, *An Introduction to the Study of Eastern Liturgies* (Trans. Barton; London, 1938), 185 ff.

the celebration. These older liturgical books are thus laid out like the actors' parts in a sacred play, as the share of each individual in a community performance. The oriental Churches to this day employ only liturgical books of this sort, while in the West, the liturgical books are ordinarily organized—for reasons which we shall consider later on—not on the basis of the participants but on the basis of the acts performed, so that everything for Mass is found in the missal, just as everything for the Office is bound into a breviary and everything for the dispensing of the sacraments is contained in the ritual.

Of the Roman Sacramentary, three different versions have come down to us, giving us three different plans for the priest's part of the liturgy, and thus furnishing us with another proof that as the period of Christian antiquity came to a close, there was little thought of a form for the Mass prayers that would be once and for all fixed and firm. These three sacramentaries—which were manifestly preceded by smaller collections of Mass formularies in various *libelli*⁴—were rather arbitrarily named, by the liturgists of the last centuries, after the three popes to whom they were ascribed, an assignment which proves to be at least partially confirmed.

The Leonine Sacramentary, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, preserved in a single manuscript of the seventh century,⁵ is a collection of Mass formularies arranged according to the Church year, and apparently finished about 540.⁶ The first part, from Christmas to the middle of April, is missing. The Roman origin of the book is manifest in several places. The compiler seems to have drawn on every source at his disposal. Thus there are fourteen Masses for the feast of St. Lawrence, twenty-eight for SS. Peter and Paul. The Leonine is generally considered a private venture, and rightly, for some of the formularies are put together in part very casually, and some of the texts have a strikingly personal tone,⁷ two things hardly compatible with a Mass book intended for general use. In fact one may well wonder whether at the time under consideration, namely the middle of the sixth century, a Mass book that would be the obligatory standard

⁴ Cf. F. Probst, *Die ältesten römischen Sacramentarien und Ordines* (Münster, 1892), 78-80.

Here belongs also the type of short sacramentary which survived even in Carolingian times; see A. Dold, *Das älteste Liturgiebuch der lateinischen Kirche* (Beuron, 1936), 92 ff.

Similar *libelli* with a few formularies, but containing all the necessary parts already existed early for purposes of private Mass; see Ebner, 359 f. The best known example is the Stowe Missal (*supra*, p. 45, Note 7).

⁵ The most important editions: C. L. Feltoe,

Sacramentarium Leonianum (Cambridge, 1896); L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana vetus* (Venice, 1748), I, 288-484; also in Migne, PL, LV, 21-156.

⁶ H. Lietzmann, *Petrus und Paulus in Rom* (2nd ed.; Berlin, 1927), 30-35; idem., JL, II (1922), 101 f.

⁷ The reference is especially to certain prefaces which are metamorphosed into noteworthy controversial speeches against personal enemies, chiefly false monks, e.g., Muratori, I, 301, 350 f. According to Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 143, 144, they seem to presuppose conditions of the 4th/5th centuries.

text was even possible.⁸ Conversely, it is quite thinkable that this compilation did have some official standing as an orderly arrangement of available liturgical materials.⁹ Not a few texts—174 by actual count—have found their way from the Leonine Sacramentary into our present-day missal, and three of them are used daily in the Ordinary (*Aufer a nobis; Deus qui humanæ substantiæ; Quod ore sumpsimus*).

The Gelasian Sacramentary (*Sacramentarium Gelasianum*) is a real and proper Mass book. Two different forms of it have to be distinguished, an older and a later. The older form, *the Gelasian*,¹⁰ preserved entire in only one manuscript, a text of the early eighth century which probably comes from St. Denis (Vat. Reg. 316), contains Mass formularies arranged in three books: the first book has the formularies for the Christmas and Easter cycles; the second for saints' feasts of the entire year from January to December, and, as a supplement, formularies for Advent-tide and the Advent Ember-week; the third book has a list of Sunday Masses and a selection of Votive Masses for the most diverse occasions and contingencies. The Gelasian is indeed a Roman Mass book in all essentials. But the special Roman local coloring is obscured by the fact that stational notices are missing and a large number of non-Roman saints' feasts are incorporated. Gallican materials are interspersed in several places—some prayers, some saints' names in the canon. The Good Friday oration for the Emperor has the wording, *Respice propitius ad Romanum sive Francorum benignum imperium*. And completely Gallican is the section devoted to minor orders (I, 95, 96), the texts of which crept into the Roman Pontifical, just as much of the other material of this sacramentary survives in our Roman Missal.

The Roman materials in the Gelasian Sacramentary, either in the form of a complete book or in small collections, got into France at the very latest in the first half of the seventh century. Previously, in the sixth century, the corresponding formularies must have been in use at Rome. There is no incontrovertible testimony that the book goes back to Pope Gelasius I (492-496), but this pontiff's reign coincides with the period to which we can assign the formation of the heart of the book. From the materials in this Gelasian Sacramentary, and from other liturgical materials meanwhile imported chiefly from Rome,¹¹ another type of Mass book

⁸ Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 32 f.
⁹ Cf. Th. Klauser, JL, XV (1941), 470: "Man findet hier die liturgischen Formular-konzepte der römischen Bischöfe vereinigt"—the Roman Bishops' ideas of a formulary are here brought together. Cf. also his remarks, JL, XIII (1935), 355 f. For the provenience of the texts, cf. C. Callewaert, "S. Léon le grand et les textes du Léonien," *Sacris erudiri*, I (1948), 35-122; B. Capelle, "Messes du pape Gélase dans le

sacramentaire léonien," *Revue Bénéd.*, LVI (1945/6), 12-41.

¹⁰ The most important editions: H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary* (Oxford, 1894); Muratori, I, 493-776; also in Migne, PL, LXXIV, 1055-1244.

¹¹ The Roman material exists chiefly in a Gregorian Sacramentary of the time of Honorius I which will be mentioned presently.

was composed in France around the first half of the eighth century, the later or Frankish Gelasian. This sacramentary, often called the eighth-century Gelasian, is preserved in several manuscripts, the best known of which was written about 800 at St. Gall.¹² In this sacramentary the movable and immovable cycles are not separated but are confusedly intermingled.

The same is the case in regard to the third type of sacramentary, the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* which brings us back once more to Rome. It is true the manuscripts are for the most part Frankish, and—except for some fragments—no earlier than the ninth century. But a comparative study has enabled us to reconstruct the exemplar sent by Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne¹³ in the year 785-786.¹⁴ It is even possible to suggest the oldest attainable form of the sacramentary, as it appeared in the time of Honorius I (625-638)¹⁵ or just a little later.¹⁶ In fact, during the last few decades the conviction has grown that Gregory the Great actually produced this Mass book. Again, many of the prayer-texts still in use today stem from Gregory.¹⁷

The work was not thought of primarily as a book for the ordinary parish services; it was a papal feast-day and stational missal. That explains many of the omissions in the book—the customary Sunday service, for instance, which the Gelasian Sacramentary is so careful to provide. However, a second edition must have been put out for the use of the titular churches, although we have only indirect knowledge of such an issue.¹⁸ Because the sacramentary sent to Charlemagne was incomplete—the Sunday Masses, amongst others, were missing—a supplement was added by Alcuin containing the requisite materials for parochial services and also mixing many Gallican traditions with the Roman.¹⁹ In its further development, more and more material of the supplement—like so much of the Gelasian—was transferred to the sacramentary itself. And so a new type of the Roman Mass book was produced.²⁰

For the liturgical lessons it was customary till far into the Middle Ages

¹² Edited by C. Mohlberg, *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamanischer Überlieferung* (LQ 1/2; Münster [1918]; 2nd ed.; Münster [1939]).

¹³ H. Lietzmann, *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Ur-exemplar* (LQ 3; Münster [1921]); corresponding to Muratori, II, 1-138; 241-271; 357-361.
¹⁴ Th. Klauser, *Histor. Jahrbuch*, LIII (1933), 179.

¹⁵ C. Mohlberg-A. Baumstark, *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des Liber sacramentorum anni circuli der römischen Kirche* (LQ 11/12; Münster [1927]).

¹⁶ Klauser, *ibid.*, 173, Note 13, gives the earliest possible date as 642.

¹⁷ E. G. the Christmas preface, the oration

of Epiphany; B. Capelle, "La main de s. Grégoire dans le sacramentaire grégorien," *Revue Bénéd.*, XLIX (1937), 13-28. Even the present-day composition of the prefaces of Easter and Ascension must have been Gregory's work; B. Capelle, *Les Questions liturgiques et paroissiales*, XX (1935), 89-97; XXI (1936), 73-83.

¹⁸ H. Lietzmann, "Auf dem Wege zum Ur-gregorianum," JL, IX (1929), 132-138, esp. 135 f.

¹⁹ The texts in Muratori, II, 139-240; 272-356; 362-380.

²⁰ Of this sort is the Gregorianum printed in Migne, PL, LXXXVIII, 25-240; it is the *Cod. Eligii* of the 10th century, edited in 1642 with valuable notes by H. Ménard.

to use not some special reading texts, but simply the Holy Scriptures, from which were read the excerpts which had already been appointed for a long time.²¹ Later on we find lesson-indexes or catalogues, which marked the pertinent passages (chapters or *capitula*); hence they are called capitularies. These are the most extensive source for our knowledge of the old system which governed the liturgical readings, particularly the lessons of the Roman Mass. But even at an early period, there were special texts prepared for divine service, called lectionaries or *comes*²² or (in accordance with their contents) *epistolarium*, *evangeliarium*. The most ancient lectionary of the Roman Church containing Epistles and Gospels is the *Comes* of Würzburg,²³ whose contents indicate the seventh century. Still such lectionaries are the exception until well beyond the year 1000.

The arrangement of the readings within the Mass from the earliest sources which make them known, has undergone fewer alterations than the prayer of the celebrant as transmitted in the sacramentary.²⁴ However, certain definite degrees of development, or types, can be distinguished, particularly as regards the changes of the calendar. Through the work of Theodore Klauser, the arrangement of the Gospel readings in the Roman Church has been fixed for the years 645, 740, 755, and an arrangement which was expanded in Frankish territory has been dated 750.²⁵ The last named arrangement indicates a final stage and it is, in all essentials, the order which survives in the Roman Missal. For the Epistle readings, besides the *Comes* of Würzburg and a *comes* worked on by Alcuin,²⁶ the most remarkable table is that of Murbach,²⁷ whose Church year is based on that of the later Gelasian, and which remained (along with the latter) more or less definitive.

A text book of some sort for the singing of the *schola cantorum* was a requisite from the very foundation of such an organization. Consequently, fragmentary remnants survive from even pre-Gregorian days.²⁸ But what comes to us as a complete work is a book that can also be traced to Gregory

²¹ Cf. e.g., A. Dold, *Das älteste Liturgiebuch der lateinischen Kirche. Ein altgallikanisches Lektionar des 5./6. Jh.* (Beuron, 1936).

The whole matter is thoroughly discussed by G. Kunze, *Die gottesdienstliche Schriftlesung* (Goettingen, 1947), I.

²² The name *comes* seems to have been used in civil life to indicate simply a book from which one drew instruction; Eisenhofer, I, 82. For the more strictly liturgical notion of *comes* see Th. Klauser, *JL*, XV (1941), 465 f.

²³ G. Morin, "Le plus ancien comes ou lectionnaire de l'église Romaine," *Revue Bénéd.*, XXVII (1910), 41-74, and the supplement *ibid.*, XXVIII (1911), 297-317.

²⁴ Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 89, cites an opposite trend in the Orient, with continually new creations; new arrangements of the pericopes are forever appearing among the Copts and the West-Syrian Jacobites.

²⁵ Th. Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare evangeliorum* (Münster, 1935), I.

²⁶ Critical edition by A. Wilmart, "Le lectionnaire d'Alcuin," *Eph. liturg.*, LI (1937), 136-197.

²⁷ A. Wilmart, "Le comes de Murbach," *Revue Bénéd.*, XXX (1913), 25-69. The *comes* contains also the Gospels.

²⁸ Cf. *infra*, in the discussion of the Offeratory chants, Vol. II, Ch. 1, 2.

the Great, but which survives only in manuscripts of the Carolingian period, the *liber antiphonarius* or the antiphonal.²⁹ But by a process of collation, especially by the excision of formularies for newer feasts, we can arrive at the form of the Mass songbook in the time of Honorius I (625-638).³⁰ In these oldest manuscripts no melodies are given. It is not till the tenth century that we find the first witness to the melodies written in neums.³¹ Before this time the songs must have been handed down by tradition in actual performance. That St. Gregory busied himself with ecclesiastical chant is a tradition which had wide vogue even in the early Middle Ages. Precisely in what his reform consisted we can only guess,³² but this much is certain: the attribution of the "Gregorian Chant" to him is not groundless.^{32a}

The antiphonal (antiphonary) which, properly speaking, contained only the antiphonal chants of the *schola cantorum*, was at this early period distinguished from the *cantatorium*, which contained the songs traditionally assigned to the soloist who intoned them from the ambo, while the people answered with a short verse of response—the songs called the gradual, the alleluiaic chant and the tract. Only a few such *cantatoria* have survived.³³ When the performance of these chants was turned over to a *schola* divided into soli and chorus, the text was likewise incorporated into the choir's antiphonal, so that, because of its new contents, the latter was also called a gradual.

The regulations of the external ceremonial of a papal stationary rite were drawn up in books known as Roman *Ordines*. The list of these ancient documents begin with an *ordo* written down in England shortly after 680 by John the Chanter, arch-chanter of St. Peter's in Rome, who, at the request of Benedict Biscop, had been sent by Pope Agatho to help regulate the chant in the Anglo-Saxon church. John's writing is no longer extant in its original form,³⁴ but we do have two Frankish revisions, which are preserved in some eighth-century manuscripts,³⁵ both of which contain the order of the Mass.

²⁹ The six oldest manuscripts are printed in parallel columns by R. J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935).

³⁰ Th. Klauser, *JL*, XV (1941), 469.

³¹ They have been issued since 1889 by the Benedictines of Solesmes in the volumes of *Paléographie musicale*.

³² P. Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien, I. Ursprung und Entwicklung der liturgischen Gesangsformen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (3rd ed.; Leipzig, 1911), esp. 188 ff.

^{32a} Cf. G. Morin, *Les véritables Origines du chant Grégorien* (2nd ed.; Rome-

Tournai, 1904); E. G. Wyatt, *St. Gregory and the Gregorian Music* (London, 1904).

³³ The 8th century *Graduale of Monza* (printed in the first column of Hesbert, *op. cit.*) is such a *cantatorium*. The oldest Mass book with neums, the 9th century *Codex 359* of St. Gall, also belongs here; Eisenhofer, I, 78 f.

³⁴ A. Baumstark, "Johannes Archicantor und der römische Ordo des Sangall. 349," *JL*, V (1925), 153-158.

³⁵ Edited by C. Silva-Tarouca, *Giovanni "Archicantor" de S. Pietro a Roma e l'Ordo Romanus da lui composto* (Atti della Pont. Accademia Romana di archeologia, Me-

The *Ordo* of St. Amand, which likewise preserves the picture of the Roman stational services, goes back at the earliest to the turn of the eighth century.³⁶ But the best known of all are the *Ordines* published by Jean Mabillon,³⁷ of which the first is for us particularly important. Its clear and detailed presentation of the course of the papal stational service, along with the preparations to be made for it, will be a good starting-point for much of our explanation of the Mass. The *Ordo Romanus I* is preserved in numerous manuscripts, sometimes with later adaptations of the rite and large additions. But in its oldest form it can be dated at least as early as the seventh century.³⁸

How strong the influence of the papal stational service was as a pattern for solemn service can be gauged by the fact that in the lands of the North many revampings of this *ordo* appeared during the succeeding centuries. Sometimes they were simply illustrations of the papal Mass, like the eleventh century *Ordo Romanus III*, sometimes they were revised to suit the pontifical celebrations of a bishop, like the *Ordo Romanus II* (ninth and tenth centuries), or the *Ordo Romanus V* (tenth century) or the *Ordo Romanus VI* (tenth century). Wavering in its presentation between these two methods, we have the so-called *Ordo Romanus antiquus* (or *vulgatus*), which emanated about 950 from a monastery in Mainz as a part of the Romano-German Pontifical.³⁹

morie I, 1; Rome [1923]). Of these two recensions, one, which has only Roman conditions in view, is called *Capitulare ecclesiastici ordinis*, continued in *Instructio ecclesiastici ordinis*, the other, revamped for monastic conditions, is called *Breviarium ecclesiastici ordinis*.

³⁶ Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 455-480.

³⁷ J. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, II (Paris, 1689), recopied in Migne, PL, LXXVIII, 937-1372. A new critical edition was prepared by M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge. I. Les manuscrits*. (Louvain, 1931).

³⁸ In Mabillon's text, n. 4-21. This section reproduces a text which was re-issued from a 9th century MS by R. Stapper, *Ordo Romanus primus* (Opuscula et textus, ser. liturg. 1; Münster [1923]).

³⁹ Edited by M. Hittorp, *De divinis catholicae Ecclesiae officiis* (Cologne, 1568), 19-85. M. Andrieu (*Op. cit.*, I, 494-506) has

done much to establish the origin and provenience of this *ordo*.

Of the later Roman *Ordines* of Mabillon we will encounter oftenest the eleventh, which was produced between 1140 and 1143 as a description of the papal service during the whole Church year. To the same period (before 1145) belongs the description of the liturgy in the Lateran basilica prepared by Prior Bernard; ed. by L. Fischer, *Bernhardi . . . Ordo officiorum ecclesiae Lateranensis* (Munich, 1916).

Various accounts relative to the Roman Mass-*ordo* are found also in Mabillon's thirteenth *ordo*, which presents the ceremonial of Gregory X (d. 1276): in the fourteenth, composed by Cardinal Stefaneschi in 1311, but printed by Mabillon from a later recension, and in the fifteenth, written by Peter Amelii (d. 1403). Cf. Eisenhofer, I, 104-107.

8. The Roman Stational Services in the Seventh Century

The grand Roman stational worship, as it was developed up to about the eighth century, is especially important for the further history of the Mass-liturgy, and this for two reasons. For one thing, the service achieved a moment of stability, when all its component elements were set down in writing—as all codification entails a fixed arrangement, at least for some time. A certain interval must have ensued before the lineaments of such a form were again broken here or there. And secondly, by the very fact that this solemn service was written down in a definite and determined form and thus could easily be transmitted to other territories—by that very fact it became the model and standard for further shaping and forming the Mass generally. The effect of this example would be felt in the divine service of every village church and would even touch the ceremonial of low Mass.

On this account we must now glance at the stational services at least in their broad outlines.¹

The pope comes mounted from his *patriarchium* on the Lateran to the appointed stational church.² In a later stage of development, in the eighth century, this trip has become a stately procession in which the entire papal court takes part³: first a group of acolytes on foot, and the *defensores* (the legal administrators of church properties in the whole city), then on horseback the seven deacons from the city's seven regions which they managed for the care of the poor, each with his appointed regional subdeacon. Behind the pope, and likewise on horseback, come the chief dignitaries of the Apostolic Palace, the *vicedominus*, *vestiarius*, *nomenclator*, and *saccellarius*. At the entrance to the appointed church the pope is met by those in charge of the place. The rest of the clergy have already taken their places on the benches which run the length of the semi-circle in the *presbyterium* (sanctuary) and around the altar, like the later choir-stalls. In

¹ A more minute study of the most important sections, along with reproductions of the text, will be found in the particular discussions of Part III. Here we must be satisfied with a summary, since we are interested chiefly in giving a general picture, in the main from *Ordo Romanus I* (PL, LXXVIII, 937-948). Archeological interpretations are found in Beissel, *Bilder aus der Geschichte der altchristlichen Kunst und Liturgie*, 296-328; Batiffol, *Leçons*, 65-96; Atchley, *Ordo Romanus primus* (London, 1905), 3-55. Cf. Card. Schuster, *The Sacramentary*, I, 66-71: "The Papal Mass at the Roman Stations."

² Only on specified days, days of penitence, especially in Lent, was there any other ar-

angement. On such days clergy and people from all parts of the city assembled with the Pope or his representative at one of the more centrally located churches (*collecta*), and from there, singing the litany and penitential anthems, they marched together to the stational church. Cf. R. Hierzegger, "Collecta und Statio," *ZkTh*, LX (1936), 511-554.

³ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 1-3, a passage recognized as a later addition, missing in many MSS, e.g., in the one published by Stapper. The changes incident to the arrival of the papal court for divine service, are noticed in E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums* (Tübingen, 1933), II, 785-787.

the middle, that is, at the vertex of the apse, is the slightly-raised *cathedra* or throne for the pope. At the right sit the six suburbicarian bishops, to the left the presbyters of the titular churches. The altar, a simple table, stands about the center of the semi-circle. Since there is no superstructure, it does not hinder the view from the back. The nave of the basilica has already filled with a large crowd, which has come in seven processions from the seven regions of Rome, each with its silver processional cross at the head.

The pope is first led to the *secretarium* which is built close to the entrance of the basilica. Here he is vested with the liturgical *paramenta*, a rather considerable number: *linea* (our alb), *cingulum*, shoulder cloth or scarf, *linea dalmatica* (our tunicle), and *major dalmatica*,⁴ finally the *planeta*, the bell-shaped chasuble worn by all the clerics, even the acolytes. The last vestment put on by the pope is the pallium. Now the Gospel book is opened; it is held by an acolyte, not bare-handed but over the ruffled *planeta*; accompanied by a subdeacon he carries it to the altar, and meanwhile all stand up. The paraphonist then presents himself to the pope to announce which of the regional subdeacons will sing the Epistle and what choir soloist will sing the responsorial chants between the readings; one of the deacons has already been appointed for the Gospel.

When all is ready the pope reaches for his maniple and waves it as a signal.⁵ The clerics who have been waiting in front of the *secretarium* with tapers and incense receive their command: *Accendite!*⁶ And the singers who have lined up in a double row to right and left at the entrance of the *presbyterium* receive theirs: *Domni iubete!* The introit is intoned and the procession is on its way.

The signs of reverence which are given to the pope as he makes his entrance for divine service are noteworthy. It is evident that the *thymiamaterium* and the seven torches of the acolytes are in his honor; it is a reverence to which the emperor⁷ and the higher state officials had been

⁴ The *maior dalmatica* is not mentioned in the older text as printed in Stapper, 16.

⁵ This gesture (*dum ei annuat pontifex*) appears to be connected with the taking up of the maniple (*mappula*): the pope picks it up in order to give the signal with it, just as in ancient Rome the consul used the *mappa* to give the signal for starting the games.

⁶ It is interesting to note that this initiating *Accendite* was still to be heard a thousand years later in French cathedrals on feast days. At Angers it was sung in polyphony. See de Moléon, 26, 67, 87, 129, 161; Martène, 1, 4, 2, 1 (I, 358).

⁷ In the 2nd/3rd centuries it was part of the honor due the emperor and his spouse to

carry the fire (τὸ πῦρ) in front of them; several examples from Herodianus, *Historia*, are found in Atchley, *A History of the Use of Incense*, 51 f. Also some striking accounts (*ibid.*, 48 ff.) from Roman civil life where the use of incense played a role. Light (fire) and incense must have been considered as going together, even in the time of the Republic; *ibid.*, 56 f. Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* (3rd ed. Leipzig, 1887), I, 423 f., speaks in the same sense of torch and brazier (a fire-pan for quickly relighting the torch), which must have been used at the solemn appearances of the magistrate.

The ceremonial survived in the Byzantine court. The victorious Heraclius was ac-

entitled.⁸ The pope reaches out his hands to the two deacons accompanying him; they kiss them and continue to assist him in walking⁹—another custom which must derive from the ancient and originally oriental court ceremonial.¹⁰

complicated in the city of Jerusalem in 619 *cum thuribus et suffitu*; Eutychiuss, *Annal.* (PG, CXI, 1089 C); cf. Atchley, 53 f. In the discussion regarding the worship of images at the Second Council of Nicæa (787) the remark was dropped that even the pictures of the emperor were met outside the city with candles and incense (μετὰ κηρῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων); Mansi, XII, 1014 D. Nicephorus Phocas was received in a similar manner in 963; *De cærem. antæ. byz.* (PG, CXII, 808).

In the West examples are to be found as late as the 12th century of lights (i.e., lights and incense) being carried before rulers (the Doge of Venice, Richard the Lionheart) on festive occasions; Atchley, 186 f. Corresponding to this are the prescriptions in the Ordo of Farfa (11th century); *MGH Scriptores*, XI, 547; Biehl, *Das liturgische Gebet für Kaiser und Reich*, 168) for receiving the king; cf. Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, I, 184 f.

Among noble Austrian families it was still customary even in our century to meet a member of the imperial house at the door with two burning candles (or, according to another communication, a servant stood at the foot of the steps with a candelabrum).

⁸ Atchley, 55; E. Fehrenbach, "Encens," *DACL*, V, 14 f.; Batiffol, *Leçons*, 75 f.

Cf. *supra*, p. 39.

⁹ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 8: *sustentantes eum*. Similarly at the offertory (n. 13 f.) and when going to distribute Communion (n. 20).

¹⁰ Cf. 4 Kings, 7:2; 7:17; 5:18; Esther, 15:3.

Hermas, *Pastor*, Vis. I, 4, 3.

Gospel of St. Peter, n. 35-40 (L. Vaganay, *L'évangile de Pierre*, Paris [1930], 292-300), which includes the various previous attempts to explain the scene): two angels support Christ, who appears heroic size, rising from the grave. Here possibly belongs the miniature in the Sacramentary of Henry II, a picture of the emperor holding in one hand a lance and in the other a sword, and supported at both elbows by a holy spirit; see the illustration in Eich-

mann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, I, Frontispiece; the discussion of the picture (II, 105 f.) does not enter into this particular feature. This consideration will also help explain the depiction of God the Father in Raphael's "Vision of Ezechiel," of which Künstle, *Ikongraphie*, I, 235 (cf. 238) remarks, that it appears "unsatisfactory that the arms of this 'God the Father' should have to be stayed up by angels."

The *sustentatio* by two clerics was subsequently transferred to the ceremonial of pontifical high Mass; see esp. *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 4, 9, 14 (PL, LXXVIII, 970 A; 973 A; 976 A); *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer 821, 21; 871, 21; cf. 886 l, 6); the Pontifical of Durandus (Andrieu, *Le pontifical Romain*, III, 638); cf. Durandus, *Rationale*, IV, 6, 10. It likewise stayed in the ceremonial of papal worship for centuries; *Ordo Roman. XI* (ab. 1142), n. 17 (PL, LXXVIII, 1032 B); an Ordo in Martène, 1, 4, xxxvii (I, 686 D), which can belong at the earliest to the 13th century. (See the stressing of *perfusio*); *Ordo Rom. XIV* (ab. 1311; here also in the recasting by Peter Amelii, d. 1403), n. 95 (PL, LXXVIII, 1220 C). It still survives in a diluted form; see Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 4, 7, etc., referring to two assisting cardinal deacons. Similarly the *Cæremoniale episc.* of 1600, still in force, provides for two canons to assist the bishop in *habitu diaconi*, and details their duties further: *procedente episcopo a secretario ad altare . . . ipsum medium facientes ac fimbrias anteriores pluvialis hinc inde sublevantes . . . et, si opus erit, eius brachia sustentantes deducunt* (I, 8, 2). Some of the ritual, like holding the edge of the *pluvialis* or chasuble by assisting levites, e.g., at incensing, was transferred to the ordinary high Mass of a priest, and is still demanded by rubricists; Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus*, II, 4, 4 (I, 214 f.; 217 f.); J. B. Mueller, *Zeremonienbüchlein* (13th ed.; Freiburg, 1934), 91; Fortescue, *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described* (7th ed. rev. by J. O'Connell; London, 1943), 104.

The cortege pauses as two acolytes approach to show the pope an opened casket (*capsæ*) in which is reserved a particle of the Holy Eucharist. The pope adores, making a low bow.¹¹ When the procession reaches the place where the *schola* has its station, between the nave and the sanctuary, the torch-bearers part, four to the right and three to the left. The pope goes up before the altar, bows, makes a sign of the Cross on his forehead, and exchanges the kiss of peace with one of the bishops who has approached from his seat, as well as with one of the priests and the assembled deacons. At a sign from the pope, the *prior scholæ* brings the introit to an end with the *Gloria Patri* and the repetition of the antiphon. Meanwhile a carpet is spread out and the pope prostrates himself in prayer,¹² in silent homage to God—a rite with which divine service is opened even now on Good Friday and Holy Saturday. After a moment he rises, kisses the Gospel book and the altar. Meanwhile, during the interval of silent prayer, the deacons have come up to the sides of the altar two-by-two and kissed it. While the choir sings the *Kyrie eleison*, the pope goes to the *cathedra*, but remains standing with his face to the East, in an attitude of prayer.¹³ Again he gives the signal to stop the singing of the *Kyrie eleison*, which is nothing more than the continuous repetition of the same unchanging strain. Then, if the day's festival appoints it, he intones the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, and since it is an invitation and an address to the people, he momentarily turns to them (if he is not already facing them) but at once faces eastward again in the attitude of prayer.¹⁴ At the end of the chant he greets the throng with *Pax vobis* and sings the oration to which all answer *Amen*.

This over, all in the half-circle of the sanctuary—the only place where there are seats—sit down. A subdeacon goes into a pulpit (*ambo*) and reads the Epistle. When he descends, a singer goes up into the *ambo* with his *cantatorium* and sings the gradual alternately with the *schola*, and (as

Although the formal *sustentatio* of the priest was not demanded as a rule even in earlier times, one medieval ritual, that of Soissons, does give explicit notice of it: The deacon reaches out his left hand, *super quam sacerdos dextram suam ponens statim ascendit ad altare pompatice*; Martène, I, 4, xxii (I, 610 D); cf. *ibid.*, xix (I, 607 A).

¹¹ "Salutat sancta." The meaning of the ceremony, which *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 8 recounts, is not clear. Certainly the adoration of the Sacrament does not, as the context shows, exhaust the meaning. More details *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 5.

The word *sancta*, treated as an indeclinable noun, is occasionally used elsewhere for the Eucharist: *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 19 (PL, LXXVIII, 946 C); *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*,

461); a sacramentary of the 12th century in Ebner, 341.

¹² *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 8: . . . *ut ponat oratorium ante altare. Et accedens pontifex orat super ipsum*. By *oratorium* must be understood a carpet (*contra* Stapper and Batifol); cf. *Ordo Rom. antiquus* (Hittorp, 52): *prosternat se episcopus una cum pœnitentibus in oratorio*.

¹³ In the "occidented" basilicas—thus most of the older churches of Rome—this meant looking towards the people. But this was not the precise point of view. In those churches where the choir faced east, the pope stood looking away from the people; Beissel, *Bilder*, 82-85. Cf. *infra*, p. 253.

¹⁴ This direction is given very explicitly in the later text form printed by Mabillon (n. 9; PL, LXXVIII, 942).

the occasion demands) the alleluia or the tract. The chanting of the Gospel is attended by a flourish of ceremony. First the deacon goes up to the *cathedra* and kisses the foot of the pontiff,¹⁵ who then pronounces a blessing over him. The deacon then takes the Gospel book from the altar, kisses it, and preceded by two subdeacons—one carrying a censer—and two acolytes with torches, he marches to the *ambo* from which he reads the sacred text. Then the papal subdeacon (*subdiaconus sequens*) takes the book, holding it with the ruffled *planeta*, reaches it to every one in the *presbyterium* to be kissed, and then hands it to an acolyte who immediately carries it back to the Lateran.

No sermon is considered. Nor is there any further mention of dismissal of the catechumens. With the disappearance of heathendom, the forms of an exclusion of those under instruction were no longer usable, and, except in the Orient, actually disappeared.

The pope again greets the throng with *Dominus vobiscum* and intones *Oremus*—but there is no prayer immediately following. Now the external preparations for the Mass-sacrifice begin. First there is the covering of the altar which up till now has stood there, a stately but empty table, decorated only with a costly cloth that hung from the edges¹⁶—the forerunner of the antependium. An acolyte approaches with a chalice over which he has laid the folded corporal. A deacon takes the latter, lays it on the right side of the altar and throws the open end to the second deacon at the other side in order to spread it over the entire top.¹⁷ Then the offertory begins with the offering of the gifts of the people.¹⁸ The pope starts proceedings by receiving the bread-offerings of the nobility, while the archdeacon accepts their offerings of wine. The other members of the clergy continue accepting the offerings, while the pope returns to his throne. After the people have presented their gifts, the archdeacon, at a signal from the pope, goes to the altar and, with the help of a subdeacon, arranges the breads that are to be consecrated. The chalice is placed on the altar and water is added to the wine by one of the members of the singing choir. After all this is done the pontiff leaves his place and kisses the altar and then himself receives the oblation of the assisting clerics. Lastly he lays his own obla-

¹⁵ The kissing of the foot is a moderated form of the proskynesis stemming from the Orient. It was part of the court ceremonial as a prerogative of the senators in regard to the emperor; Eichmann, *Die Kaiserkrönung*, I, 189 f.

Just as the kissing of the foot was reserved to the emperor, so too it was, on transfer, reserved to the pope, and not to the bishops; cf. Th. Klausner, "Abendländische Liturgiegeschichte," *Eleutheria Bonner theol. Blätter für kriegsgefangene Studenten*, I (Bonn, 1944), 12 f. (translated in *Orate Fratres*, XXIII [1948/9] as

"A Brief History of the Liturgy in the West;" see p. 16).

¹⁶ Cf. Braun, *Die liturgischen Paramente*, 192 ff., and the illustration, page 195.

¹⁷ Only in the late Middle Ages did the corporal diminish to the small shape prevalent at present. Even in the year 1000 it still covered the entire mensa; Braun, 206. On the other hand, a number of altar cloths were used already in the Carolingian period. The use of three linen altar cloths besides the corporal became general only since the seventeenth century; Braun, 186.

¹⁸ For details see *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 1, 1.

tion (two small loaves brought for this purpose from the Lateran) on the altar. The *schola* has meanwhile accompanied the offertory with singing, but now a signal is given to stop so that the single offertory prayer—the prayer nowadays called secret—can be said.¹⁹

Then begins the canon, taking the word in the comprehensive meaning it then had. Each one has taken his appointed place. Normally that would mean that the pope, coming from his *cathedra*, would stand behind the altar facing the people—for the church usually was not oriented in our sense, but “occidented,” the entrance towards the East. Behind the pope, and forming a row in the axis of the church back toward the throne, stand the bishops and perhaps the priests also. To the right and left of the pope and in front of the bishops, the deacons are ranged, and behind them the acolytes.²⁰ The subdeacons are on the other side of the altar opposite the pontiff.²¹ During the canon there is no further change externally.

The pope begins the prayer in a loud voice. The subdeacons respond to the introductory versicles and take up the singing of the *Sanctus*.²² The pope alone stands once more erect and continues the prayer, while the others remain bowed. The words of consecration, like all the other parts of the canon, are said audibly; otherwise there is nothing distinctive about them. At the *Nobis quoque*²³ the subdeacons straighten up and make ready for the ceremony of breaking the Bread; the paten for this has already been brought up to the altar at the start of the canon. At the *Per quem hæc omnia* the archdeacon too straightens up; when the pope elevates the Host in the sight of all and recites the final doxology, it is the archdeacon’s duty to take the chalice by the handles—holding it with a cloth called the *offertorium*—and to lift it, too, on high. The canon is therefore quite simple and free of any other display. The *actio*, as it is termed, simply presents the pontiff’s sacramental word, with no ornament other than his prayers. Even the succeeding *Pater noster*, with its appended embolism, does not break into the picture, at least since Gregory the Great had fixed it immediately after the canon.

External activity does not commence again until the *Pax Domini*, the signal for the mutual greeting with the kiss of peace, which the archdeacon gives first to one of the bishops and which the people, too, exchange. The pope initiates the breaking of the Bread, detaching a portion and laying it on a paten that is handed to him. Then he returns to his throne.

¹⁹ Explicit testimony regarding this connection is first found in *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 9 f. (PL, LXXVIII, 973 C).

²⁰ Regarding these latter see *Ordo* of St. Amand: Duchesne, 461; cf. Batiffol, *Leçons*, 88.

²¹ This position of the subdeacons continues to be mentioned and stressed in the following centuries. We will come across it again later as an element in the allegorical inter-

pretation of the Mass.

²² This duty of the subdeacon is mentioned for the first time only in the later form of the text as printed by Mabillon, n. 16 (PL, LXXVIII, 944 f.).

²³ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 16 in no way intimates that these words or those that follow are to be rendered in a louder tone of voice; they are, as a matter of fact, audible without this, as is the whole text of the canon.

The archdeacon advances to the altar while the *defensores* and the notaries take their station beside him to right and left like a guard of honor. First the archdeacon hands over the chalice with the Precious Blood to a subdeacon standing at the right side of the altar; this is a safety measure. Next he places the consecrated breads in the small linen bags held by the acolytes. They are then taken to the bishops and the presbyters, who continue the *fractio* while the *schola* intones the *Agnus Dei*.

In the meantime, very inconspicuously, a more profane activity is going on, in reference to the papal court. The *nomenclator* and two other officials approach the pontiff to get the names of those who are to be invited to his table or to that of the *vicedominus*. They at once relay his invitations.

Then the paten with the Sacrament is carried to the throne. The pope communicates, but leaves a small particle which he places in the chalice, handed him by the archdeacon, meanwhile saying the words of commingling. Then he receives the Precious Blood, the archdeacon supporting the large chalice (*confirmatur ab archidiacono*). Since those not communicating could now depart, the archdeacon first makes the announcements regarding service on the succeeding days.

Then follows the Communion of the clergy and people. The procedure is an almost exact duplicate of the reception of the gifts at the offertory. The pope and the archdeacon begin the distribution, others carry on. For the Communion of the chalice, a number of large vessels (*scyphi*) are used, filled with wine into which a few drops of the consecrated Blood from the pope’s chalice have been poured. Meantime the *schola* is singing a Communion psalm. The Communion over, the pope goes once again to the altar and recites the postcommunion. Then a deacon appointed for this duty by the archdeacon, having received a nod from the pope, sings the *Ita missa est*, to which the answer is given, *Deo gratias*. The procession then forms for the return to the *secretarium*.

If we mull over this description in its entirety, we will get the strongest impression of a magnificent completeness. A great community exercise, heir of a thousand years’ culture, had produced its final form in the church, lending to the divine service the splendor of its noble tradition. The person of the papal liturgist is surrounded by a court of many members. The ceremonial has absorbed courtly elements and has been filled out to the smallest detail. And still, through all this luxuriant growth, the bold outlines of the Christian eucharistic solemnity stand out clearly in all their essentials: the gorgeous pomp is suddenly quieted when the canon begins, and does not burst forth again until it is concluded. The old communal feeling, it is true, is no longer so strongly and immediately involved. The people apparently no longer answer the prayers, no longer take part in the singing, which has become the art-function of a small group, but the choir is not a profane intrusion into the texture of the service, but rather a connecting link joining the people to the altar. Prayer and song still sound in the language of the masses, and the people still have an important

role in the action through their offering of gifts and their reception of Communion.

As new practices in the proper course of the liturgy, mention should be made of the commingling of the bread and wine before Communion and the introduction of the *Agnus Dei* chant in connection with the enriched build-up of the *fractio* rite. Both these elements the Roman liturgy derived from the Orient, the result of the constant flow during the seventh and eighth centuries of clerics from the East into places of importance in the Church of Rome—even to the papal throne.

The Greek influence, which for two centuries had also been felt in the Byzantine domain in Italy, forms at the beginning of the Middle Ages an important factor in the development of the Roman Mass. Even at an early period the *Kyrie eleison* and certain names of oriental martyrs in the canon—Cosmas and Damian, Anastasia—had already been introduced. The Roman Antiphonal shows a great many chants which were created at this time from Greek models,²⁴ and not seldom—according to the evidence of various *ordines* and also several manuscripts—songs in the West were sung in Greek.²⁵ The readings at a solemn papal Mass are still today sung in both Latin and Greek, following an old tradition.²⁶ Even greater was the influence of the Orient in other spheres of the liturgy, especially on the festival calendar. It was not without solid grounds that the statement was made that the Roman liturgy in the eighth century was seriously in danger of being intrinsically orientalized.²⁷

But against this danger a counter-influence was at work in the very same period. The liturgy, which until then—except for the Anglo-Saxon missionaries—was in force only in Rome and its environs and claimed nothing more, soon rose up as the liturgy of a large kingdom.

9. The Roman Mass in France

Even before the eighth century some individual bishops of France must have been seeking a liturgical “annexation” to Rome. It was significant that St. Boniface, coming from the Anglo-Saxon Church, also strove for the same thing in his continental mission field. After 754, the year Pepin must have decreed the acceptance of the Roman liturgy,¹ the political

²⁴ Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 63, with the note 14.

²⁵ L. Brou, “Les chants en langue grecque dans les liturgies latines,” *Sacris erudiri*, 1 (1948), 165-180.

Regarding Greek chants at St. Denis—which, to be sure, had a very different origin—see *infra*, p. 91.

²⁶ Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse*, 14-16.

²⁷ Baumstark, *op. cit.*, 82 f.

¹ Th. Klauser, “Die liturgischen Austauschbeziehungen zwischen der römischen und der fränkisch-deutschen Kirche vom 8. bis zum 11. Jh.,” *Hist. Jahrbuch*, LIII (1933), 169-189, esp. 170 ff.; H. Netzer, *L'introduction de la messe romaine en France* (Paris, 1910), 30 ff. As to the motives which determined this event, there is no unequivocal evidence. It might have been, as Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie*, 61 f., maintains, that the

power likewise appeared on the scene, and from then on great progress was made in taking over Roman forms. Thus the Roman liturgy acquired a new home, a hothouse for a further growth that would be determined for more than two hundred years essentially on Franco-German soil.

Because of the difficulty of travel, one had to rely chiefly on books to achieve this transplanting of the Roman liturgy to its new ground, books which were obtained, not without trouble, from Rome.² Only in the very slightest degree was there any additional help from clerics who traveled to Rome to see with their own eyes how the services were conducted there. Amalar, the first great commentator on the Roman liturgy in the Carolingian kingdom, who made a trip to Rome in the year 831, prefaces the third edition of his work *De ecclesiasticis officiis* with a foreword³ in which he points out a great many differences which he remarked between the liturgical praxis of Roman clerics and the practice as it had developed meantime in the North.⁴ The fact, then, that books were practically the only means employed in transplanting this foreign liturgy, brought along as a matter of course the danger of misunderstanding; we will encounter such mistaken interpretations in not a few places in the Mass-liturgy.⁵

One of the big disadvantages in this system was that the books to be had from Rome, although they contained directions that went into the minutest details, really dealt only with the solemn form of the liturgy, the liturgy of the papal station services. Of course in eighth-century Rome divine service was also conducted in another fashion. In the titular churches of the city and in the country towns of the vicinity, which as a rule had only one presbyter and one or the other extra cleric, the arrangement was necessarily quite different; the Mass was the Mass of a simple priest, not that of a bishop.⁶ As a rule it was neither necessary nor possible to have a trained choir. And it is quite doubtful that the songs of the antiphonal,

Frankish rulers were influenced by political interest in a closer bond with Rome, which they had undertaken to protect, as well as by concern for a stronger internal unity in their far-flung realm. But Klauser, following Th. Zwölfer, *Sankt Peter Apostelfürst und Himmelspfortner* (Stuttgart, 1929), 64-151, esp. 96 ff., 130 ff., is right in placing the religious motive in the foreground, especially for Pepin: “The closer the juncture with St. Peter and with the Church in the city of Rome that is intrinsically bound to him, the surer appeared to the Germanic man of that day the entrance into everlasting welfare” (172). Ecclesiastical circles might also have been disgusted with a Gallican liturgy that often went to extremes, often emphasized the unusual, was most disorganized and frequently varied from place to place. They were thrilled, on the

other hand, by the clear Roman arrangement; cf. Netzer, 18 f. This was especially true regarding the core of the Mass, where Gallic formulas often omitted such important elements as the anamnesis and the offering. This explains the appearance of the Roman canon in some books of the Gallic liturgies—the *Missale Francorum*, the Bobbio and Stowe Missals.

² On the lack at Rome of available books even in the 7th and 8th centuries, see Klauser, 172 f., 181 f.

³ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, præfatio altera (PL, CV, 987-992).

⁴ See *infra*, Vol. II, Number of orations, incensing, place of chalice and paten, etc.

⁵ Position of the deacon at the Gospel, meaning of preface and canon, *fractio*.

⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 208 ff.

with their variable texts—even prescinding from the melodies—were generally in use. In any case it was only at the turn of the seventh century that there was any obligation to begin every Mass—in town or country, Sundays and weekdays—with an introit, and to join to every Communion a psalm with *Gloria Patri* and an antiphon.⁷

Although filling out the lacunæ in the books sent from Rome, especially the Gregorian Sacramentary, and adapting and supplementing them as Alcuin had undertaken to do was hardly avoidable, it is nevertheless astonishing how devotedly the new texts were forthwith adopted in all other things. The Frankish sacramentaries which were now produced embodied many feasts of Roman martyrs whose very names must have been almost entirely unknown. All the native saints' feasts were displaced except Martin who was also in the Roman books. They kept even the notations regarding the Roman stations wherever they were found in the captions of the Mass formularies, even though they obviously had a practical meaning only for Rome.⁸ Only a few Mass formularies, recognized as being post-Gregorian, would Alcuin allow the copyists to omit from the transcription. With similar fidelity the directions of the first Roman *Ordo*, directions which had in view Roman circumstances and presupposed the pope as celebrant, were copied and made the basis of local liturgical practice. It was not till the tenth century that anyone dared to work out a conscious revision and expansion of the Roman rubric book.⁹

Unconsciously of course, but nonetheless surely, profound alterations were made from the very outset in the Roman liturgy, especially in the Roman Mass—in fact, fundamental transformations. The exotic seedling, when planted in a new soil and in a new climate, was still pliant enough to be reshaped and modified by these influences. Still it was not primarily a Germanic world that it came face to face with, but rather a Romanized Celtic world, which had created for itself in the Gallican liturgy a religious mode of life all its own. The features which bring the Celt into bold contrast with the clear logical orderliness of the Roman, with his laconic brevity and stark realism,¹⁰ are hardly to be distinguished from the features

⁷ *Ordo* of John the Chanter (Silva-Tarouca, 204 f., 207). Further details *infra*, p. 208 and Vol. II, Chapter 3, 14. The pertinent sentences were not written in Rome, it is true, but the conditions of the writer's Roman homeland were clearly taken as a basis.

⁸ On the contrary, *Cod. Reg. 316* of the older Gelasian has left out the stational indications.

Following not the letter but the spirit, Metz in the 8th century took over the Roman station arrangements for the Easter cycle. The list indicates churches in Metz and its vicinity for every liturgical day from Ash

Wednesday to Easter Saturday, a clear but free imitation of the Roman pattern. See Th. Klausner, "Eine Stationsliste der Metzzer Kirche aus dem 8. Jh., wahrscheinlich ein Werk Chrodegangs," *Eph. liturg.*, XLIV (1930), 162-193.

⁹ So at least if the dating of *Ordo Romanus II* as a 10th century document is right.

The *Ordo* of John the Chanter had attempted an adaptation quite a bit earlier, but it was never widespread.

¹⁰ Bishop, *Liturgica historica*, 1-19. The chapter also appears, expanded, as a special work, E. Bishop-A. Wilmart, *Le génie du rit romain* (Paris, 1920).

we are wont to emphasize in the German.¹¹ The restlessness and agitation, the strong passionate estheticism which mark the German character, must have been the Celt's too, but only in greater measure, and so were found already well suited to the Gallican liturgy. This liturgy continued in force and did not give way before the Roman till it had communicated to it something of its own stamp.

Going into the peculiarities which must have been anchored in the very temperament of the new people, we find two especially which had an effectual bearing on what we are considering: a predilection for the dramatic and a delight in endlessly long prayers. In both of these features the Gallic tradition is closer to the oriental mode than to the Roman; in some cases, in truth, we come across traces of direct oriental influence.

Take as an instance the *dramatic* build-up of the Mass-liturgy. Whereas the Roman system had a carrying of the censer only for the entrance of the pope and for the procession before the reading of the Gospel, the high Mass in the Gallic area introduced a number of incensations. With censer swinging, the altar was encircled according to an elaborate and fixed plan, first at the beginning of the Mass proper, soon also at the beginning of the fore-Mass. For the reading of the Gospel it was not enough that the incense envelop the book, but in conformity with a practice in vogue for quite a time, it was carried out into the midst of the assembled people, necessitating soon a multiplication of censers.¹² Then the parade to the Gospel-singing became Christ's triumphal march: to Christ resounds the *Gloria tibi Domine*, of which until then the Roman Mass knew nothing. The heightened dignity of the Gospel is further emphasized by the place in which the reading is done; the top of the ambo is reserved for it alone, while the Epistle and the intervening chants, particularly the gradual, must be satisfied with the steps (*gradus*).¹³ The appearance at this spot in the Mass of a poetic element, the sequence, was a related phenomenon.

The second basic change, the *multiplying of prayers*, was first of all noticeable in this, that, along with the one oration of the Roman tradition—we are concerned for the nonce with the collect before the Epistle—several others are introduced. Even strict upholders of the Roman manner do not seem to fret at this as long as the number seven is not overstepped. Again, at the high Mass of a bishop the solemn pontifical blessing, of Gallic tradition, is retained. And in a number of places in the Mass the private praying of the celebrant in a low voice is extended, with more and more texts appearing as the next few centuries go by.

The prayers which serve for this last-mentioned purpose are mostly

¹¹ See A. L. Mayer, "Altchristliche Liturgie und Germanentum," *JL*, V (1925), 80-96, esp. 83 f.; I. Herwegen, *Antike, Christentum und Germanentum* (Salzburg, 1932).

¹² See below, pp. 317, ff.; 450 ff. and Volume II, Chapter 1, 5.

¹³ Details below, pp. 432 ff.

For the dramatic propensities of the Gallican liturgy which were operative later on, cf. M. Boehme, *Das lateinische Weihnachtsspiel* (Leipzig, 1917), 7.

couched in the singular, unless some older specimens are utilized. No longer is it "we" but "I" that dominates. In phrasing and styling too they are far removed from the form of the Roman oration. The Sacramentary of Amiens,¹⁴ which originated in the ninth century, contains in addition to the Roman textual contents a great variety of such prayers. A long series is placed even before the commencement of the Mass.¹⁵ Then again several prayers for the offertory, five of them beginning with *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, and the last the *Orate fratres*. Then prayers for Communion, including already the text *Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi*. And finally the *Placeat* and a prayer while unvesting.¹⁶ A large body of these prayers is already wholly or partly identical with the prayers still in use. There we find, besides the examples cited, several of the present-day vesting prayers and the *Quod ore sumpsimus*.

That all this silent praying was alien to the tenor of the old Roman scheme is noticeable even today in the external deportment of the priest while saying the prayers, for he stands not with arms outstretched, like the *orans* of the religious culture of antiquity, but with hands folded, a posture matching the usage of the northern countries.¹⁷

While most of the sacramentary manuscripts of the tenth century still display but few of these new accessions, they are to be found in bewildering profusion in the eleventh. What we have at the present is but a fraction of what was then developing. If there is one element in which this accretion of quiet prayers of a private stamp was made especially and emphatically prominent, and by which it showed most clearly how far removed it was from the spirit of the older Roman liturgy, that element is the *apologia*. These are the personal avowals of guilt and unworthiness¹⁸ on the part of the celebrant, mostly of considerable length.¹⁹ Usually they are conjoined to a prayer begging God's merciful favor.²⁰ They appear earliest in various documents of the Gallican liturgy²¹ and have their parallels in

¹⁴ V. Leroquais, "L'Ordo missæ du sacramentaire d'Amiens," *Eph. liturg.*, XLI (1927), 435-445.

¹⁵ First Psalm 50 with versicles and orations, then prayers for washing the hands and vesting, then three *apologia* to accompany the walk to the altar, finally prayers for incensing; *ibid.*, 439-441.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 441-444.

¹⁷ This usage, with its symbolism expressive of submissiveness, of the resignation of one's own power to a higher one, is traced back to Teutonic culture. It is akin to the custom by which a vassal or liegeman vowed homage and fealty by placing his hand in that of his lord. Eisenhofer, I, 267; Heiler, *Das Gebet*, 103.

¹⁸ The word *apologia* has here a meaning

analogous to the English "apology," an acknowledgment of guilt in a spirit of regret.

¹⁹ Other Latin designations include *excusatio sacerdotis*; e.g., Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, I, 110; also *confessio peccatorum*, as in the 11th century Sacramentary of Echternach: *confessio peccatorum brevis sit inter missarum sollempnia*; Leroquais, I, 122.

²⁰ F. Cabrol, "Apologies," *DACL*, I, 2591-2601.

²¹ In the *Missale Gothicum* (Muratori, II, 595 f.) is a formula headed *Apologia sacerdotis*; it begins: "*Ante tuæ immensitatis et ante tuæ ineffabilitatis oculos, o maiestas mirabilis, . . . vilis admodum peccator accedo.*" In a variant version it was preserved

the contemporary and later sources of oriental liturgies.²² Already in the ninth century they break into the Romano-Frankish liturgy, and by the eleventh century reach an ultimate of power and extent,²³ then disappear as at a blow,²⁴ with only a small remnant surviving, amongst others especially our *Confiteor* and the *oratio S. Ambrosii* in the preparation prayers of the Roman Missal.

The zenith in the development of the *apologia* is evinced in the Mass *ordo* which had its origin about 1030 and which Flacius Illyricus, the historian amongst the Reformers, published in 1557 from an old manuscript as an example of a Mass in use (he thought) about 700—before the Romish Mass!—in which there was no acknowledgment of the Real Presence; hence it is generally styled *Missa Illyrica* for short.²⁵ This Mass order, which assembles practically all the prayer formulas to be gotten anywhere at that time, contains *apologia* after vesting, before entering the house of God, a lengthy series after the kissing of the altar, one during the *Gloria*, again a long list during the chants between the readings, and another group during the offertory singing, during the preparation of the gift-offerings, after the *Orate fratres*, during the *Sanctus*, and during the Communion of the people.²⁶ A phenomenon akin to this is the tenth-century sacramentary from St. Thierry near Reims, which has seven formularies for a *Missa generalis*, each of which consists of collects, *Super oblata*, preface, *Hanc igitur* and *Ad complendum*—all having the form and mood of *apologia*, put in the plural.²⁷

in the Romano-Frankish liturgical documents, e.g., in two revisions of the *Missa Illyrica*: Martène, I, 4, iv (I, 499 E, 501 A).

²² Cf. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, 223 f.

²³ Examples from the period in question in Martène, I, 4, iv-xvi (I, 490-598).

²⁴ Still there are exceptions even in a later period. Thus the Seckau Missal of about 1170 (Koeck, 19 f.) has *apologia* during the *Gloria*, before the sermon, during the *Credo*, before the canon. And a Westminster Missal of about 1370 (ed. Legg; HBS, V, 495-498) still has six *apologia* during the *Gloria*.

²⁵ This dating follows the investigations of J. Braun, "Alter und Herkunft der sog. *Missa Illyrica*," *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXIX (1905, II), 143-155. Braun suggests Minden as the place of origin of this Mass *ordo* intended for a bishop. Flacius Illyricus himself soon realized his mistake but it was impossible for him to recall the copies already issued.

Cf. also F. Cabrol, "Flacius Illyricus," *DACL*, V (1923), 1625-1635. Cabrol's very conjectural transfer of the origin of the *Missa Illyrica* to the court of Charlemagne is based almost exclusively on a consideration of the *apologia* and on the attribution of a large portion of them to Alcuin (instead of to the 10th century Pseudo-Alcuin; cf. *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 12, Note 5). The study of the Mass *ordo* (*infra*, pp. 273, ff., 281 ff.) confirms Braun's dating. The text of the *Missa Illyrica* in Martène, I, 4, iv (I, 490-518); also in Migne, PL, CXXXVIII, 1305-1336, and in Bona, *Rerum liturg. libri duo*, App. (913-954).

²⁶ There are in all some 35 formulas, filling altogether about nine folio-columns in Martène, and forming actually a third of the complete Mass *ordo*.

²⁷ Martène, I, 4, x (I, 552-562). These are obviously Votive Masses for private celebration. See *infra*, p. 217.

It is not easy to comprehend the world of thought in which so remarkable a crop could be produced, a world which speaks to us in almost frightening fashion of the consciousness of sin and its attendant miseries.²⁸ Besides a popular factor which we cannot well grasp, there are two things we must take notice of. On the one hand, there was the Gallic tendency to confusing God and Christ, which obscured the concept of saving grace. On the other, the fact that up into the eleventh century sacramental penance was customary only once a year even in monastic institutions,²⁹ while for an acknowledgment or confession as such, because of the *erubescencia* attached to it, there was claimed an extraordinarily high power of forgiveness.³⁰ The disappearance of the *apologia* is bound up with the clarification of the notions of forgiveness and the growth of the practice of more frequent sacramental confession.

If there is here a tie-in with the history of dogma, the case is even clearer with regard to the apparently insignificant text-change which not a few of the variable prayer formulas of the Roman Mass underwent, a change which became more and more a determinative standard for the texts newly incorporated. The orations of the Roman Sacramentary were so constructed that they concluded, without exception, in a *Per*, that is to say, they were directed to God the Father and could come to a close with the well-known mediation formula. Not a few of these orations, wherever they offered the opportunity, now acquired the conclusion *Qui (vivis)*, that is, they were now considered as being addressed to the Son even if they perchance had the introductory greeting *Deus qui*. The inclination to make such a change derived from the style of prayer in the Gallican liturgy, whose earliest development in the atmosphere of the anti-Arian struggle had led to a similar rejection of this mediation formula and a similar stressing of the essential equality of the three divine Persons, just as the oriental liturgies have done.³¹ A connected element, the Gallican emphasis on the Trinity, has had visible effect even on our present Ordinary of the Mass, in the two prayers addressed to the Holy Trinity, *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* and *Placeat tibi*. The same grounds have been effective in annexing to the liturgy the *Credo* which originated amidst the doctrinal battles of the East.³²

²⁸ As an example of an unnaturally extended self-accusation this shorter formula, which in the *Missa Illyrica* is said after kissing the altar, will do: "*Suscipe confessionem meam, unica spes salutis meae, Domine Deus meus, Jesu Christe, quia gula, ebrietate, fornicatione, libidine, tristitia, acidia, somnolentia, negligentia, ira, cupiditate, invidia, malitia, odio, detractio, perjurio, falsitate, mendacio, vana gloria, levitate et superbia perditus sum et omnino cogitatione, locutione, actione atque omnibus malis extinctus sum; qui iustificas impios et vivificas mortuos, iustifica me et*

resuscita me, Domine Deus meus. Qui vivis." Martène, I, 4, iv (I, 496 B). The formula occurs again *ibid.*, v, vi, xiii, xv (I, 520 C, 531 B, 575 D, 588 B).

²⁹ Cf. Jungmann, *Die lateinischen Bussriten*, 172 ff., 282-285.

³⁰ See the bibliography *ibid.*, 268.

³¹ Details below, p. 380 ff.

³² A complete picture of this background in J. A. Jungmann, "Die Abwehr des germanischen Arianismus und der Umbruch der religiösen Kultur im frühen Mittelalter," *ZkTh*, LXIX (1947), 36-99, esp. 54 ff., 57 ff.

More profound and more enduring has been the effect of another circumstance on the basic character of the Roman Mass. When the Roman liturgy was brought into France it invaded an area where only a small layer of society—principally the clergy—knew the language of the liturgy. True, the Gallican liturgy was also a Latin one, but it was not till after its disappearance that the Romance popular dialect became so remote from the basic Latin that it was no longer possible for one not specially educated to understand the latter. But Latin was the universal literary language and consequently the only language considered for divine service. Even a translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular—whether Romance or one of the German dialects—so that the vernacular would actually become a "literary" language, and so capable of becoming a liturgical language, was at that time unthought of. And because even amongst the laity the leaders were so impressed by things Roman that they recognized and acknowledged therein the highest culture, there was therefore no wish or demand for the use of their own language.

Quite different was the course of affairs a short while later amongst the Slavs, where Sts. Cyril and Methodius from the very beginning conducted services—and at least by the death of St. Cyril (869) even the Roman Mass³³—in the Slavic tongue. German clerics were their bitterest opponents, alleging that they dared conduct divine worship in a *lingua barbarica*, whereas in accordance with the inscription on the Cross, this should be done only *hebraice, graece et latine*. One could reply that Slavic was not a *lingua barbarica* since there were versions of Holy Scripture in that tongue and in at least a portion of Slavic territory the Roman liturgy has survived to this day in the Old Slavic, the Glagolitic, language.³⁴

Thus in the Carolingian empire the Mass-liturgy, so far as understanding its language was concerned, became a clerical reserve. A new kind of *disciplina arcani* or discipline of the secret had developed, a concealment of things holy, not from the heathen—there were none—but from the Christian people themselves.

At the time the situation was not conceived of as a problem. Aside from the consideration that religion is always concerned with mysteries, and concealment and secrecy have ever been associated with mysteries—aside from this, the development also encountered a theological notion which led to the same conclusion from two different angles.

³³ This is proved by the Kiev fragments of a Roman Missal in the Old Slavic language; it is modelled on a Gregorian Sacramentary of the 7th century and could have been done only by Cyril himself while in Rome; see: C. Mohlberg, "Il messale glagolitico di Kiev," *Atti della pont. Accademia romana di archeologia*, *Memorie* II (Rome, 1928), 207-320, esp. 223 f., 280 ff. The same line of thought is suggested by

F. Ušenicnik in his study in *Bogoslovni Vestnik*, X (1930); see the review, *JL*, XI (1931), 326. Even earlier various things pointed to the fact that this had to do with Roman liturgy; see H. v. Schubert, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter* (Tübingen, 1921), 520. ³⁴ Details in L. Rogic, "Glagolitische Schrift," *LThK*, IV (1932), 513-515.

In the concept of the Church, the foreground was no longer, as in earlier times, the communion of the redeemed bound together with a glorious Christ in one Mystical Body. In Spain and France the fight against Arianism had caused the thought of the glorified God-man, mediator and high-priest, to be brushed aside in favor of a stronger accentuation of His divine prerogative.³⁵ One necessarily became more clearly aware of the external earthly Church, its hierarchical structure of clergy and laity. The social position of the clergy—who were far and wide the governing class in society and practically alone in possession of a higher education—contributed no little to estranging them, lifting them above the people.

In addition a change had been taking place in the concept of the Eucharist. In the earlier periods of liturgical life we saw the emphasis placed on the Mass as a *eucharistia*, as a prayer of thanks from the congregation who were invited to participate by a *Gratias agamus*, and whose gifts, in the course of the Mass, were elevated by the word of the priest into a heavenly sacrificial offering. But now an opposite view was taking precedence in men's minds, swayed as they were especially by the teaching of Isidore of Seville.³⁶ The Eucharist is the *bona gratia*,³⁷ which God grants us, and which at the climactic moment of the Mass, the consecration, descends to us. Soon scholars were earnestly at work trying to discover when, precisely, in the Mass-liturgy this descent took place. According to St. Isidore it was the *oratio sexta*, that group of prayers in the Gallic liturgy which began with the *Post Sanctus* and to which the *Post Pridie* belonged.³⁸ Transferring this to the Roman liturgy, it is the series of prayers from the *Te igitur* to the doxology just before the *Pater noster*. By grasping suggestions that apparently led to this way of thinking, this portion of the Mass is explained as the canon in the sense of Isidore's *oratio sexta*,³⁹ to which the preface serves as a solemn but important introduction.⁴⁰ And this section is now enveloped in a second veil of mysterious isolation, being now spoken by the priest in a soft, low tone. The priest alone is to enter this inmost sanc-

³⁵ See *supra*, p. 38 ff.

³⁶ For his influence in the Frankish area see *supra*, p. 46., Note 12. According to a Freising account of things *quæ iussa sunt discere omnes ecclesiasticos* (n. 13) canons had to know Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (MGH, Cap. I, 235 l. 26).

³⁷ Isidore, *Etymol.* VI, 38 (PL, LXXXII, 255 B).

³⁸ J. Geiselman, *Die Abendmahllehre an der Wende der christlichen Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter* (Munich, 1933), 180 ff.

³⁹ The Carolingian commentary on the Mass, "*Expositio Dominus Vobiscum*," explains the *hostiam puram*, etc., in the *Unde et mem-*

ores, as if the consecration had not yet taken place (PL, CXXXVIII, 1170 A). A later tenth-century exposition of the same title argues against this explanation (Gerbert, *Monumenta* II, 274). J. Geiselman, *Studien zu frümittelalterlichen Abendmahlsschriften* (Paderborn, 1926), 88 f.

⁴⁰ The slighting evaluation of the preface (and indeed of the words of consecration) is revealed in this, that an opinion could be formed that the Apostles had actually consecrated with the Our Father, and immediately broke the bread and partook of Communion. Geiselman, *Die Abendmahllehre*, 210 f. Cf. *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 2.

tum, while the people stand praying without, as once they did when Zachary burned incense in the Temple sanctuary.⁴¹

The idea is extended and developed with conscious tenacity. At a spot where it was still thought that changes could be made, a new rite was introduced during the eighth century. When the priest has laid out and prepared the gift-offerings, before he steps into the sanctum of the canon he turns around once more at the altar and begs the bystanders for their prayers that he—as one commentator puts it—might be made worthy to offer up to God the oblation of the whole congregation.⁴² Even in the text of the canon a slight emendation was permitted. If one thought about it, it seemed rather surprising that the *Memento* for the living should speak about the faithful as people *qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*—as offerers. Although no one in general dared to cross out these words, nonetheless an addition was introduced, to make certain of the leading role of the priest; in the recension of the Gregorian Sacramentary emanating from Alcuin are prefaced the words *pro quibus tibi offerimus*.

The line of separation between altar and people, between clergy and laity, between those whose duty it was to perform the sacramental action and those who formed the celebrating congregation—a separation which was always taken for granted as essential to the Church's constitution, and which was never really forgotten—was now made into a broad line of demarcation, not to say a wall of division. This had its effect even on church architecture. The altar was moved back to the rear wall of the apse. In cathedrals, that necessitated transferring the bishop's throne⁴³; it is now generally⁴⁴ placed at the side of the altar.⁴⁵ The choir-stalls of the assistants, which in the old arrangement formed a half-circle around the altar, following the line of the apse, are now set in two rows facing each other in front of the altar. The way was open for a further development, the rood-gallery or choir which somewhat later became in many places a

⁴¹ For references see *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 2, 1 and 2, 5.

⁴² Amalar, *De off. eccl.* III, 20 (PL, CV, 1132 C).

Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1252 D) puts the same construction on the words *Sursum corda*; the faithful, he says, should lift up their hearts *ut sacrificium, quod Deo offerendum mihi obtulistis, digne offerere valeam*.

Details *infra*, Vol II, Chap. 1, 7.

⁴³ According to the *Eclogæ* (PL, CV, 1321 A), which in this matter obviously repeat the ideas of Amalar's *Expositio* of 813-814 (*infra*), the bishop after the collect still sits *versus ad populum*. Cf. also the *Expositio "Introitus missæ quare"*, ed. Hanssens, (*Eph. liturg.*, 1930), 44. In the

rest of the Carolingian sources there is no longer any clear reference to the matter.

Acc. to Amalar, *De eccl. off.* III, 10 (PL, CV, 1117) only the height of the bishop's throne signifies that the bishop should watch over the people.

⁴⁴ For the *cathedra* in the older position Martène 1, 4, iii (I, 364 f.) refers to the cathedrals of Lyons and Vienne. In Mainz, too, the choir is behind the altar and the *cathedra* forms its center.

⁴⁵ The new arrangement is made clear from the changes which *Ordo Rom. II*, n. 1, 5 (PL, LXXVIII, 969 A, 970 C) shows by comparison with *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 4, 8 (PL, LXXVIII, 939 B, 942 A): *pèrgit ad dexteram altaris ad sedem suam*.

real wall separating the *presbyterium* (sanctuary) from the nave of the church.

The function of the priest, by whose action the Eucharistic Presence was effected, and the reality of this Presence itself were brought more sharply into focus than heretofore. Even theoretically such questions were studied more thoroughly. About the middle of the ninth century (after 831) a controversy was waged in which Ratramnus maintained, against Paschasius Radbertus, that the Body of Christ was present in the Sacrament in all reality, not, however, in His earthly appearance but only in substance. Into the background recedes that interest in the symbolism of the Sacrament in which Augustine laid such great—perhaps too great—stock, and which is exhibited in the prayers of the Roman Sacramentaries, particularly in the post-communions. Forgotten is the relationship between the sacramental Body—the “mystical” Body, as it was then often termed—and the Body of Christ which is the church.⁴⁶ The same is true for the connection between the Sacrament and the death of Christ.⁴⁷ And so, too, the conscious participation of the community in the oblation of Christ is lost sight of, and with it that approach of the community towards God to which the Sacrament in its fulness is a summons or invitation. Instead the Mass becomes all the more the mystery of God’s coming to man, a mystery one must adoringly wonder at and contemplate from afar. The approach to the Holy Table of the Lord in Communion is no longer the rule even on feast days; already the Eucharist had not been our daily bread for a long time.

Closely connected with such extinguishing of the Sacrament throughout all phases of every-day life was the change which took place about this time in the type of bread used, the change to unleavened bread. Alcuin and his pupil Rabanus Maurus are the first indisputable witnesses to this new practice,⁴⁸ which spread only very slowly. The increased reverence for the Sacrament probably helped to introduce the use of the pure white wafers which could be so much more easily broken without worry about crumbs.

The change in the type of bread brought in its train a whole series of further changes in the Mass-liturgy. The offertory procession is relegated to specified feast-days and by slow degrees becomes an offering of money. Likewise there was a gradual diminishing in the importance of the breaking of the bread within the Mass. The *Agnus Dei*, which had just been introduced in the seventh century as a song to accompany the ceremony of breaking the Bread, appears at the beginning of the ninth century in some of the Carolingian sources as a Communion song, or a song at the *Pax*. The ceremony which had previously been so carefully built up now disappears, either because the breaking has been taken care of beforehand

⁴⁶ Cf. H. de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum. L'Eucharistie et l'Eglise au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1944).

⁴⁷ See the amplifications of this in O. Casel, “Das Mysteriengedächtnis der Messlitur-

gie im Lichte der Tradition,” *JL* (1926), 113-204; esp. 177 ff., 185 ff.

⁴⁸ Geiselmann, *Die Abendmahllehre*, 21-36; particulars *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 1, 3.

(since with unleavened bread there was no longer any fear of a too-quick drying-up) or because the particles intended for the Communion of the faithful were already prepared in the desired shape and size—a thing which was not the rule till the eleventh century.

Then, too, there is a transformation in the paten hitherto in use. Some sort of large platter-like dish had been required for breaking the Bread into, and for distributing it. But now that type falls out of use and instead the paten becomes a tiny plate fitting over the cup of the chalice and used for the priest’s host alone, while for the particles intended for the Communion of the faithful the container employed is a chalice-like ciborium. In the manner of distributing Communion, opportunities arise for giving in to the desire for a more reverent handling. The particles are no longer handed to the faithful (the particles are hardly suited to this), but are laid at once on the tongue, a thing more difficult in the case of the brittle pieces of leavened bread.⁴⁹ The next step—which, however, took quite a long time—was for the faithful to receive kneeling. And this, in turn, had a final effect on the church building: the low communion rail was introduced, a feature of which ancient church architecture knew nothing.

Still, despite all these features calculated to broaden the moat between the faithful and the sanctuary, during the Carolingian period there was at work an earnest endeavor to bring about an efficacious religious renewal in the whole population. This included a correspondingly organized participation of the faithful in divine service and especially in Holy Mass. Various prescriptions aimed at this very thing. The people were urged to join in singing the *Kyrie* and the *Sanctus*, and even the *Gloria Patri*—obviously the doxology which concluded the chants of the *schola*.⁵⁰ They were also encouraged, it seems, to respond to the greeting and the prayers of the priest.⁵¹ The faithful were likewise admonished to take part in the offertory procession and in the kiss of peace.⁵² And an attempt must even have been made to acquaint the faithful with the contents of the priest’s prayers, those at least that were spoken aloud and that recurred time and again during the Mass. The Carolingian clergy were not only to know the liturgy themselves—to guarantee this there was a yearly examination in the liturgy, prescribed since 742⁵³—but they were also to disclose to the

⁴⁹ For the connection mentioned there is this corroborative fact, that the first documents surely to vouch for the usage belong to the 9th century; see *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 13.

The ablution rite after the Communion of the priest is not expanded till about the 9th century. There was, for lay people, a washing of hands before Communion, but none after; see *infra*, Vol II, Chap. 3, 13 and 3, 16.

⁵⁰ Cf. G. Nickl, *Der Anteil des Volkes an*

der Messliturgie im Frankenreiche (Innsbruck, 1930), 15 ff.

⁵¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 236.

⁵² The Reform Synod of Mainz (813), can. 44 (Mansi, XIV, 74): *Oblationem quoque et pacem in ecclesia facere iugiter admonetur populus Christianus*. Cf. Nickl, 44 f., 49 f.

⁵³ By agreement with St. Boniface, Carloman had enjoined in 742 *ut unusquisque presbyter in parochia habitans . . . semper in Quadragesima rationem et ordinem mi-*

faithful *totius religionis studium et christianitatis cultum*.⁵⁴ As a matter of fact, amongst the explanations of the Mass that appeared around the turn of the eighth-ninth century, there is one—the *Expositio* “*Quotiens contra se*”⁵⁵—which is concerned only with the texts spoken aloud, and handles them with remarkable minuteness and detail. After a short survey of the fore-Mass, it takes up the words and phrases from *Dominus vobiscum* and *Sursum corda* to *Hosanna in excelsis*; then it skips over the canon and continues with *Præceptis salutaribus moniti*.

If, in the instance named, the pronouncement on the instruction of the faithful reveals nothing more than that the prayers which are not audible, especially the canon, are missing, a new and different sort of explanation soon evolves which is developed entirely from the viewpoint of the faithful, being concerned generally not with the words of the Mass, which are of course spoken in a strange tongue, but with the form and external actions that are perceptible to the eye. This is the allegorical interpretation of the Mass. It was known even in pre-Carolingian France. The seventh century *Expositio* of the Gallican Mass already mentioned is dominated by it,⁵⁶ and even earlier yet it was common in the Orient. Just as in pre-Christian times the olden myths of the gods were explained as meaning something else (ἄλλα ἀγορεύειν) than what their immediate sense indicated, and just as Philo of Alexandria had begun in a grand style to

mysterii sui, sive de baptismo sive de fide catholica sive de precibus et ordine missarum, episcopo reddat et ostendat (MGH, Cap. I, 25). The prescription was repeatedly inculcated in the following decades, in 769, 774 and 789, and was included in episcopal decrees, even as late as 852 by Hincmar of Reims. Andrieu, *Les ordines Romani*, I, 476-479; R. Stachnik, *Die Bildung des Weltklerus im Frankenreiche* (Paderborn, 1926), 23 f., 57 f.

A portion of the liturgical writings which appeared in the years to follow were conceived as aids to the liturgical study enacted here; Andrieu, 479 f. There were also little catechism-like writings for the related “Question and Answer play”; see for example the *ioca episcopi ad sacerdotes* in Franz, 342 f. and also the *Expositio* “*Introitus missæ quare*,” ed. Hanssens, *Eph. liturg.*, XLIV (1930), 42-46, already printed in extract in Franz, 410-412.

⁵⁴ Capitulary of 802, n. 5 (MGH, Cap. I, 106 l. 23).

A similar ordinance already at the Council of Cloveshoe in England (747), can. 10 (Mansi, XII, 398): *verba quæ in missæ celebratione et officio baptisimi*

sollemniter dicuntur. Cf. Nickl, 7.

⁵⁵ “*Quotiens contra se*”: Martène, I, 4, xi (I, 443-461); PL, XCVI, 1481-1502.

The most important of the Carolingian Mass interpretations are: “*Primum in ordine*” (about 800): Gerbert, *Monumenta* II, 282-290; PL, CXXXVIII, 1173-1186. For the manuscript tradition cf. A. Wilmart, “Un traité sur la messe copié en Angleterre vers l’an 800,” *Eph. liturg.*, L (1936), 133-139.

“*Dominus vobiscum*”: Gerbert, *Monumenta* II, 276-282; PL, CXXXVIII, 1163-1173 (and besides PL, LXXXIII, 1145-1154; PL, CXLVII, 191-200). Add to this another *expositio* beginning with the same words and controverting the other, in Gerbert, II, 269-276.

About the interpretations that trace back to Amalar, and about other Carolingian interpretations there will be discussion presently. Related to Amalar’s writings is the catechism-like explanation “*Introitus missæ quare*,” ed. Hanssens, *Eph. liturg.*, XLIV (1930), 42-46.

Further particulars in A. Wilmart, “*Expositio missæ*,” *DACL*, V (1922), 1014-1027.

⁵⁶ *Supra*, p. 46.

give a philosophical turn to the accounts of primitive biblical history, so too in Christendom it early became the practice to put an allegorical interpretation on sacred texts whenever they appeared mystifying.⁵⁷ At first it was the Old Testament, where actual types were at hand to suggest the possibility of extending such prefigurements. Then, as liturgical life began to become fixed and standard, and thence to become obscure, the liturgy, too, received this treatment.⁵⁸ A preparatory step and condition for the introduction of allegorization was a delight in symbolism. Rites were in use that had been consciously introduced into the liturgy as indications of deeper things, like the washing of hands and the kiss of peace; there were others which had indeed a different origin but whose significance easily obtruded, like the mixing of water with the wine. Allegory went a step further and sought no longer for any apparent and actual signification.

One of the first to champion this liturgical allegorization at the start of the sixth century was Pseudo-Dionysius, whose neo-Platonic thinking inspired not only the method but, to a degree, also the content of his interpretation of the liturgy. However, he uses the allegorical system to explain only isolated moments in the Mass, as when he interprets the priest’s coming from the altar to distribute Communion as an image of the Incarnation.⁵⁹ Before him others had already gone much further: Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) and the Syrian Narsai (d. about 502), who understand, for instance, the carrying of the gift-offerings to the altar as the burial of Jesus, the transubstantiation as His Resurrection, and the breaking of the consecrated bread as the appearance of the risen Saviour.⁶⁰ Of a different sort are Sophronius (d. 638) and Maximus Confessor (d. 662), of whom the former finds in the Mass-liturgy representations of our Lord’s life (the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Revelation on the banks of the Jordan, the Transfiguration) and especially of His Passion,⁶¹ while the latter perceives predominant therein images of the relationships and activities of the spiritual life.⁶²

In regard to the Roman liturgy, it was seemingly Alcuin who first applied the allegorical method.⁶³ But it was his pupil Amalar⁶⁴ who made the most

⁵⁷ J. C. Joosen-J. H. Waszink, “Allegorese,” *RAC*, I, 283-293.

⁵⁸ The many intellectual associations out of which liturgical allegory arose are pointed out in an (unprinted) Innsbruck theological dissertation by P. Rusch, *Wurzeln und Anfänge der allegorischen Liturgieerklärung* (1933), esp. pp. 61 ff.

⁵⁹ Ps. Dionysius, *De eccl. hierarchia*, III, 3, 13 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 313).

⁶⁰ Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Sermones catech.*, V and VI (Rücker, 21 f., 31 ff.). Connolly, *The liturgical homilies of Narsai*, 3 ff., 11, 23 f., 55 f.

⁶¹ Sophronius, *Commentarius liturg.* (PG, LXXXVII, 3981-4002); Franz, 336 f.

⁶² Maximus, *Mystagogia* (PG, XCI, 657-718); cf. Franz, 337 f.

⁶³ Franz, 361 f.

⁶⁴ The first piece to be considered is the masterwork of Amalar of Metz, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* or, as the title reads in the manuscripts, *Liber officialis* (PL, CV, 985-1242). The work presupposes the author made a pilgrimage to Rome about 813; it was completed by 823. A revision in which a fourth book was added to the three already written appeared in 831. The manu-

extensive and thorough use of it. Although it was nothing new, still the type of explanation as handled by Amalar with such thorough logic appeared unwonted and strange. Pressed by one of Amalar's opponents, the deacon Florus of Lyons, the interpretation was condemned at the Synod of Quiercy in 838,⁶⁶ the allegation being that shadows and images might perhaps suit the Old Testament but certainly not the New, which claimed a *rationabile obsequium* without superstitions or nebulous fancies.⁶⁶ But this judgment was unable to halt the triumphal progress of Amalar's allegorical method, or to hinder the constant spread of his writings.⁶⁷ The following centuries do, however, exhibit expositions of the Mass that give scarcely any space to allegory. Florus (d. 860) himself composed an interpretation that relied essentially on quotations from the Fathers.⁶⁸ Following his example, Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908) worked hard at a good verbal explanation of the Ordinary of the Mass.⁶⁹ Rabanus Maurus (d. 856) was content to stress the chief ideas that course through the Mass.⁷⁰ Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) goes into details, and displays not only a great deal of interest but an astonishing insight into liturgico-historical matters.⁷¹

script tradition of this highly-esteemed work is consequently quite involved; see J. M. Hanssens, "Le texte du 'Liber officialis' d'Amalaire," *Eph. liturg.*, XLVII (1933), 113-125 and the continuation till XLIX (1935), 413-435; summary: XLIX (1935), 433 f. The critical text for which this study was a preparation has not yet appeared.

A second explanation of the Mass, imperfectly preserved, is one written by an Amalar of Trier, the first part of it while on a voyage to Constantinople 813-814; edited by J. M. Hanssens, "Le traité de la messe du ms. Zürich C 102," *Eph. liturg.*, XLI (1927), 153-185. The first part (in Gerbert, *Monumenta* II, 149-156) is also preserved in a later revision called *Expositio "Missa pro multis,"* ed. by J. M. Hanssens, "Le premier commentaire d'Amalaire sur la messe," *Eph. liturg.*, XLIV (1930), 24-42; also in Hittorp, 582-587 (interpolated). A similar recasting of the second part is found in the well-known *Eclogæ de officio missæ* (PL, CV, 1315-1332).

Following Hanssens, *Eph. liturg.*, XLI (1927), 158, we leave the question open whether Amalar of Metz and Amalar of Trier are identical. For this reason the author of the books is called simply Amalar. For the distinction, cf. Franz, 351 ff. A closer study of divergencies between the

two allegorizings might actually produce evidence for a distinction.

⁶⁶ Franz, 359 f., 394 f.

⁶⁷ Florus Diaconus, *Opusculum de causa fidei*, n. 6 (PL, CXIX, 82 f.). Florus' further polemic concerns not so much the principle of allegory as rather the many seeming contradictions found in Amalar's practice. Franz, 359 f., 394 f.

⁶⁸ As early as 853 the *Liber de tribus epistolis*, c. 40 (PL, CXXI, 1054) complains that Amalar's writings had spread to practically every church in the land of the Franks.

But Franz, 395, goes too far when he summarizes his case for Amalar by saying, "The synod of Quiercy had found a correction in the almost unanimous votum of medieval theology and in church practice."

⁶⁹ Florus Diaconus, *De actione missarum* (PL, CXIX, 15-72).

⁷⁰ Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio in celebratione missæ* (PL, CI, 1246-1271, as c. 40 of Ps.-Alcuin, *De divinis officiis*). Franz, 370, 405 f.

⁷¹ Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. clericorum*, I, 33 (PL, CVII, 322-326). New edition by A. Knoepfler (Munich, 1900).

⁷² Walafrid Strabo, *De exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum* (PL, CXIV, 919-966); new edition by A. Knoepfler (Munich, 1890).

But in the years that followed it was not these attempts that proved determinative, but rather Amalar's work, especially his chief opus, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*. Because of its heaping up of allegorical meanings, this book had given its opponents many opportunities for attack. Everything receives a significance — persons, vestments, church vessels and utensils, dates, actions and motions. Different types of signification are employed: ethical admonitions (moral allegory), fulfillments of the Old Testament (typological allegory), events in the economy of salvation (rememorative allegory) or allusions to the consummation at the end of time (eschatological or anagogic allegory). The shoulder-cloth of clerics signifies the *castigatio vocis* (II, 17); the seven torches carried by the acolytes signify the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost (III, 7); the two lights that go before the Gospel refer to the Law and the Prophets because these, too, preceded the Gospel (III, 18); when the bishop mounts his throne he images Christ sitting at the right hand of God the Father (III, 10). It was the rememorative meaning however, which was predominant in Amalar.

This appears almost exclusively in Amalar's shorter *Expositio* (813-814). A good view of the whole scheme is presented by the author himself in the summary of contents with which he prefaces the work:

The *introit* alludes to the choir of the Prophets [who announced the advent of Christ just as the singers announce the advent of the bishop] . . . , the *Kyrie eleison* alludes to the Prophets at the time of Christ's coming, Zachary and his son John among them; the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, points to the throng of angels who proclaimed to the shepherds the joyous tidings of our Lord's birth [and indeed in this manner, that first one spoke and the others joined in, just as in the Mass the bishop intones and the whole church joins in]; the *prima collecta* refers to what our Lord did in His twelfth year . . .⁷²; the Epistle alludes to the preaching of John, the *responsorium* to the readiness of the Apostles when our Lord called them and they followed Him⁷³; the Alleluia to their joy of heart when they heard His promises or saw the miracles He wrought . . . , the Gospel to His preaching . . . The rest of what happens in the Mass refers to the time from Sunday on, when the disciples drew close to Him [along with the multitude—shown in the Mass by the procession of the faithful making their gift-offerings], up to His Ascension or to Pentecost. The prayer which the priest says from the *secreta* to the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* signifies the prayer of Jesus on Mount Olivet. What occurs later signifies the time during which Christ lay in the grave. When the bread is immersed in the wine, this means the return

⁷² The link is this: the collect corresponds to the first (public) appearance of our Lord—the first time He "appeared before the public." This signification hardly ever recurs anywhere later on.

⁷³ In the corresponding chapter (Gerbert, *Monumenta* II, 151) we read: "*Responsorium ideo dicitur eo quod uno cantante ceteri respondeant. Cantavit unus Christus, id est vocavit Petrum et ceteros apostolos,*

et illi responderunt, quia Christum imitati sunt . . . Ipse idem qui inchoavit solus, solus versum cantat, quia Christus qui apostolos vocavit seorsum [et] pernoctans et solus orabat . . ."

The repetition (at that time customary) of the responsory by the choir has its correlative in the Gospel account. *Respondens autem Petrus dixit: Domine si tu es, iube me venire ad te.*

of Christ's soul to His body. The next action signifies the greetings offered by Christ to His Apostles. And the breaking of the offerings signifies the breaking of bread performed by the Lord before the two at Emmaus.⁷⁴

Not all the points, but the more important, occur again in Amalar's greater work: the choir of Prophets, the sermon of Christ, the parade of the multitude, the prayer on the Mount of Olives, the breaking of bread in Emmaus. For the Mass proper, where the shorter work of 813-814 contains only the summary signification already quoted, the later Amalar proffers a whole series of supplementary details. Many of these additions by the later Amalar were not retained in the allegorical explanations of later years, e.g., the meaning of *Sursum corda* as the summons to enter into the cenacle, the preface as a reference to our Lord's speeches, and His prayer of thanks at the Last Supper, the communion antiphon as a *vox reciproca* imaging the mutual encouragement of the disciples at Emmaus and the Apostles when apprised of Christ's Resurrection (III, 33). Others, at least in main outline, become part and parcel of the standard Mass allegorization during the following centuries: The assistants stand bowed from the *Te igitur* till they hear the final petition of the Our Father, the *Sed libera nos a malo*, to signify the sorrow of the disciples over the suffering of Christ till they hear the news of His deliverance from the power of death (c. 23).

The deacons who stand behind the celebrant are a type of the Apostles who hid themselves in fear. The subdeacons who stand opposite the celebrant on the other side of the open altar are types of the holy women who remained standing near the Cross (*ibid.*). The prayer after the consecration signifies the Passion of our Lord on the Cross. When the priest bows down (at the *Supplices*), our Lord bows His head and dies (c. 25). The slight lifting of the voice at *Nobis quoque* refers to the centurion's loud profession at the death of Jesus (c. 26). The deacons at this point straighten up and begin to busy themselves with the Body of the Lord, to signify the steadfast courage which seized the women and their work at the grave (*ibid.*). At the concluding doxology the celebrant and the deacon elevate the Host and the Chalice and then set them down again, to signify Nicodemus' and Joseph of Arimathea's taking down our Lord's corpse from the Cross (*ibid.*). The seven petitions of the Our Father typify the rest and quiet of the seventh day, that is, Holy Saturday (c. 28), while the division of the formula into three parts, introduction, prayer and subsequent embolism, typifies the three days our Lord lay in the tomb (c. 29). The division of the Host into three parts refers to the *corpus Christi trifforme* (c. 35).⁷⁵ The commingling of the species refers to the reunion of Christ's soul and body at the Resurrection, the *Pax Domini* to the peace which the Resur-

⁷⁴ Gerbert, *Monumenta* II, 150. The portions in brackets are additional remarks extracted from the corresponding chapters in the body of the work.

⁷⁵ Further discussion of this in Vol. II, Chap. 3, 4. This was the main objection cited at Quiercy. Cf. Franz, 357, 359.

rection brought to mankind (c. 31). The last blessing and the dismissal remind us of our Lord's last blessing of the disciples on the Mount of Olives and of His departure from this world (c. 36).

In these allusions and references there is revealed a fancy that is without doubt remarkably perceptive. The transparency of the meanings, be it admitted, is often spoiled by the fact already pointed out that several methods of allegorizing are used side by side, as when at the offertory and the *Hosanna* the multitude represent Old Testament prefigurements, the altar is the sacrificial altar for burnt offerings on which we should offer up the mortification of the flesh and our good works, while the altar cloth is a symbol of the soul's purity, and the censer is the presentation of Christ's body through which we hope for God's grace (c. 19). But this juxtaposition is not meaningless. In one part of the moral allegories there is clearly disclosed the important notion that the Mass involves not only the oblation of Christ but at the same time the oblation of the Church. Therefore, Amalar maintains, the fore-Mass means the preaching of Christ and also the preaching of His followers to the end of the world, and the rest of the Mass means the Passion and glorification of Christ and also the sacrifice and glorification of His followers.⁷⁶ Therefore the altar is the Cross in reference to the mysteries of Christ, it is the altar for burnt offerings in reference to our own self-oblation.⁷⁷ Both meanings should be kept in mind.

On the whole, then, this way of explaining the Mass, as practiced by Amalar, marked out the trend for the future. The share of the Church was perhaps less prominently mentioned, but in other matters the majority of commentators, as we shall see, followed in Amalar's footsteps.

It can thus be seen that the transplanting of the Roman liturgy into Frankish lands was associated with many profound changes. These changes clearly bear witness to the intense spiritual life with which the Carolingian epoch was filled, a spiritual life which sparkled especially in the monasteries and in the cathedrals, whose clergy were organized in conventual life by means of chapters. It is to be noted that, in spite of difficulties of travel, distance put hardly a barrier in the way of mutual exchange and mutual stimulation. Thus at St. Denis they were studying Greek culture, rewriting a life of St. Dionysius from Greek sources⁷⁸ and adapting liturgical texts from the Antiochene liturgy.⁷⁹ Liturgical creativeness is to

⁷⁶ *De eccl. off.*, III, 18 (PL, CV, 1126).

⁷⁷ *op. cit.*, III, 26 (PL, CV, 1145 A).

⁷⁸ Abbot Hilduin, later chancellor of Louis the Pious, was the first to identify Dionysius of Paris with pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite whose writings were at that time becoming known in France. On the cultivation of Greek at various Carolingian educational centers, see H. v. Schubert, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Früh-*

mittelalter (Tübingen, 1921), 723-726; cf. 464. Greek studies in the Occident from the 9th to the 12th centuries are examined by A. Strittmatter, *Eph. liturg.*, LV (1941), 8, Note 11.

⁷⁹ The Mass *Ordo* of St. Denis in Martène, I, 4, v (I, 518-528; acc. to Leroquais, I, 142, the MS comes from the 11th century) contains not less than six formulas derived from the Greek liturgy of St. James, one

be traced at several points within the confines of the Frankish empire. At the outset of the period of accepting the Roman liturgy, the German monasteries—like St. Gall, Reichenau, Rheinau—stand out above all as the native places of more important liturgical manuscripts. But from the ninth century on, we can detect, through the manuscripts, a shift in the centers of Carolingian culture, first to places in the heart of French territory, like Tours, Corbie, Paris, Reims, but then also to some on the periphery, like Arles, Verona, Regensburg, Fulda or the episcopal cities of Normandy.⁸⁰

For the enlargement of the Roman Ordinary by new prayers, the first important source, still in the ninth century, is the manuscript of Amiens already referred to,⁸¹ with which two other pieces are partially connected, namely the tenth-century manuscript sacramentary of Abbot Ratold of Corbie (d. 986)⁸² and the contemporaneous sacramentary of Fulda,⁸³ the last, however, distinguished from the other two by a greater reserve in admitting new creations, for example, the *apologiæ*.

10. The Romano-Frankish Mass as a New Basic Type, and Its Differentiation

Out of all this shaping and shifting of liturgical forms in the Carolingian area a new Mass rite of the Romano-Frankish type was produced. It was at once rich and sharply outlined and soon had won wide acceptance. The evidences are scattered over broadly separated parts of a Carolingian realm which had meanwhile disintegrated. The episcopal city of Séz in Nor-

for the entrance to the sanctuary, one for the washing of hands before the offertory, and four for incensing (519C, 523D, 525); cf. Brightman, p. liv, and *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 1, 5.

At St. Denis, too, during the following centuries they used to sing Greek songs at Mass on certain occasions, especially Epiphany and Pentecost; this was done at several monasteries, but St. Denis was the chief. The songs in question were as a rule chants from the ordinary: Κύριε, Δέξα, Πιστεῖω. This wonderful monastic culture continued to blossom at St. Denis till the outbreak of the French Revolution. Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik*, 92 f. Cf. also the accounts in Martène, I, 3, 2, 8-10 (I, 281); de Moléon, 263.

Sacramentaries containing these chants in Greek are noticed in L. Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires*

(Paris, 1886), 103, 107, 263, 398. Further discussion in Netzer, *L'introduction de la messe romaine en France*, 214-216, 223 f.

⁸⁰ Cf. the sketch in Lietzmann, *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, p. xvii-xxvi, or the discussion of the sacramentary manuscripts in Leroquais, I, 1 ff., and of the *ordines* manuscripts in Andrieu, I, esp. 467 ff.

⁸¹ *Supra*, p. 77.

⁸² PL, LXXVIII, 239-245; cf. *ibid.*, 19. Also in Martène, I, 4, xi (I, 562-568). According to Leroquais, I, 79, Ratold must have gotten the MS. from Arras. The vesting prayers are composed for the most part in hexameters.

⁸³ Ed. By G. Richter and A. Schoenfelder (Fulda, 1921). On the typography of this sacramentary, all examples of which come from Fulda itself, and all of which are distinguished by excellent miniatures, cf. Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 123 f.

mandy,¹ and Minden on the Weser, (which is considered the place of origin of the *Missa Illyrica*)² the monastery of Gregorienmünster in Alsace,³ and St. Lawrence in Liège⁴—these are the principal places where this Ordinary was to be found. It appears in various settings and was soon transferred also to Italy.⁵

The nearest thing to a basic form of this Ordinary is in general apparently the Mass *ordo* of Séz⁶; accordingly we can speak about a Séz group. However, it cannot be the basic form itself since—to instance one point—the *apologiæ* which are inserted here are replaced in the other manuscripts by different *apologiæ*.⁷ The basic form must have developed somewhere in Franco-German territory before the year 1000, since there are extant several derivatives to be dated about this period.⁸

¹ The Mass *ordo* designated *ex codice Tiliiano*, edited by H. Ménard, in Migne, PL, LXXVIII, 245-251; cf. *ibid.*, 20 f.

Also in Martène, I, 4, XIII (I, 574-580), with the misleading superscription *Ex ms. pontificali Salisburgensi*. This label is probably to be explained by the fact that the Mass *ordo* belongs to a supplement which was added at Séz during the second half of the 11th century to a pontifical which actually came from Salzburg (at present in Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 820); see Andrieu, *Les ordines*, I, 351-355. ² *Supra*, p. 79.

³ Martène, I, 4, XVI (I, 594-600).

⁴ *Ibid.*, XV (I, 582-594). Martène's reference to Stablo in Belgium is erroneous; see M. Coens, *Analecta Boll.*, LVIII (1940), 48 ff.

⁵ Cod. Chigi in Bona, *altera app.* (955-964); Martène, I, 4, XII (I, 568-574). This is only partly preserved. It is related to the more important Mass *ordo* in the Missal of St. Vincent's Abbey at Volturno (Cod. Vat. lat. 6082), a work of the end of the 11th century, only recently published by V. Fiala in *Beiheft z. 23. Jahrg. d. Benediktinischen Monatschrift* (1947), 180-224. Likewise incomplete is the *ordo* preserved in the Pontifical of Halinardus which was meant for Langres and was sent in 1036 to Dijon; Martène, I, 4, XIV (I, 580-582). Also in the Missal of Troyes in Martène, I, 4, VI (I, 528-534), originally about the middle of the 11th century; see G. Morin, *Revue Bénéd.*, XXXIV (1922), 288; it breaks off after the offertory.

A late example is found in the Sacramentary of Seckau, originally about 1170, of which excerpts are given in Köck, 17 ff.,

95 ff., etc. Another in the Sacramentary of Boldau in Hungary, originally 1195, described by Radó, 31-58.

⁶ Proof in the citations given below for the various parts; see, for example, the prayers at accession and vesting.

⁷ Also the first acts, washing the hands and putting on the sandals, with the respective companion prayers, reappear (in reverse order) only in the Missal of Liège and in Cod. Chigi, but these books show secondary additions, e.g., aside from the rubrics, the insertion of Ps. 25 before Ps. 42 on the way to the altar. The rubric for the *mixtio* is inverted, being found unchanged in Liège and Gregorienmünster, but preserved at Séz in a curtailed form; see below, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 5. Nor is the entrance-rite at Séz entirely original; see below, p. 291 ff.

⁸ Leroquais, *Les pontificaux*, I, 142, dates the *Pontificale* of Halinardus as the second half or end of the 10th century. According to Browe, *JL*, XIII (1935), 47, Note 11, a Mass *ordo* from Münster i. W. belonging to the "10th/11th century" agrees "almost word for word" with that of St. Lawrence in Liège (first half of the 11th century)—and proofs presented by Browe confirm this. The date for the *Missa Illyrica* is about 1030, yet in this the schema is already much expanded; cf. *supra*, p. 79.

The Cod. Chigi is dated by Bona, I, 12, 4 (149 f.) as 10th century, but the evidence of the Lombard script makes a different date possible; the MS. seems to have disappeared, since it is not mentioned in Ebner, 167. The contents suggest rather the middle of the 11th century (the rite of high Mass, see below, II, 3; the *Confiteor*, see below, III, 5).

Amongst the peculiarities to be found in the Mass *ordo* of the Séez group is the insertion in four places of psalm prayers. While the sacramentary of Amiens adds Psalm 50 right before vesting, this Ordinary includes along with a fully developed series of vesting prayers,⁹ an independent group of prayers, the kernel of which is composed of Psalms 83, 84, and 85, with the versicles and the oration *Aures tuæ pietatis*. Here, too, Psalm 42 appears for the first time, to be said upon entering the House of God; it begins with the antiphon *Introibo ad altare Dei*, and concludes with the oration *Aufer a nobis*, and only after that follow the avowals of sinfulness or, *apologia*, which are different in the various redactions. At a high Mass, at least, these continue all through the fore-Mass. Only one short, oration-like *apologia*, *Omnipotens (sempiternæ) Deus qui me peccatorem*, seems to belong to the original form of this group of prayers, recurring as it does in the same form in all the manuscripts. Just before bringing the gift-offerings to the altar, there are a number of sacerdotal oblation prayers, of the Gallican type *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, like those that already appear in the sacramentary of Amiens. The offertory itself is accompanied by some new texts. At the mixing of the water with the wine the formula *Deus qui humanæ substantiæ* is used. The incensing that follows is accompanied by all the prayers still in use today. The assisting clergy respond to the bidding *Orate fratres* with a prayer which is taken up again after the *Sanctus*, a whole series of appropriate psalms being said in common; thus the quiet of the canon is again undermined. The communion series is composed of most of the prayers still in use.¹⁰ A psalm prayer—namely the canticle of the Three Young Men, with Psalm 150 and corresponding conclusion—follows at the end, on the return to the sacristy. The obligation to say this final series—just as with the entrance prayers—was far less strict than the obligation with regard to the other parts of the Mass.

As can be seen, in this Mass Ordinary which hails from Franco-German territory, there are not a few elements that are still to be found in today's Roman Mass or at least appear as preparation and thanksgiving.

Soon after its origination, this Ordinary was on its way to Italy where its further development was again decided. In many Italian Mass books of the eleventh and twelfth centuries we find not only the elements still retained at present but also other peculiarities, some of them trivial, which have since disappeared.¹¹ Some of the items of this *ordo*, like Psalm 42

⁹ The prayers differ from those of Amiens (*supra*, p. 78), from which the formulas customary today stem for the most part.

¹⁰ Namely *Domine Jesu Christe Fili, Perceptio, Panem cælestem, Quid retribuam*; the order in which they follow varies.

The *Missa Illyrica* also contains the Prayer for Peace, the formula at the sursumption and the *Quod ore sumpsimus*.

¹¹ Amongst these (aside from certain texts

which already appeared in older arrangements of the Mass, even in part in the Sacramentary of Amiens) are: the prayer previously mentioned as attached to the *Aufer a nobis*, an oration having the character of an *apologia*: *Omnipotens Deus qui me peccatorem*; the formula which follows for kissing the Gospel-book, *Pax Christi quam nobis*; the words with which the deacon hands over the chalice, *Immola Deo*; the

and its oration, or the prayer for incensing, appear from this time on in all the Italian Mass books. We could refer particularly to some manuscript witnesses which either present us with the complete *ordo* unaltered, as does Codex Chigi,¹² or at least give us the greater part with more or fewer additions. Among these latter are especially two Mass books of the eleventh century, from the Benedictine center of Camaldoli,¹³ a somewhat later book from Monte Cassino,¹⁴ another Benedictine sacramentary from the vicinity of Verona,¹⁵ the sacramentary of Modena which was finished before 1174,¹⁶ and two pontificals of the eleventh and twelfth century.¹⁷

Thus we come to that episode which proved to be of such incalculable importance for the entire subsequent history of the Roman liturgy. About the middle of the tenth century the Roman liturgy began to return in force from Franco-Germanic lands to Italy and to Rome, but it is a liturgy which meanwhile had undergone radical changes and a great development. This importation entailed supplanting the local form of the Roman liturgy by its Gallicized version, even at the very center of Christendom. A Romano-Germanic pontifical compiled at Mainz about 950—the basic model of today's *Pontificale Romanum*—at that time found its way to Lucca and to Rome, as we learn from manuscripts which were written about this period at both the places mentioned.¹⁸ It was likely the frequent journeys to Rome of Otto the Great, in whose company a large number of German clerics made the trips, that brought the book into Italy.¹⁹ The earliest copies of the pontifical²⁰ contained the so-called *Ordo Romanus VI* which provides an arrangement for the bishop's Mass that is in extraction and content very similar to our own Ordinary.²¹ Some usages had already got to Rome from the North at an earlier period.²² A great many others were

formula for offering up the chalice, *Domine Jesu Christe qui in cruce*; the formula for blessing both the offerings, *In nomine D.N.J.C. sit sacrificium*; the psalm-prayer after the *Sanctus*; the formula at Communion: *Communicatio et confirmatio*; the formula attached to the *Placeat: Meritis*. A second *apologia*-like oration, *Fac me quæso*, is missing in the Séez text, but in most other texts is found near the oration *Aures*.

A more detailed study of the sources of these prayers can be gotten (with the help of the Index) in the explanations which follow in Parts III and IV.

¹² See *supra*, note 5.

¹³ Ebner, 297 ff., 300 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 309 ff. The *ordo* begins with the *Kyrie*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 306 f.

¹⁶ Muratori, I, 86-95; cf. Ebner, 97 f.

¹⁷ Ebner, 311 ff., 327 ff.

Cf. still another missal of the 12th/

13th century: Ebner, 321 ff.

¹⁸ Andrieu, *Les ordines*, I, 511 ff.

¹⁹ Klauser, *Die liturgischen Austauschbeziehungen (Hist. Jahrbuch, 1933)*, 186 f., concludes that the years 962-964, in which Otto I was in Rome, were the years during which this transfer to a Franco-German liturgy took place. This would hold true in the first place for the rites retained in the Roman Pontifical.

²⁰ MS. of Lucca, probably written about 962-964 (Andrieu, *Les ordines*, I, 156 ff., as n. X); also the two MSS. from Monte Cassino and Rome-Vallicellana, which were copied from an original written ab. 1000 (*ibid.*, 176 f., 199).

²¹ Before the entrance procession the clergy pray *VII psalmos*; this is presupposed also—in fact doubly—in the *Missa Illyrica*. After the *Orate pro me* the Gradual Psalms are said. *Ordo Rom. VI*, n. 1, 10 (PL, LXXVIII, 989 C, 993 B).

²² Klauser, 183 f.

soon to follow, as northern liturgical books replaced those locally in use and thus crowded out the customs hitherto obtaining.

At the time, this displacement was unfortunately not very difficult. In matters liturgical (as in other matters) the tenth century was for Rome an era of collapse and demoralization. It would seem that at that time new manuscripts were simply not being produced.²³ In the scriptoria of the North, on the contrary, there was bustling activity; in particular there flourished at the time in German monasteries the art of manuscript illumination.²⁴ It is worthy of note that Pope Gregory V made an agreement in 998 with the abbey of Reichenau, stipulating that in return for certain privileges accorded on the occasion of the blessing of a new abbot, the monks were to send, amongst other things, a new sacramentary.²⁵ It goes without saying that this would mean only the style of Mass book then current in the North.²⁶

Of course there were many different ways in which this revamped Mass book from Carolingian territory, with its new *ordo*, could get to Italy. In the instance cited in the last paragraph the path led from a German monastery directly into the Lateran. But in other cases it could be easily the road from one monastery to another. Amongst the examples of places on Italian soil where this new Mass *ordo* clearly made its appearance, the Benedictine share looms very prominent. Even Codex Chigi, one of the earliest witnesses, is of Benedictine origin.²⁷ Recall the early shift of the Cluniac reform to Italy. Abbot Odo (c. 942) was able to draw into the reform a great number of monasteries of Rome and its environs, and even Monte Cassino.²⁸ In 1000 Abbot Odilo was at Ravenna to meet St. Romuald, founder of the Camaldolese,²⁹ from whose ranks we already mentioned two witnesses of the new Mass *ordo*. On the other side, Cluny also had won great power and influence in France even during the tenth century, so extensive that it came into contact with the new Mass *ordo* at many points and could thus become its "carrier,"³⁰ if it had not already assisted at its birth.³¹

²³ Klauser, 183.

²⁴ U. Berlière, *L'ordre monastique des origines au XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1924), 150.

²⁵ A. Brackmann, *Germania pontificia II*, (Berlin, 1923), I, 152; Andrieu, 515 f.

²⁶ Andrieu, 516, Note 1, refers to the fact that in the canon of the Mass books used in the papal chapels from the 11th/12th centuries on, the extra-Roman practice of naming the bishop is followed: *una cum famulo tuo papa nostro N. et antistite nostro N.*

²⁷ Bona, *op. cit.*, 955.

²⁸ E. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, (Halle, 1892), I, 93-114.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 346-349.

³⁰ Around the year 1000 both Verdun and

Dijon, among others, were involved in the movement. From Verdun comes one of the texts of the Mass *ordo* published by Martène (*supra*, note 4). Another such reached the reformed monastery of S. Bénigne in Dijon at least in the year 1036 (*supra*, note 5).

³¹ Abbot William of Dijon, who came from Cluny, took over in 1001 the monastery of Fécamp, which from then on, because of its school, became the center of reform not only of the monasteries but also of the secular clergy. Sackur, (Halle, 1894) II, 44-48; G. Schnürer, *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter*, (Paderborn, 1926), II, 185, 213 f. Some such point of departure would best explain the uniform spread of the

The chief factor for ensuring the penetration, through and through, of this new fashion in Roman liturgy and its arrangement of the Mass, was the political power of the Romano-German empire. Although this influence was indirect it was considerable, for since Otto the Great, the Emperor had interfered in the affairs of Rome and Italy and had time and again put his own candidates in the chief positions. In one case, in fact, we are told of a direct interference by a German ruler in the shaping of the liturgy of Rome; when Henry II came to the Eternal City for his imperial coronation in 1014, he asked as a favor that at Rome also the *Credo* be sung at Mass as was long the case in the North.

So, for a second time in the West, liturgical unity was achieved but this time it was not the members that yielded to the head, but rather the head accommodated itself more and more to members grown meanwhile strong and wilful. The refined clarity of the old forms was no longer present in the newer growth, nor were latent there the inner forces that might have reformed it in the olden spirit.

Fundamentally the new Mass *ordo* from the North was only one type out of many. Open suggestions were offered therein for new elements in the Mass-liturgy as demanded by the trend of the times, but none of these had any real binding force. Such elements were left on principle to local or at most regional regulations. Indeed the new silent prayers, which formed a goodly part of the recent acquisition, could be changed or even extended by the priest himself, since they were purely the expression of private devotion. Many details of external deportment, especially in a non-solemn Mass, such for instance as the manner of preparing the chalice, and the precise moment of the Mass that this was to be done, were left more or less free, since the rubrics were concerned only with a high Mass where many assistants took part. Thus we find throughout the later Middle Ages a great variation in all those parts of the Mass-liturgy which were not fixed as a heritage of the ancient Roman sacramentaries—variation not only from country to country but from church to church, in fact, from Mass book to Mass book. Amongst the Mass books from the latter half of the Middle Ages which are still in existence—there are thousands of them—there are seldom (to judge from descriptions at hand) two Mass books that agree to such an extent that the later copy does not add a prayer text or a rubric, or leave one out, or consciously alter it.

A special case, all through the Middle Ages, is the variation in the wording of many prayers, particularly the shorter ones. The shorter the formula, the greater the diversity. The formula for the distribution of Communion, the text accompanying the offering of host and chalice, or the *Suscipiat*—only with great trouble can one arrive at a fixed basic text. A phrase is

Mass *ordo* both in episcopal and abbey churches. The Norman episcopal city of Séz was not the home of these original witnesses by mere accident. From Nor-

mandy, half a century later, when liturgical writing was still scarce elsewhere, came the work of John of Avranches, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*.

enlarged here or there, it is doubled, it is enhanced with emotional highlights, or it is even changed to something else or left out entirely. This is understandable, for such texts were mostly handed down, not in writing, but by word of mouth, and were spoken by heart till such time as they were again taken down, somewhere, somehow, in writing.³² In many Mass books they were not to be found at all, or they were inserted only as an appendix. They were on the very verge between official prayers and private prayers. And so there was sometimes no hesitation in inserting absolutely private prayers in the course of the Mass, as did a certain twelfth century Bishop Gundulph of Rochester, who daily said a second Mass in the presence of his monks, and after the Gospel, while the choir-boys sang the offertory, he sat down and gave himself over entirely to his devotions, and sighed and wept.³³

The direction of all this lay as a matter of principle in the hands of the metropolitan.³⁴ But there was no stopping the continual procurement of books (and consequently of ritual customs) from other church provinces, if the books were not obtainable from one's own. Nor was there any special aversion to a conscious difference of usage. Over and over during medieval times the phrase of St. Gregory is reiterated: *in una fide nil officit Ecclesiae consuetudo diversa*,³⁵ sometimes word for word,³⁶ sometimes only in substance.³⁷

It was the monasteries that first introduced a more rigid discipline. The customs of the larger reformed abbeys, which were written down chiefly

³² A parallel from the present day might help to establish this point. The verse *Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi, quia per crucem tuam redemisti mundum* has become a popular prayer among the people, being frequently used at the Way of the Cross. But little changes have crept in; in my own South Tyrol, for instance, instead of *Christe* they say "Lord Jesus Christ," and in the second part usually "by Thy holy cross and Passion Thou hast redeemed us and the whole world."

³³ Berlière, *L'ascèse bénédictine*, 153 f.

³⁴ In this sense we must interpret many of the decrees of synods of the 5th/7th centuries, some of which were included in medieval collections of canon law; see Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, 149, 296. Cf. also the fifth Synod of Arles (554), Canon 1 (Hardouin, III, 328 B). A similar demand is made by Burchard of Worms, *Decretum III*, 66 (PL, CXL, 687): *ut institutiones missarum sicut in metropolitana ecclesia fiunt, ita . . . in omnibus comprouincialibus ecclesiis . . . seruentur*. The same basic notion is still enunciated at the

close of the Middle Ages by Gabriel Biel (d. 1495), *Canonis expositio*, lect. 80. The lectures contained in this work were delivered at Tübingen, and the author therefore—following the argument already indicated—submits the use of Mainz.

³⁵ Gregory the Great, *Ep. I*, 43 (PL, LXXVII, 497). The far-reaching advice which the same pope is supposed to have given to St. Augustine in England, *Ep. XI*, 64, 3 (PL, LXXVII, 1187), agrees with this trenchant axiom; choose, he said, the best of the various customs that you get to know on your trip through Gaul, and introduce them into England. This letter, however, is not genuine, as S. Brechter, *Die Quellen zur Angelsachsenmission Gregors d. Grossen* (Münster, 1941), 13-111, proves quite conclusively.

³⁶ The Trier *Liber officiorum* (11th cent.; in Franz, *Die Messe*, 374); Anselm, *Ad Waleranni querelas*, c. 1 (PL, CLVIII, 552 D); Bernhard von Waging (d. 1472; in Franz, 571).

³⁷ Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1029), *Ep. 3* (PL, CXXI, 192 D).

since the eleventh century, contain in good measure prescriptions for divine worship and, amongst these, exact and detailed regulations of the Mass *ordo*. This is true, first of all, of the catalog of the customs of Cluny as set down in the middle of the eleventh century by the monk Bernard,³⁸ and in a stricter arrangement around 1080 by the monk Udalrich.³⁹ Therein everything is carefully regulated that concerns the handling of the Eucharist, from the preparation of host-bread to the ablution after reception, for which a series of new regulations are introduced.⁴⁰

The new branches of the Benedictines too, soon after their establishment, prescribed fixed liturgical arrangements for their churches. Amongst these were also a peculiar regulation of the Mass *ordo* which was afterward altered very little. A concomitant factor was—as in similar cases—the local tradition of the home diocese of the mother-house. Take the case of the Cistercians whose rite was regulated in the *Liber usuuum* shortly after 1119,⁴¹ incorporating the usage of Chalon-sur-Saône. As regards singing and architectural appointments, the Cistercian service is very simple, a conscious contrast to Cluny. For an external portrayal of this special rite—outside Castile⁴²—which was given up in 1618, the most significant point was this: almost nothing except the preface and canon was said at the center of the altar; the *Gloria* and the greeting that followed were said on the Epistle side, the *Credo* and the secret on the Gospel side.

The liturgical arrangement for the Carthusians was compiled in the *Statuta antiqua* just shortly before 1259,⁴³ but it belongs substantially to

³⁸ *Bernardi Ordo Cluniacensis* (Herrgott, *Vetus disciplina monastica*, 133-364).

³⁹ *Udalrici Consuetudines Cluniacenses* (PL, CXLIX, 635-778). A further development of these customs is extant in the *Constitutiones Hirsaugienses* of Abbot William of Hirsau (d. 1091), in PL, CL, 927-1146. But even before Cluny itself, these customs were fixed in writing by other monasteries affected by Cluny's reform ideas. Thus especially the *Consuetudines* of Farfa (PL, CL, 1193-1300; Albers, I, 1-206), written down about 1040, but containing adaptations to local conditions.

For a survey of the inter-relationships of the various *Consuetudines*, see P. Polk, *Der Liber ordinarius des Lütticher St. Jacobsklosters*, p. xiii-xxi; cf. also U. Berlière, *L'ascèse bénédictine* (Paris, 1927), 24-36; E. Tomek, *Studien zur Reform der deutschen Klöster im 11. Jh.*; I. Die Frühreform (Vienna, 1910), 173 ff.

⁴⁰ A synopsis of the liturgical prescriptions according to Udalrich and a partial commentary on them in Tomek, 184-232. A general evaluation of the sources is found

in a pertinent chapter of G. de Valous, *Le Monachisme Clunisien*, (Paris, 1935), I, 327-372.

⁴¹ Critical text in Ph. Guignard, *Les Monuments primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne* (Dijon, 1878); H. Séjalon, *Nomasticon Cisterciense seu antiquiores ordinis consuetudines* (Solesmes, 1892). I use a text which is apparently only slightly different, in Migne (PL, CLXVI, 1421-1442).

R. Trilhe, "Citeaux (Liturgie de l'ordre de)", *DACL*, III, 1787-1811; F. Schneider, "Vov alten Messritus des Cistercienser Ordens," *Cistercienser-Chronik*, XXXVII (1925), 145-152, with 30 further articles till XL (1928), 77-90; in the last there is an index (88-90); there is a French edition, slightly revised: *L'ancienne messe cistercienne* (Tilburg, 1929). Cf. A. A. King, *Notes on the Catholic Liturgies*, 62 ff.

⁴² B. Kaul, "Auf den Spuren des alten Cistercienserritus in Spanien," *Cist.-Chronik*, LIV (1947), 226-235; LV (1948), 218 f.

⁴³ In the chapter (I, 43) *De officio sacer-*

the twelfth century.⁴⁴ The Savoyard origin of the first Carthusians explains the similarities to the rite of Lyons. The Mass ceremonial, in use even today, is distinguished by its archaic character. In this rite the Mass still concludes with the *Ite missa est*. The liturgy of the Premonstratensians was also put in order by the twelfth century.⁴⁵ But the ancient form of the *Liber ordinarius* which was then compiled, unlike the corresponding books of the Cistercians or the Dominicans, was altered in the course of years, until in the seventeenth century the Missal of Pius V was finally adopted.

If the old orders, living on the basic principle of *stabilitas loci*, found it necessary to secure uniformity in liturgical regulation, this was true in a higher degree even with regard to the itinerant orders of the thirteenth century. The Dominicans had their first Mass book determined even before 1244. This was fixed by the *Ordinarium iuxta ritum sacri Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum*,⁴⁶ and was produced under the General, Humbert de Romans, and enacted into law in 1256.⁴⁷ As far as the rite of the Mass is concerned—there was a special chapter on the *missa privata*—this extremely careful regulating had its repercussions far beyond the confines of the order itself. Various monastic groups, like the Teutonic Knights, adopted the Dominican rite. The Mass ceremonial of the *Liber ordinarius* of the Benedictine abbey of St. James in Liège, which in its turn had an extensive influence, was nothing else than a slight modification of the Dominican.⁴⁸ The same is true of the ceremonial established by the Carmelites in the General Chapter of 1312,⁴⁹ a ceremonial still used by the Calced Carmelites. While the Dominican rite in some details displays certain antique traits, as for instance the shortness of the prayers at the foot of the altar, in others it exhibits an energetic progress and development. Thus, for the first time, the repetition at the gradual is underlined, the customary ablution rite

dotis, diaconi et subdiaconi: Martène, I, 4, XXV (I, 631-635).

⁴⁴ A. Degand, "Chartreux (Liturgie de)," DACL, III (1913), 1045-1071.

⁴⁵ Pl. F. Lefèvre, *L'Ordinaire de Prémontré d'après des mss. du 12. et du 13. siècle* (Louvain, 1941); M. van Waefelghem, *Le liber ordinarius d'après un ms. du 13./14. siècle* (Louvain, 1913). Wherever there is no question of text variants, I cite from the latter book, since it is accompanied by a thorough-going commentary giving indications of later changes in the rite. I am also indebted to a finished study, still in manuscript, by Dr. Hermann Joseph Lentze, O.Prem. (Wilten), "Die Liturgie des Prämonstratenserordens."

Cf. also B. Luyckx, "Essai sur les sources de l'Ordo missæ Prémontré," *Analecta Præmonstratensia*, XXII-XXIII (1946-47), 35-90.

⁴⁶ Newly edited by F. Guerrini (Rome, 1921). The prescriptions for conventual Mass according to an English MS. of the 13th century, also in Legg, *Tracts*, 73-87, with further remarks, pp. 87-96.

⁴⁷ M. H. Lavocat, "La liturgie dominicaine," *Liturgia*, ed. by Aigrain (Paris, 1935), 860-864; further bibliography cited there. The liturgical arrangement before Humbert is thoroughly discussed by G. G. Soelch, *Hugo von S. Cher, O.P., und die Anfänge der Dominikanerliturgie* (Cologne, 1938). Cf. also William R. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (N. Y., 1944), 28-35; and esp. 118-129.

⁴⁸ P. Volk, *Der Liber ordinarius des Lütlicher St. Jakobs-Klosters* (Münster, 1923). For genealogical relationships see p. lxxii.

⁴⁹ B. Zimmermann, *Ordinaire de l'Ordre de Notre Dame du Mont Carmel par Sibert de Beka* (*Bibliothèque liturgique* 13

makes its first appearance, and likewise the St. John Gospel at the end of the Mass. The dramatic moments are visibly high-lighted—the extension of the arms after the consecration, and the signing of the chalice at the end of the canon.

Even more extensive in its effect on the history of the Mass-liturgy was the conduct of the other mendicant order, the Franciscans. They too at first took up the liturgical usage of the order's native place, but afterwards, prompted by the many diversities of the Mass-liturgy which they met with in their early wanderings, they chose for themselves the *Missale secundum usum Romanæ curiæ*. The papal curia, which already by that time had grown into an organization of quite considerable range, had formed for itself, out of the various designs of the contemporary city liturgy, especially along the lines of the old patriarchal basilicas, a special type of Roman Mass book.⁵⁰ This was done chiefly, it appears, under Innocent III. This type is characterized by a sanctoral calendar cataloging many old popes, and by a Mass *ordo* that is really simple,⁵¹ as the unsettled life of the papal court at that time indeed required. The new enlargement by multifarious greetings and blessings and petitions, versicles and responses, as we find them in the Mass books of Northern lands, especially in the compass of the offertory and the communion, are omitted, and continue to be omitted during the succeeding centuries. In fact in some places there is a noticeable attempt at simplification.⁵² Here especially the change from sacramentary to missal which we will investigate in a moment, had been comparatively swift.

This missal the sons of St. Francis made their own, but without renouncing the right to make changes—the trend of the time.⁵³ But from this period on, the Franciscan missal and the *Missale secundum consuetudinem Romanæ curiæ* (also called *Missale Romanum* for short) are almost identical.⁵⁴ This missal type was carried all over the world by the wandering mendicant Friars. It was soon the predominant type of Mass book in

(Paris, 1910); *idem.*, "Carmes (Liturgie de l'orde des)," DACL, II (1910), 2166-2175. Cf. King, *op. cit.*, 75-85.

⁵⁰ M. Andrieu, "Le missel de la Chapelle papale à la fin du XIIIe siècle," *Miscellanea Ehrle*, II (Rome, 1924), 348-376; Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 144-148. According to this the *ordinarium* used in the papal chapel service must have been composed already under Innocent III. However, there is question here of an arrangement quite different from the one Innocent used as a basis in his work, *De sacro altaris mysterio*, written before he was elected Pope (1198). Batiffol, *Leçons*, 6.

⁵¹ *Ordo et Canon missæ* (Cod. Vat. Otton. lat. 356; about 1290), ed. J. Brinktrine,

Eph. liturg., LI (1937), 198-209. Excerpts from the same MS. also in Ebner, 347 f.

⁵² In the Mass *ordo* of *Ordo Rom. XIV* (about 1311), which represents a revision of that of Innocent III (see note 50 *supra*), the prayer said while spreading out the corporal (*In tuo conspectu*), still extant in the Mass *ordo* about 1290, is no longer found; n. 71 (PL, LXXVIII, 1186 C).

⁵³ Cf. A. van Dijk, "Il carattere della corezione liturgica di Fra Aimone da Faverham O.F.M.," *Eph. liturg.*, LIX (1945), 177-223.

⁵⁴ Other orders also followed the example of the Franciscans; Ebner, 251, cites a *Missale fratrum ordinis s. Augustini sec. consuet. Rom. curiæ* (of the year 1314) and

Christendom.⁵⁵ And after the inauguration of printing it won public prevalence in the whole Latin Church.⁵⁶ It paved the way for the reform under Pius V.

Also in other churches of the later Middle Ages were found special rites clearly designed. This was true of solemn pontifical service in the cathedrals; several *ordines* of such churches, especially in France, give us further knowledge of them.⁵⁷ For a non-solemn Mass, however, there was seldom if ever any written regulation, and in fact the tendency was toward utter simplicity. Local tradition and living custom had to suffice. However, certain centers were the exception, amongst them the church of Lyons, which developed its own definite rite and has retained it, with some modifications and restrictions, to this very day.⁵⁸

In England too, where since William the Conqueror liturgical life had been determined to a great extent by that of Normandy, the rite of Salisbury or Sarum was gradually developed as a distinct and, up to the Reformation, an essentially conservative and fixed arrangement, both for the entire service and more especially for the Mass.⁵⁹ It was the standard not only in a great portion of the English Church but also here and there on the Continent.

In general, however, the right to regulate and supervise the liturgy by dioceses and ecclesiastical provinces appears to have produced very little.

a *Missale fratrum servorum s. Mariæ sec. consuet. Rom. curiæ* (14th century).

⁵⁵ Ebner, in the index p. 479 under the *Missale* (*M. sec. consuet. Rom. curiæ*), cites 33 source-places for important manuscripts amongst Italian libraries alone, and for the Minorite Missals (*Missale fratrum minorum sec. consuet. Rom. curiæ*), *ibid.*, 478, 18 other source-places. But the missals themselves must be far more numerous than these registered sources; see, e.g., Ebner, 22, Note 1.

⁵⁶ Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 149. Substantial additions in R. Menth, O.F.M., "Ein Missale Romanum von 1481," *Franziskan. Studien*, XX (1933), 89-129; according to him during the period 1474-1570 more than 320 printings of the *Missale Romanum* appeared in various presses, chiefly in Italy and France.

A new printing of it which appeared in Milan in 1474, with collations of various other later printings in R. Lippe, *Missale Romanum 1474*, 2 vols. (HBS, 17, 33; London, 1899, 1907).

⁵⁷ See, e.g., in Martène the excerpts from Ordinaries of Laon, Soissons, Bayeux, Chalon-sur-Saône.

⁵⁸ B. Buenner, *L'ancienne liturgie romaine. Le rite Lyonnais* (Lyon o. J., 1934). Cf. the pertinent remarks of Th. Klauser, *JL*, XIV (1938), 455-458.

See Archdale King, "The Rite of Lyons," *Orate Fratres*, XIII (1938-9), 450-454.

⁵⁹ The Mass *ordo* of Sarum according to an older (13th century) and a more recent (14th century) version in Legg, *Tracts* (HBS, 27). Further examples in Martène and in W. Maskell, *The ancient liturgy of the Church of England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1882); the latter has parallel columns containing the arrangements of the Mass at Hereford and York. A survey of the more important peculiarities of the Sarum *ordo* in Fortescue, *The Mass*, 202-205; see also F. Thos. Bergh, "Sarum Rite," *CE*, XIII (1912), 479-481.

There are two more recent editions of Sarum Mass books; the latest is J. W. Legg, *The Sarum Missal edited from three early manuscripts* (Oxford, 1916). Regarding manuscripts of the Sarum Missal that were brought to Spain before 1472 and continued to have an influence there, see Ferreres, p. xcii f., 72, Note c.

In German territory it was rather the literary work of one liturgist that produced big results in directing, coordinating, and simplifying the liturgy. This work was the *Micrologus* written about 1085 by Bernold of Constance,⁶⁰ a champion of the reform of Pope Gregory VII, who had traveled much in Italy. His short explanation of the Mass, distinguished by its calm clarity, contained a special chapter (c. 23) with the text of the *Ordo Missæ* which he considered correct. While the psalmodic prayer of the *Præparatio Missæ* and at the end the Song of the Three Young Men, with the pertinent prayers, form a single series with the other parts of the Mass *ordo*, still, as regards adopting the prayers within the Mass that had long been in circulation, a great amount of discretion and conservativeness is exercised. For instance, both the prayers at the offering of host and chalice are missing. Between *Agnus Dei* and communion only one prayer, *Domine Jesu Christe Fili*, was adopted. Bernold expressly states (c. 12) that in the canon nothing was allowed to be added, not even the names of saints.

Thus out of the great amount of prayer material that had grown up, a fixed core was lifted out, to become the basis, at least in Germany, for further development.⁶¹ In Hungary about 1100, the bishops, by explicit decree, prescribed the arrangement laid out in the *Micrologus* as the obligatory norm.⁶²

A similar importance for France, if not a similarly extensive influence, might be attached to the short and predominantly rubrical portrayal of the Mass which Bishop John of Avranches, who died in 1079 as Archbishop of Rouen, offers in his explanation of the liturgy.⁶³

11. The Gothic Period

Someone has said, and rightly, that Gothic is in a special degree not only an art style (*Kunststil*) but a period style (*Zeitstil*). Because up till now the younger peoples of the North had studied zealously in the school of the older order of things, propriety and proportion, as they appeared in Romanesque, could become the expression of their life. But their growing powers were beginning to spring the old grooves on all sides, seeking newer designs. The individual and subjective, seeing and feeling on one's own personal activity and personal capability—these came to the fore, and led to a stressing of the concrete and realistic, and consequently to a multiplicity of forms which could be kept together and coherent only by a renewed desire for organization. This new spirit did not call a halt even

⁶⁰ Bernold, *Micrologus* (PL, CLI, 977-1022). Regarding the question of Bernold's authorship, see Franz, 414. Cf. also Schwertner in *CE*, II (1907), 512-513.

⁶¹ Cf. Franz, 415 f.

⁶² D. Kniewald, *Eph. liturg.*, LIV (1940), 221.

It is significant that the MS. which contains the oldest sacramentary of Hungary (12th/13th centuries) also offers the *Micrologus*; see C. Mohlberg, *Eph. Liturg.*, XLI (1927), 67 f.; Radó, 31-36.

⁶³ John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 27-62).

with regard to divine service¹; the arrangement of the Mass felt its influence in a most profound manner. Already there was talk of that multiplicity of forms which had developed after the year 1000, but an effort was also made to codify the new forms; we can see in this a parallel to an attempt at mastering the heaped-up resources of knowledge by means of the *summas* which have been ranged side by side with the daring architecture of the Gothic cathedrals.

At least in the eleventh-century community, forces still held the balance of power in ecclesiastical life and the life of divine worship. Beside the cathedral chapter there was in every larger place, and often also in the country, a collegiate chapter in which clerics under the leadership of a provost or dean led a life in common, and above all conducted a community service of worship. In contrast to them the clerics who were individually in the service of the nobility remained absolutely in shadow, especially since most of them lacked any higher education. For these capitular churches, and for Roman church architecture in general, a characteristic was the roomy choir with its stalls, no longer set in a half-circle around the altar but arranged in several parallel rows between altar and people. The daily conventual Mass, which was celebrated, as in the monasteries, in the presence of the assembled clerical community, formed the crown of choir prayer and the very climax of divine service. In the Mass regulations and in the rubrics of the liturgical books this community service is almost the only one considered; there the celebrant appears nearly always accompanied by deacon and subdeacon, even though private celebration is not unknown. Above all, however, the entire setting of the liturgical texts is still always predicated on the cooperation of a plurality of officials and ministers. The priest needs only the sacramentary. Lectionary and antiphony continue to be separate books for the use of those who are to read or sing. This situation continues to prevail till about the start of the twelfth century.

But then a new arrangement of the liturgical books breaks into the picture; on the strength of this the priest can take over the roles of lector and chanter and thus discharge the duties of his office independently of them. The ties of the individual are thus loosed in the liturgy, just as in this same period the organization of the canonries had slackened or even dissolved with the trend towards personal prebends and separate residences. In the thirteenth century the *Missale Plenum* displaces the sacramentary.² Pre-sages of this new arrangement were the many silent prayers which, as we have seen, had begun to appear in the sacramentaries, at first (since the ninth century) only here and there, but since the eleventh almost universally. These prayers the priest did not have to perform with the community, but softly by himself.

There are isolated instances, especially within the confines of monas-

¹ Cf. A. L. Mayer, "Die Liturgie und der Geist der Gotik," *JL*, VI (1926), 68-97.

² Ebner, 359-363; Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 132-143.

ticism, where even at an earlier period the priest's Mass book was fitted out with the lessons, so that the service of a lector could be dispensed with.³ Such books were very likely intended for the convenience of wandering monks, as may also be judged, in the case of the Missal of Bobbio, from the smallness of the book. In the church of Milan too, the oldest sacramentaries almost all incorporate the readings.⁴ Since the ninth century there appeared at various places sacramentaries in which, appendix fashion, a number of Masses with readings are inserted, sometimes also with the chant-texts. As a rule, in fact, the Masses of the *commune* and the *Missæ diversæ*, along with the Votive Masses, including the Masses for the Dead, were thus distinguished.⁵ Votive Masses and Masses for the Dead were employed essentially in the interests of individual families and persons, and especially if they followed each other in rapid succession, were held in the simplest form, often without the lector whose presence was, as a rule, still presumed.

But cases occur at least as often, in which the song-texts are inserted all through the sacramentary. Frequently all that was done was to indicate the first words on the margin—in an age that knew all the psalms by heart this was more than sufficient.⁶ In other instances an antiphony was bound up in one volume with the sacramentary.⁷ Especially since the eleventh century, Mass books which contain the song-texts but (outside of the *commune* and the Votive Masses) not the readings, occur more often.⁸ There again the first thought must have been private celebration,⁹ in which John the Arch-chanter's¹⁰ notion prevailed, that these texts were never to be left out. They had to be in the Mass books even when the lessons were left out, because a lector always cooperated, reading the Epis-

³ Here belong the Missal of Bobbio (7th century) and, as the earliest example of a Roman "Lection-Sacramentary," the palimpsest text of Cod. 271 of Monte Cassino (8th century) ed. A. Dold, *Vom Sakramentary, Comes und Capitulare zum Missale (Texte und Arbeiten*, 34; Beuron, 1943).

⁴ Examples, beginning with the 9th/10th century: Ebner, 71, 73, 87, 91, 92, 93. Also a sacramentary from the suffragan see of Brescia, from the middle of the 9th century: Ebner, 22.

Later examples from other churches, *ibid.*, 362, Note 6.

⁵ Two examples of the 9th century from Verona: Ebner, 286 ff., 290 f.; one from the 9th/10th century: *ibid.*, 286. Further examples from the same period in Leroquais, I, p. xii, f. From a later period, see Ebner, 192, 293 ff.; cf. 15 ff., 33 f., 47.

⁶ Already found, written by a second, almost contemporary hand, in the well-known

MS. of the Gregorianum, Cod. Ottobon. 313 (first half of the 9th century); these marginal notations reprinted in Muratori, II, 7 ff.

More recent examples are cited by Ebner, 362, Note 3.

⁷ Several examples from the 10th/13th centuries mentioned in Ebner, 361, Note 3. On the contrary, cases in which a lectionary (*ibid.* Note 4) or a lectionary and an antiphony (Notes 5 and 6) are added are less frequent.

Cf. also Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 133.

⁸ Examples in Ebner, 47, 134, 141, 224; Köck, 3.

⁹ In the early Middle Ages the song texts might be missing even in a *missa cantata*; see *infra*, p. 209. All the more does this hold for private Mass.

¹⁰ *Supra*, p. 65.

tle and perhaps sometimes the Gospel also, if he did not have to hand the evangeliary to the priest¹¹ or if the priest did not have the pertinent Gospel pericope in his own Mass book.¹²

Since the thirteenth century simple sacramentaries were very seldom produced.¹³ The *Missale Plenum* or complete missal, which had at first predominated only in monasteries,¹⁴ has become the rule. The cleric to read the Epistle disappears from private Mass. If there are no deacon and subdeacon, both readings are done by the priest himself, and are therefore indispensable in the Mass book, just as the chant-texts, too, cannot be omitted from it.

At high Mass the chant-texts are to be read by the celebrant (and the assistants); this we find stipulated for the first time in 1140 in regard to the introit, and the prayers the priest intones, *Gloria, Credo, Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*.¹⁵ This is expressly ordered for all the chant-texts for the first time, about the middle of the thirteenth century,¹⁶ although a similar rule for the readings is not yet prescribed.¹⁷ Here in this approach to the private Mass we find a sensitive loosening of the liturgical texture, corresponding in general to the centrifugal tendency of the Gothic period. The priest makes himself, to a certain extent, independent of the singing choir. What the latter is doing is no longer considered as a complementary part of the community celebration. Thus the trend to secular song instead of ecclesiastical can grow all the more powerful. But another factor may have had some influence with regard to the priest himself. Right into the twelfth century it had been customary for the celebrant to fill every pause in his prayers at high Mass with *apologiae*. Were people finally getting tired of them? It was at any rate a step forward to admit that it would be

¹¹ Amongst the Cistercians in the case of a (conventual) Mass *cum uno ministro*—and the same thing held, no doubt, for a private Mass—the missal was laid on the altar to the right, the evangeliary to the left; the latter was then removed after the Gospel: *Liber usuum*, c. 54 (PL, LXVI, 1429 A). According to the Augsburg Missal of 1555 (Hoeynck, 372), the priest at the beginning of Mass kissed the evangeliary at the left of the altar, the missal at the right.

¹² Not a few of the sacramentaries since the year 1000 contain the Gospels along with the prayers, but omit the Epistles and the chant texts. Amongst these are the so-called *Vetus Missale Lateranense* (11th/12th century) in which the Epistles and chant texts were added later; Ebner, 168. Other examples, *ibid.*, 13, 96 f., 174, 185, 280; cf. 39.

¹³ Amongst the latest examples we must list the sacramentary of the papal chapel (c.

1290) mentioned in the last chapter, note 51 (cf. Ebner, 234 f.) and a 15th-century sacramentary from SS. Apostoli in Rome (Ebner, 146 f.). Another 15th-century sacramentary (Autun) is cited by Leroquais, III, 84.

¹⁴ Examples since the 10th century in Baumstark, 134 f. A newly recovered fragment, probably done at Monte Cassino about 1000, is edited by A. Dold, JL, X (1930), 40-55.

¹⁵ *Ordo eccl. Lateran.*, ed. Fischer, 80, 82 f., 85; *officium* = Introit.

¹⁶ *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 235, 237, 239, 244). This could not have been the usual thing much earlier, since the Mass regulations of the preceding years, otherwise rather full and exact, make no mention of it.

¹⁷ But the Epistle is indicated in the *Ordo* of the Lateran church (Fischer, 81, line 12).

much more fitting if the priest would replace those endless self-accusations with the biblical texts which were being sung by the choir.

The complete missal is therefore the product not indeed of the predominance of the private Mass (which had long been in use), but at least of its general extension and its increased acceptance.¹⁸

For the participation of the faithful, the Mass celebrated as a service with or without sacred ministers, with its Latin chanting and its mystery-filled ceremonies, continued during the years to follow as the standard form. The manner of explaining also remained the same, namely *allegory*, as we saw in Amalar. The Mass is looked upon as a holy drama, a play performed before the eyes of the participants. But meanwhile the graphic ceremonial has been enriched. The signs of the Cross in the canon, most of them of pre-Frankish origin, were multiplied till far into the eleventh and twelfth centuries—at the *Supplices* and at the closing doxology. In addition there were in many churches signings with the Cross, and corresponding blessing formulas at the offertory, after the presentation of the gifts¹⁹; and the priest blessed himself a number of times, especially at the Gospel. The Gothic principle of cumulation, the repetition of the same detail, the heaping up of ornament, had its effect on the kissing of the altar. Although up to the twelfth century, this was customary—in line with tradition—only when first approaching the altar and again when leaving, since the end of the thirteenth century it was performed every time the celebrant turned around at the altar.²⁰ The kiss at high Mass when handing the celebrant any object, and the kiss of greeting for the celebrant are also added at various places.²¹ The extension of the hands after the consecration became, since the thirteenth century, a vivid imitation of the outstretched arms of the Crucified. For a time, too, the ceremonial was built up further; the priest at the anamnesis, on recalling the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord, was supposed to mimic these movements with his hands.²² Bowing the head at the end of the *Memento* of the dead, and

¹⁸ For a more detailed discussion cf. *infra*, p. 212 ff.

¹⁹ *Infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 1, 4.

²⁰ *Infra*, p. 317.

A Hungarian missal of the 13th century demands a threefold kissing of the altar at *Veni sanctificator* and *Supplices*; Radó, 62.

²¹ Cf. the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (c. 1140), ed. Fischer, 80-87 and in the Index under the word *osculum* (p. 181); the numerous places at which the kiss is expressly prescribed make it clear that this is not an old tradition taken for granted. Cf. however the trend manifested already about 1100 in the Missal of St. Vincent; Fiala, 201 ff. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, VI, 6 (PL, CCXVII, 909 f.), has a special chapter "*De diversis osculis quæ dantur in*

missa"; he mentions, amongst other things, seven ways in which the pope receives the kiss.

²² According to Hugh of St. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (ed. Soelch, 37), the priest was to *extendere [manus] in modum crucis—parum erigere in signum quod Christus invictus leo resurrexit—erigere in signum quod Christus Deus et homo ascendit*. Similarly the Missal of Riga (about 1400; v. Bruiningk, 85) and Hungarian Mass books of the 15th century (Jávor, 116). Cf. Sölch, *Hugo*, 93 f. In like manner it was customary among the Premonstratensians for the priest at the *Credo* to wait till the *Et resurrexit* before he rose from the genuflection; see JL, IV (1924), 252.

striking the breast while saying *Nobis quoque* in a loud voice—these actions appear to have been introduced as a vivid presentation of our Lord's death and the impression it made on the bystanders.²³

And the dramatization of the readings²⁴ took a new turn since Ivo of Chartres (d. 1117); where there was no single ambo to determine the place for the readings, older memories were recalled and so the Gospel was read at the right side (reckoned from the viewpoint of the ancient position of the episcopal throne) and the Epistle at the left. This led to the distinction between the Gospel side (church or altar) and the Epistle side.²⁵

All these usages, making a bid for the curious and fascinated eyes of the Christian people, obtained an allegorical significance. Less and less did the spoken word project its own contents; one concentrated rather on the alternation between the loud and the soft tones of prayer.²⁶ The meaning of ceremonies was often a synthetic one, abstracting entirely from the course of the sacred action, and giving a fixed significance to each repeated ceremony just as a fixed significance was given to the visible appurtenances. Ever since Amalar the priestly vesture had been treated allegorically,²⁷ and in the years that followed this treatment was extended to the church building.²⁸

In the same way, the ceremonies that were oft repeated acquired a fixed meaning, with little thought given to their particular status here and now in the liturgical action. Often enough, besides the picture which presents

Ceremonies of this sort of imitative symbolism were developed in great number, as is well known. And they often turned into something quite playful, as (for instance) when the boy-abbot in the monastery schools on the Feast of Holy Innocents (Dec. 28) at Vespers, when the words *deposuit potentes de sede* were sung, was summarily shoved from his chair. The same dramatic instinct was at work here which produced the mystery plays.

Cl. de Vert, *Explication simple littéraire et historique des cérémonies* (Paris, 1706-1708), wanted to use this imitative symbolism of the late Middle Ages as the main principle for the explanation of the ceremonies.

²³ Such attempts to create a symbolism that would push the allegory of existing ceremonies even further and produce new ones, were at work quite early. St. Anselm, who died 1109, in a letter, *Ad Waleranni querelas*, ch. 3 (PL, CLVIII, 553 f.), chides those priests for leaving the chalice uncovered during Mass on the plea that Christ had hung naked on the cross of suffering.

²⁴ Cf. *supra*, pp. 77 ff.

²⁵ In greater detail *infra*, p. 414 ff.

²⁶ Cf. the anonymous explanation of the Mass in the Graz Cod. 730 (about 1300; in Franz, 631): *Ea autem quæ laici noscere et quæ eis dici possunt, quæ ad missam pertinent, in tribus comprehenduntur, videlicet in gestibus—ut sunt VII oscula, V versiones, IV inclinationes, XXV cruce sive benedictiones, locorum mutationes, manuum extensiones—in verborum prolationibus...*

²⁷ Perhaps it would be more correct to say "symbolically," since, to be exact, the vesture does not of itself express or signify anything and therefore it cannot rightly be said to "say something else." But in reality we are dealing here not with any original symbolism (the sort of thing found, for instance, in the washing of hands), but only with a secondary symbolism subsequently connected with it—which is hardly to be distinguished from allegory; cf. J. Braun, *Liturgisches Handlexikon* (2nd ed., Regensburg, 1924), 333 f.

²⁸ J. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes* (2nd ed., Freiburg, 1924). Sauer follows especially the meanings developed in Honorius Augustodunensis.

itself, the number of repetitions offered a solution. Thus the triple silence in the Mass proper—at the secrets, during the canon and after the *Pater noster*—represents the three days our Lord rested in the tomb.²⁹ The five-fold turning of the priest toward the people³⁰ refers to the five appearances of our Lord after the Resurrection.³¹ Similarly the number of crosses made over the *oblata* received by preference a numerological meaning. The three crosses after the *Te igitur* typify the three times our Lord was mocked before the high priests and Herod and Pilate, the five crosses in the *Unde et memores* typify the five wounds, and so forth.³² The signs of the Cross within the canon are, since the eleventh century, the main theme for instructing the people about the Mass.³³ A didactic poem of this period outlines the minimum that each priest must know about the Mass; what is the sacrifice, and what the altar and chalice, water and wine, and the crosses signify.³⁴

With few exceptions³⁵—among them the straightforward and objective exposition by the Parisian doctor, Jean Belet (d. about 1165), deserves a prominent place³⁶—the explanation and interpretation of the Mass remains strictly within the bounds initiated by Amalar. The Mass is understood as a dramatic presentation of an action in the divine economy, especially of the suffering, death and resurrection of Christ, beginning with the longings and sighs of the patriarchs and prophets and concluding with our Saviour's ascension into heaven.

The newly developed and newly added ceremonies had also to be considered in this allegorizing. Keeping the book at the altar and moving it from Epistle side to Gospel side—this did not fit easily into the plans heretofore in vogue. It led, as a consequence, not only to an architectonic enlargement of the measurements of the altar, up to now rather modest,³⁷

²⁹ A rhymed explanation of the Mass (12th century) ed. by A. Leitzmann, 2nd ed. (*Kleine Texte*, LIV), 19, 1. 30.

³⁰ The number, but without its meaning, already in Jean Belet, *Explicatio*, ch. 37 (PL, CCII, 45).

³¹ A preacher of the 13th century draws this oft-repeated meaning out still further: the third turning around, at the *Orate*, is a "secret" greeting and refers to the appearance to Peter which is not known to us in detail. Franz, 643 f.

³² Thus several interpreters, according to the account by Albertus Magnus; cf. *infra*, p. 113. Moreover it was precisely in the field of number-symbolism that the most widely diversified solutions were offered. Durandus, IV, 36, 8, for example, gives five different explanations for the three crosses after the *Te igitur*.

³³ *Infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 2, 5.

³⁴ Ps-Hildebert, *De s. eucharistia* (PL, LXXI, 1209).

³⁵ Amongst these are Richard of Weddinghausen (12th century), who throughout his explanation of the canon carries out a symbolism built on the number three, but without any rememorative allegory (Franz, 418 f.), and Odo of Cambrai (d. 1113), who creates his exposition on the basis of word meanings and theology (*ibid.*, 426 f.).

³⁶ Jean Belet, *Explicatio divinarum officiorum*, also known as *Rationale div. off.* (PL, CCII, 13-166).

³⁷ Until the 11th century the altar tables were rarely more than 3 or 4 feet square. (But by the 15th it was not unusual to find them 12 feet long.) At this time, too, the altar began to be built up beyond the simple *mensa*; not only temporary and occasional reliquaries were placed over it, but permanent altar-pieces as well—the start of the

but also to a revamping of the Mass-allegory. Even the first sure evidence of the term "Gospel side"—in Ivo of Chartres—refers to it as the *sinistra pars ecclesiae*³⁸ and the author is then faced with the riddle, why the Gospel should be given the less honorable side; he solves it by explaining that this signifies how when the Jews refused the faith, the apostles turned to the Gentiles (Acts 13:46).³⁹ Thus in the rememorative allegory of the Mass the preaching to the Jews—in contrast to Amalar's plan—had to come before the reading of the Gospel. The collects, too, since they preceded, had to get a new interpretation. Ivo explains them as typical of how our Lord taught His disciples, especially how He taught them to pray. The Epistle then signifies the mission of the disciples.⁴⁰ The intervening chants refer to the joyous response of those who were well disposed.⁴¹

The same interpreter, taking a cue from older projects, sketches for the first time a well-rounded explanation of the canon and its silence as a fulfillment of Old Testament prefigurements. His is therefore a typological allegory intermixed with rememorative elements. Like the high-priest on the great day of Atonement, so the celebrant walks alone into the Holy of Holies, carrying the memorial of the Blood of Christ, and on his breast the names of the twelve patriarchs (the naming of the twelve Apostles), and with the Blood of the Saviour he sprinkles it. When he returns, the scapegoat is chased into the wilderness in the *Jube haec perferri*. Then, instead of changing his garments, he changes his voice and speaks the *Pater noster* aloud.⁴² This attempt at an explanation was carried on by later interpreters and deepened theologically, ultimately to the better un-

immense reredoses of a later date; Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 253 ff., 277 ff. Moreover, cross and altar candles appear on the table; Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 466 ff.

³⁸ Ivo of Chartres, *De conven. Vet. et Novi Test* (PL, CLXII, 550 A).

³⁹ *Ibid.*

This interpretation recurs constantly down to the present; cf., e.g., Paul Busard, *The Sacrifice* (St. Paul, 1939), 84.

A second meaning in Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 35 (PL, CCXVII, 820): hereby is represented the truth that Christ came to call not the just but sinners to repentance (Matt. 9:13; cf. 25:33). Durandus, IV, 23, repeats both significations.

⁴⁰ Ivo of Chartres, *op. cit.*

A similar meaning of the Epistle, but for other reasons, is already found in Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1250 A).

⁴¹ *Loc. cit.*

Ivo's interpretation of the pre-Gospel pieces reappears in Hildebert of Le Mans,

Versus de mysterio missae (PL, CLXXI, 1178) and likewise in some other later expositors. Still even near the end of the 12th century, Robertus Paululus, *De caeremoniis*, II, 17 (PL, CLXXVII, 421 f.) interprets the Epistle as the preaching of John the Baptist. Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 29 f. (PL, CCXVII, 816) also gives the preference to this signification.

In addition, Ivo also suggests a new interpretation of the start of the Mass-sacrifice which is frequently repeated later: the quiet prayers during the offertory refer to the prayer of our Lord on Olivet; at the preface he interrupts them and goes to his disciples to exhort them to pray; *op. cit.* (PL, CLXII, 553 f.).

⁴² *Op. cit.* (PL, CLXII, 559 B). In some details the interpretation is not always in taste. Cf. also Franz, 429-431.

Hildebert, in his verses, has made an acceptable selection; *op. cit.* (PL, CLXXI, 1182 f.).

derstanding of the sacrificial character of the Mass.⁴³

New images of Old Testament origin were introduced into the allegorizing of the Mass by Honorius of Augustodunum (d. about 1125).⁴⁴ In the Mass the exodus from Egypt, the revelation of the commandments, the conquest of Amalec at the prayers of Moses pleading with arms outstretched, the entrance into the Promised Land under the leadership of "Jesu"—all these are re-enacted in a new manner. The bishop, accoutred in his sacred garments as in the armor of war, is the general; the lector is the herald, bells and chants are the fanfare of battle. Even the struggle between David and Goliath is rehearsed in the Mass. Since Honorius adds other pictures, includes audacious number-symbolism, and embraces also much of the traditional allegory of Christ's Passion, the result is a bewildering wealth of variegated meanings, to which one could scarcely apply the title of an explanation. Sicard of Cremona (d. 1215) wanders along the same pathway, but adds to the confusion with a plethora of quotations.⁴⁵

In general, however, the work of the medieval Mass commentators is wedded to the extension of the rememorative type of allegory. Rupert von Deutz (d. 1135) expands it to include the sacerdotal vestments, in which he perceives the person of Christ outlined; the humeral reminds one of the concealment of Christ's divinity by His humanity; the alb, of His purity; the stole, of His obedience unto death; the chasuble, of His raiment which is the Church.⁴⁶

A healthy reaction to this increased overloading of the interpretation of the Mass with so many diverse elements, and at the same time a high point of rememorative allegory is found in the work composed by Innocent III, at that time still Cardinal Lothar, just before his election as Pope (1198).⁴⁷ Except for an abundantly practical number-symbolism, he restricts himself almost entirely to the traditional meanings derived from Christ's life and Passion, which he presents distinctly in simple words. His work, therefore, became the basis for the Mass interpretations of the later Middle Ages, which are often content to repeat the words of the great Pope, either cutting them down or broadening them out.⁴⁸

The great compiler of medieval liturgical allegory, William Durandus (d. 1296), acknowledges—in his *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* which we

⁴³ In this category is the work at one time attributed to Hugh of St. Victor, *Speculum de mysteriis Ecclesiae* (PL, CLXXVII, 335-380), which expounds the Mass from offertory on as a fulfillment of the Old Testament types; the *jube haec perferri* in his explanation realizes the sprinkling of the Holy of Holies; ch. 7 (368 ff.).

The interpretation of the canon proposed by Isaac of Stella (d. c. 1169) will be treated later, Vol. II, Chap. 2, 15.

⁴⁴ Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animae* (PL, CLXXII, 541-738). Whether the word Augustodunum refers to Autun or to Augsburg is still in dispute; Franz, 420-425.

⁴⁵ Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale seu de officiis ecclesiasticis* (PL, CCXIII, 13-434).

⁴⁶ Rupert of Deutz, *De divinis officiis* (PL, CLXX, 11-332).

⁴⁷ Innocent III, *De sacro altaris mysterio* (PL, CCXVII, 773-916).

⁴⁸ Cf. Franz, 459, 565, 493, 509, 523, etc.

must come back to time and again because of its opportune mention of the rites then in use—that he took Innocent III as his guide for the explanation of the Mass.⁴⁹

In Innocent we find for the first time a determination of liturgical colors for specified days,⁵⁰ along with the respective significance thereof. His rules are more or less those still in force today: white as the festive color (and he tries to discover a reason for the white—even in the white of the clouds on Ascension Day!), red for martyrs' days and Pentecost, black for days of penance and for Masses for the Dead, green for days without a festal character.⁵¹ The sensuous interest in colors and the zeal in explaining their significance were alike manifestations of the spirit of the Gothic period.

A new trend is manifest also in the understanding and meaning of the various liturgical vestments. Innocent himself⁵² finds chiefly a moral meaning like that which Amalar offered; in particular, he is familiar with the spiritual battle (I. 64), although this is better developed in other writers.⁵³ But Innocent also avails himself of a christological explanation somewhat similar to Rupert von Deutz who saw relationships between the priestly garments and the properties and attributes of Christ's person. But by the middle of the thirteenth century this had turned to a form of rememorative allegory, which here too perceived symbols of the Passion of Christ.⁵⁴

Development is also to be found in practical paramentics. The Gothic chasuble is still broad and mantle-like, but the two ornamental stripes falling down from the shoulder and joined as a line down the middle became in time a forked cross and this in turn became (on the back of the chasuble) a regular cross with horizontal cross-beam. This development means that the allegorical presentation of the Crucified could be imaged even in the external figuration,⁵⁵ but it also led not only to a richer and richer ornamentation but also, because of the need for a stiff surface, to the later misshaping of the garment. Similar forces were at work in changing the shape of the altar. The altar screens (polyptych retables or "wing-

⁴⁹ Durandus, IV, 1, 2.

⁵⁰ About the same time the *Liber ordinarius* of the Premonstratensians (Lefèvre, 6, 1, 18) not only pays no attention to a rule regarding colors, but even insists that chasubles all be *unius coloris*, a regulation which is missing in later sources. Cf. Waefelghem, 28.

⁵¹ Innocent III, *op. cit.*, I, 65 (PL, CCXVII, 799-802). Cf. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 729-736. Cf. E. G. Atchley, "Liturgical Colours," in V. Staley, *Essays on Ceremonial* (London, 1904), 89-176.

⁵² Innocent III, *op. cit.*, I, 11-64 (PL, CCXVII, 781-799). In a Klosterneuburg MS. of the 13th century, there is a poetic elaboration of this section of Innocent; H.

Maschek, "Eine metrische Symbolik der Sakralgewänder aus dem 13. Jh.," *Eph. Liturg.*, XLVII (1933), 368-377.

⁵³ Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 705 f.

⁵⁴ This meaning, along with the moral one, is found in a Franciscan writer who is otherwise generally very dependent on Innocent, William of Melitona, *Opusculum super missam* (ed. A. van Dijk), in *Eph. Liturg.*, LIII (1939), 219-349; see 312-14. William sees in the shoulder-cloth the scornful blind-fold, in the alb the white robe of ridicule, in the cincture, maniple and stole the cords, and in the chasuble the purple mantle. Similarly also Hugh of St. Cher, *Tractatus super missam* (Sölch, 8-10).

⁵⁵ Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 209-219.

altars") offer us the very best in Gothic from the viewpoint of artistic performance, but from the viewpoint of the liturgy they were definitely an aberration.

The allegorical method of contemplating and explaining the liturgy had to face a crisis in the thirteenth century, and it is really a matter of wonder that it was able to weather the storm and that the old method should survive unscathed in the period to follow. In a century when medieval Scholasticism reached a peak, the very basis of all allegory was naturally called into question. For allegory is founded entirely on a conception of the world which is interested in the sensible and visible phenomena only insofar as they are mirrors and symbols of an invisible, intangible higher world. Even in the book of nature, attention was focused not on the forms of individual things, not on the shapes of the "letters," but only on the hidden meaning which, one thought, could be read therein. It is the spirit within the writing, the spirit within the liturgy—especially in its space-visible appearance—that is sought, every effort being made to grub out the thought that must lie hid there.⁵⁶ Art in this period, whether concerned with animals and plants, or the attributes of the saints, or geometrical patterns, seeks principally to enlarge and explain this world of symbols. This is nothing more, really, than the logical consequence of carrying through Plato's theory of knowledge, with its sharp separation of the world of sense and the world of ideas. But with the switch to Aristotle and the new basis for a theory of knowledge—*Cognitio incipit a sensibus*—the world of sense, and the concrete phenomena of forms in divine worship along with it, at once appears in a new light. It deserves to be studied and appreciated for its own sake.

Albertus Magnus was the pathfinder who led the Scholastics along the new way of explaining Holy Mass.⁵⁷ First of all, he presents an enlightened and theologically grounded explanation of the course of that Mass that is for the most part derived from the text of the Mass *ordo*. Besides he makes repeated thrusts at the allegorical exposition, especially at the rememorative. He says it is *mirabile* to refer the silence of the Mass proper to events in the story of our Lord's Passion—things in no way touched upon in the text of the Mass.⁵⁸ In fact, in reference to the explanation that the kissing of the altar at the *Supplices* signified Judas' traitorous kiss, and the signs of the Cross that follow signify the bonds and ropes by which our Saviour was led to Annas, he says scornfully: *omnino profanum est et omnibus fidelibus abominandum*.⁵⁹ The different signification attached to the signs

⁵⁶ E. Mäle, *Die kirchliche Kunst des 13. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich* (German trans., L. Zuckerman, 1907), 24-34; P. Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality*, II (trans. S. J. Jacques; N. Y., 1924), 109-117: "The Symbolistic Conception of the Universe" (in the 12th century).

Cf. also A. Dempf, *Sacrum Imperium*

(Munich, 1929), 229-268: "Der deutsche Symbolismus des 12. Jh."

⁵⁷ Albertus Magnus, *De sacrificio missae* (*Opera omnia* ed. Borgnet, 38, 1-189). See in this connection Franz, 466-473.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, III, 2, 5 (80).

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, III, 15, 2 (130).

of the Cross at the *Quam oblationem* he termed: *deliramenta et hominum illiteratorum*.⁶⁰ But Albertus' objections made little headway. Allegory continued to hold the field. Even St. Thomas' *Summa Theologica* contained an interpretation of the Mass that made many concessions to allegory.⁶¹

One result of Scholastic thought must be acknowledged, the consideration given to the organization of the Mass into parts following one after the other. Allegorical thought was concerned mostly with a series of pictures, and either took their order for granted or considered the division a mere external.⁶² Now, however, intrinsic and theological viewpoints became paramount. Albertus Magnus had distinguished three parts: *introitus* (up to the collects inclusive), *instructio* (up to the *Credo* inclusive), and *oblatio*, with appropriate subdivisions for the last. This division recurs in the *Expositio missæ* of Nicholas Stoer, written about 1412.⁶³ Another outline derives from Alexander of Hales (d. 1245).⁶⁴ It is found in a bettered form in Bernard de Parentinis, O.P. (about 1340)⁶⁵ and in Henry of Hesse (d. 1397)⁶⁶; Henry heads the sections: *præparatio*, *instructio*, *oblatio*, *canon*, *communio*, *gratiarum actio*. Hugh of St. Cher, O.P. (d. 1263), like so many medieval authors, takes the Augustinian interpretation of the words of St. Paul, *obsecrationes*, *orationes*, *postulationes*, *gratiarum actiones*,⁶⁷ and applies them to the Mass, thus distinguishing four parts, of which the first embraces everything up to the *Sanctus*, the second takes in the canon, the third begins with the *Pater noster* and the fourth with the post-communion.⁶⁸

In these new attempts at a division of the Mass, the segment before the Epistle, as is remarked more than once, is (even today) instructive. But the weakest point in the outline is the placing of the preface. Since the Mass is viewed chiefly from the standpoint of the consecration and the canon is reckoned as beginning with the *Te igitur*, the prayer of thanks, which had such great importance in the ancient Church, no longer presents a problem. Albertus Magnus, and also Alexander of Hales and his

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, III, 10, 2 (118).

The examples mentioned, and others cited by Albert, are also found word for word in Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, III, 12; V, 5.

⁶¹ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.*, III, 83, 5. The section under consideration is not the work of Thomas himself, as is well known.

⁶² Franz, 460.

It is significant that Honorius Augustodunensis—and similarly Sicard—gives a seven-fold division, in which the fifth part is the canon, the sixth the blessing of the bishop (cf. *infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 3) and the seventh the kiss of peace. Franz, 422, 450 f.

⁶³ Franz, 529. Also in the *Compendium doctrinæ catholicæ* of Petrus Soto (1549);

see Ch. Moufang, *Katholische Katechismen des 16. Jh.* (Mainz, 1881), 352-362.

⁶⁴ Franz, 640 f. Its value is to be found not in the main divisions (*illuminatio*, *immolatio*, *rememoratio accepti beneficii*—the last meaning from the post-communion on), but in the detailed subdivisions. Slightly altered in William of Melitona, *Opusc. super missam* (ed. van Dijk), in *Eph. liturg.*, LIII (1939), 317-349.

⁶⁵ Franz, 505 f.

⁶⁶ That is, Henry of Langenstein, author of *Secreta sacerdotum*; Franz, 518.

⁶⁷ I Tim. 2:1; Augustine, *Ep.* 149, 16 (CSEL, XLIV, 362 f.).

⁶⁸ Hugh of St. Cher, *Tract. super missam* (Sölch, 11). The same division in Durandus, IV, 1, 50.

school, considered the preface a part of the offertory, a sort of conclusion to it. According to Belet, the second of the four Augustinian portions begins with the *secretæ*; the preface is thus drawn closer to the canon, but makes of it a very secondary member in the series.⁶⁹ Others take a middle course—like Hugh of St. Cher⁷⁰—by placing the preface in the first part of the Mass without further ado, and thus it becomes accidentally one of the preparatory acts for the consecration.

That is about all that Scholastic thought effected in the interpretation of the Mass. As for the development of the Mass-liturgy, or for all that, the development of an understanding of the Mass-liturgy, Scholasticism left scarcely a trace—a rather surprising thing. The *Rationale* of Durandus which is constructed entirely on the basis of allegory, continued to be the liturgical handbook for the late Middle Ages and beyond.⁷¹ And the later interpreters, whose number is not without weight, follow more or less along the same paths.⁷²

A further evolution was gradually effected. The vestments which the priest wore to the altar had been interpreted as signifying Christ's Passion. The next step was certain—to conceive of the Mass, not only from the canon but from the beginning on, as a presentation of Christ's suffering. An anonymous interpreter of the fifteenth century does just that.⁷³ According to him, when the priest goes to the altar our Lord is taken away captive, at the *Confiteor* he stands before Annas and Caiphas, etc. A more pronounced extension of this type of consideration does not however come to notice till the post-medieval Mass expositions.⁷⁴ A broadening-out of

⁶⁹ Jean Belet, *Explicatio*, ch. 43, ff. He calls the preface a *prælocutio quæ est ad ministerium præparatio* (ch. 45; PL, 202, 53 B), thus like Amalar, *De off. eccl.*, III, 21 (PL, CV, 1133 A), who had simply rendered the name as *præparatio*.

⁷⁰ The same is true of Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, II, 61 f. (PL, CCXVII, 835-840).

⁷¹ This is shown by the countless manuscripts and even more by the fact that by 1500 there were already 43 printings of the work.

⁷² As works of greater importance, though in part not printed, Franz lists and describes, amongst others: the interpretations of the Mass by Guido of Mont Rocher (circa 1333; Franz, 490 ff.), Henry of Hessen (circa 1390; *ibid.*, 517 ff.), Bernard of Waging (1462; *ibid.*, 566 ff.), Balthasar of Pforta, O.Cist. (circa 1494; *ibid.*, 584 ff.), John Bechofen, Erem. S. Aug. (circa 1500; *ibid.*, 592 ff.).

The *Expositio canonis missæ* of Magister Egeling Becker (circa 1450; *ibid.*, 537 ff.),

which grew out of a series of lectures, did not find a wide circulation until it was revised in 1488 by Gabriel Biel and reappeared in print under his name (*ibid.*, 550 ff.). This extensive work is essentially a study of the wording of the canon; sometimes the treatment of the more important ideas is built up into a theological tractate.

Nor was the number of smaller studies of the Mass at the end of the Middle Ages inconsiderable. How well-liked the discussions on this matter were is shown by the example of a university instructor, probably from Vienna, who used to spend his vacation with the Benedictines at Mondsee and repaid them for their hospitality by lecturing on the Mass. Franz, 565 ff.

⁷³ Surviving in a Stuttgart MS.; Franz, 740 f.

⁷⁴ Franz, 735 f.

Those who were affected by the *devotio moderna* towards the end of the 15th century sometimes engaged in a type of devotion for Mass based on the contemplation of Christ's Passion but freed more or

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the allegory of Christ's Passion resulted also from the elevation of the species at the consecration, a custom which grew, as we will see, from the thirteenth century on. This ceremony naturally suggested the raising of Christ on the Cross.⁷⁵

Besides, allegorical interpretation of the Mass again went awry in the late medieval period. Elements of different types of explanation were thrown together. The oft-changing explanation of the sign of the Cross did not fit well into the course of the Mass. In the last analysis, all that was needed was a little imagination to invent more arbitrary explanations for the various liturgical details which were already explained quite arbitrarily. So, besides the exclusive Passion interpretation there were other plans—seeing exemplified in the Mass the forty *opera* of Christ's life,⁷⁶ or his thirty-three years.⁷⁷ With the eclectic methods then in vogue this could lead only to further confusion.

That is precisely what happened, and since no one seemed able to manage any other form of devotion or interpretation, attempts were again made towards the end of the Middle Ages to bring order into the allegorizing by trying to establish a clear and neat series built up on a time basis. Of this sort are the explanations of Simon van Venlo⁷⁸ and Franz Titelmans (d. 1537).⁷⁹

Despite this vacillation, the fundamental theme of all Mass allegory was the suffering, or at least the life and suffering of Jesus. Our Lord's command, "Do this for a commemoration of me," was never lost sight of even in the plain and simple devotion of these centuries; rather it had been fulfilled in a sort of figurative fashion. Significant in this respect is the picture of St. Gregory's Mass, a theme repeatedly utilized by artists of the late

less from any consideration of the ceremonies; this devotion, however, was for clerics and religious. Franz, 26-28.

⁷⁵ Thus already explained by Berthold of Regensburg (d. 1272) in the first Latin sermon on the Mass, printed in Franz, 744. Likewise later interpreters like Ludolf of Saxony (d. 1377), *Vita D. N. Jesu Christi*, II, 56, 8 (Augsburg, 1729, p. 558), and John Bechhofen, *Quadruplex missalis expositio* (Basel, 1500; no page numbering). The latter relates the elevation of the sacred host to the *Ecce homo*, and the elevation of the chalice to the raising of our Lord on the Cross.

Moreover Radulphus Ardens (d. 1215), *Hom. 47* (PL, CLV, 1836), had already explained the older elevation at the words *accepit panem* as referring to Christ's being raised on the Cross.

⁷⁶ An interpretation of the Mass found in an Andechs MS. of the 15th century, in Franz,

609 f. Here are represented the entrance into the Virgin's womb, the flight into Egypt, etc.

⁷⁷ The Minorite Michael de Hungaria distinguishes 33 acts in the Mass which he refers to the 33 years of Christ's life. Franz, 675.

⁷⁸ M. Smits van Waesberghe, "Die misverklaring van Meester Simon van Venlo," *Ons geestelijk Erf*, XV (1941), 228-261; 285-327; XVI (1942), 85-129; 177-185; see esp. XVI (1942), 116 ff.

⁷⁹ Fr. Titelmans, *Mysteriorum missæ expositio* (Lyons, 1558). Here are some new suggestions that fit nicely into the full picture: the priest's sitting silently during the singing of the interposed chants after the Epistle is related to Christ's stay in the wilderness; the praise of God in the preface is related to the meal at Bethany, when the whole house was filled with the fragrance of the ointment.

Middle Ages. While Gregory is at Mass our Lord appears to him above the altar as a man of suffering, with the instruments of His Passion.⁸⁰ On the other hand, the notion of sacrifice as such, and of the sacrifice which is here consummated and which the Church here co-offers—that stays surprisingly in the background, even though the theologians hand on the traditional doctrine.⁸¹ The offertory procession is still the practice on many occasions, but in the various explanations of the Mass there is hardly any mention of the fact that the assembled people have a part in the oblation or at least participate in praising and honoring God. By the gifts which the faithful present at the offertory "*kauffent (sie) sich und frument sich in die marter Christi und in das verdienen seines leidens, das da wirt bedacht in der mess*"⁸²—they purchase and make available to themselves the sufferings of Christ and the merits of His Passion which is commemorated in the Mass. The Mass is viewed almost exclusively as an action of God. In the liturgical unfolding of the celebration of Mass, the action of the Church, its prayer of thanks, and its gift-offerings are no longer perceived as in former ages; only the work, the redeeming work of God. The priest alone is active. The faithful, viewing what he is performing, are like spectators looking on at a mystery-filled drama of our Lord's Way of the Cross. It is no accident, then, that Calderón in his *autos sacramentales* should employ the traditional medieval allegory to present a drama in which the whole economy of salvation, from Paradise to world's end, is hinged to the Mass; and yet never a word, either at the offertory or at the Communion, of the concelebration of the laity. The *eucharistia* has become an *epiphania*, an advent of God who appears amongst men and dispenses His graces. To gain a share in these graces, we are gathered before the altar, in an attitude of wondering contemplation that bespeaks our longing to take part in the Mass as often as possible.

It is no wonder that the allegorical method which reigned supreme through so many centuries should leave its traces on the Mass-liturgy which has come down to us. The Middle Ages inserted certain rites to make the sacred drama more potent. Amongst these, as we shall see, is the ceremony of hiding the paten under the corporal at the offertory—to signify our Lord's self-abasement and the hiding of His divinity in His Passion; the bowing of the head at the end of the *Memento of the Dead*—to signify our Saviour's death; the lifting of the voice at *Nobis quoque*—to

⁸⁰ R. Bauerreiss, "Gregoriusmesse," LThK, IV, 689 f.; Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 453-455.

⁸¹ How little and how seldom the idea of sacrifice entered into the liturgical thought of the 12th century is seen rather pointedly in the reasons given for daily Mass in Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 36 (PL, CLXXII, 555); daily Mass is celebrated, he says, so that (1) the laborers in the

vineyard—that is, the priests only—might be able to communicate; (2) that neophytes might be included in the Body of Christ (by the Baptismal Communion; cf. A. Landgraf, ZkTh, LXVI [1942] 119-131); and (3) that the *memoria passionis* might remain alive amongst the faithful.

⁸² The explanation of the Mass in a Stuttgart MS. of the 15th century; Franz, 705.

signify the cry of the captain of the guard; the five crosses at the doxology concluding the canon—to signify the five wounds; the anticipation of the commingling—as symbol of the Resurrection—so that the greeting *Pax Domini* might appear as the greeting of the risen Saviour; the lifting of hands and eyes before the last blessing—after the model of our Lord before the Ascension.⁸³

This consideration of the Mass as an epiphany, although brought to the fore by the allegorizing pattern, received, at one point at least, a further impetus and enforcement when, at the turn of the twelfth century, the practice of elevating host and chalice after the consecration came into being.⁸⁴ All our bodily eyes can see of Christ in the Eucharist is the sacramental covering and wrapping beneath which His Body and Blood are concealed, but medieval man was so eager⁸⁵ to view even this, that various devices were employed to render possible this perception of the Sacrament.⁸³

Out of the distant past, eucharistic thought had gradually taken a new turn, so that from the time of Isidore and the controversies of the ninth century it began little by little to look upon the Sacrament (omitting its symbolism) almost entirely from the viewpoint of the Real Presence.⁸⁷ This Presence and the mode of its achievement were the topics on which theologians focused their attention more and more. Since Anselm of Laon (d. 1117) and William of Champeaux (d. 1121) theological teaching had become more clear and precise, namely that in the Sacrament not only were the Body or the Blood of Christ present, but the whole Christ, *totus Christus*, was present.⁸⁸ Thus a formula was attained which blended well with the popular eagerness, nursed by allegory, to look at the Eucharist. The people had learnt that at Holy Mass the Blessed Sacrament was not so much a *thing*, Christ's Body and Blood as sacrificial gift and sacrificial meal, to be offered up prayerfully and received devoutly, but rather a *person*, the person of the Lord, to be accompanied thoughtfully on His path of redemption. Thus the contemplation of the Christ of history and His earthly-ethical appearance (thoughts which had grown more and more prominent in the popular consciousness since the time of St. Bernard)⁸⁹ could mingle with the contemplation of the Eucharist, and strengthen interest therein.⁹⁰

A like trend was produced by the defense against heretical agitation

⁸³ For further details see *infra*, Parts III and IV.

⁸⁴ The records of the origin and development of the rite will be studied in Vol. II, Chs. 2, 13.

⁸⁵ Cf. A. L. Mayer, "Die heilbringende Schau in Sitte und Kult," *Heilige Überlieferung, 11d. Herwegen zum silbernen Abtsjubiläum* (Münster, 1938), 234-262.

⁸⁶ E. Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie* (Paris, 1926); P. Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Munich,

1933), 26 ff., 49 ff.; Mayer, *op. cit.*, 255-262.

⁸⁷ Cf. H. de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum* (Paris, 1944), especially the comprehensive meditation, "du symbole à la dialectique," pp. 255-284.

⁸⁸ Geiselmann, *Die Abendmahlslehre*, 80 ff.

⁸⁹ Cf. the deductions regarding St. Bernard's delineation of Christ in W. Kahles, *Radbert und Bernhard* (Emsdetten, 1938).

⁹⁰ Still the older forms of speech continued to prevail. We still say *festum Corporis*

during the same period. The heresy of Berengarius of Tours (d. 1088), whose rationalistic explaining-away of the Real Presence had been condemned by various synods, was only a remote attack. The controversy raised by him had hardly gone beyond theological or clerical circles. Here, in any case, and especially in the monasteries, the greatest care was from this time on devoted to the forms with which the Sacrament was surrounded; prescriptions about the choice and preparation of the materials, the custom of keeping the fingers together which—after a special cleansing—had touched the Sacrament, the detailed rules for the ablution of the fingers and of the vessels after Communion.⁹¹

But in the wider ranks of the people a deep impact was first caused after the rise of the neo-Manichean heresy of the twelfth century which had been aroused over the wealth of a Church become a feudal institution. The heresy had grown particularly conspicuous and rank as Albigensianism. Along with its almost complete denial of the hierarchy and of the sacraments, it had rejected belief in the Eucharist.⁹² Here indeed was a struggle for the souls of men! The very word for heretic in German, *Ketzer* (Cathari), which originated at the time, suggests this very pointedly. The new teaching, with its ideal of a poor church and the primitive simplicity of its statements, was indeed alluring. It explained the Blessed Sacrament outright as simply bread, *purum panem*⁹³; it regarded its own blessing of bread as an equivalent substitute for the Eucharist.

On the Catholic side, however, even in the twelfth century, we begin to hear accounts of eucharistic miracles.⁹⁴ In place of the species of bread, our Lord was seen in His own human appearance. Even if these accounts cannot withstand critical examination, still they are professions of faith all the more emphatic because couched in the realistic language of the people.⁹⁵ Here again is a clear expression of that longing to see what is concealed in the Sacrament. Even if the ordinary Christian acknowledges his unworthiness to be favored by the visible appearance of the Redeemer, he will at least want to see the outward veil beneath which He lies hid.

Christi and the new elevation hymn uses the words *Ave verum Corpus* (*infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 2, 13). On the other hand see the formulas used to designate the Sacrament before Communion, e.g., in the *Rituale* of Bishop Henry I of Breslau (*infra*, Vol. II, Ch. 3, 12).

Another usage, very widespread in the later Middle Ages, substituted simply "God" for "Christ." Even Berthold of Regensburg (d. 1272) had already preferred the term *Gottesleichenam* (God's body); cf. his sermons, ed. Pfeiffer, II, 87 ff.

⁹¹ *Infra*, Vol. II, Chap. I, 3; 2, 13; 3, 16.

⁹² G. G. Grant, S.J., "The elevation of the

host a reaction to twelfth century heresy," *Theological Studies*, I (1940), 228-250.

⁹³ Radulphus Ardens (d. 1215), *Serm. in dom. 8 post Trin.* (PL, CLV, 2011).

⁹⁴ Grant, 247 f. Cf. P. Browe, *Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters* ("Breslauer Studien zur hist. Theologie," N.F. 4; Breslau, 1938).

⁹⁵ Abbot Ekebert of Schönau (d. 1184), *Serm.* 11, 15 (PL, CXCIV, 93 f.) confronts the Cathari with the story of St. Gregory's Mass (cf. *supra*, p. 116). Alanus ab Insulis (d. 1203), *Contra haereticos*, I, 62 (PL, CCX, 365) speaks about a great number of eucharistic miracles which had occurred *propter infirmitatem quorundam*.

That was for him, at the same time a substitute for sacramental communion which was then seldom permitted him.

For such a view of the host the first opportunity was offered by an old traditional rite, when at the words *accepit panem* the priest took the bread in his hands, as once our Lord himself had done, and lifted it slightly. Urged by the desire of the people, the priests emphasized and augmented the rite. But since the interest of the people was centered not only on the outward act of oblation but on the presence of our Lord (which was not yet at this moment actual), many bishops were greatly concerned lest the people adore the bread, and so about 1210 a decree of the Bishop of Paris introduced the regulation which determined everywhere that the priest should elevate the Host only after the words of consecration, and so high then that all might see and adore.

Thus the Mass acquired a new center, a new focal point, and the devotion of the people acquired an object which corresponded to their understanding and to which they thenceforth clung tenaciously. To see the celestial mystery—that is the climax of the Grail-legend in which, at this same period, the religious longing of the Middle Ages found its poetic expression.⁹⁶ And as in the Grail-legend many grace-filled results were expected from seeing the mystery, so too at Mass.⁹⁷ Esteem for this opportunity to look upon the Host went to such lengths that it was placed side by side with Holy Communion, and the question was asked, would sinners commit a new mortal sin by looking at the sacred Host?⁹⁸

To look at the sacred Host at the elevation became for many in the later

⁹⁶ Even in the oldest poetic version of the Grail story, that of Chrétien de Troyes (circa 1168-1190), the Grail procession formed a culmination, a climax. Here the Grail appears as a mysterious, jewel-studded vessel in which the Eucharist is brought to the ailing King (v. 3220 ff.; cf. v. 6423). In the brilliance that emanates from it the light of the accompanying candles fades away as do the stars before a bright moon. Cf. K. Burdach, *Der Gral* ("Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte," 14; Stuttgart, 1938), 415 ff. See also A. E. Waite, *The Holy Grail, Its Legends and Symbolism* (London, 1933).

While in Chrétien the miraculous, life-giving effects are still traced to the host contained in the Grail, in the work attributed to Robert de Borron (about the turn of the 12th century) and in that of Wolfram von Eschenbach, these effects are ascribed to the Grail itself, and are produced by looking at it. Burdach, 456 f., 475, 516.

But about Burdach's attempt to trace the

main elements of the Grail legend to the Greek liturgy we must say what M. Lot-Borodine said about the more precise thesis outlined by E. Anitschkof in three articles in *Romania*, LVI (1930) to LIX (1933); cf. the notice in *JL*, XIII (1935), 402 f.

⁹⁷ It is in the first decade of the 13th century that mention is first made of the wonderful effects of gazing at the Eucharist; see Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie*, 18f. There is a startling parallel here, but the notion that the efficacy of the vision of the Grail was transferred to the Eucharist is rightly repudiated by Dumoutet, *op. cit.*, 27 f.

⁹⁸ Dumoutet, 18-25; Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter*, 59-61. The question was answered by theologians in the negative. Still those who were under excommunication or interdict were sometimes expressly forbidden even to look at the Eucharist; it was to get around this prohibition that now and then the persons concerned made holes in the church walls. Browe, 61 f.

Middle Ages the be-all and end-all of Mass devotion. See the Body of Christ at the consecration and be satisfied! In the cities people ran from church to church, to see the elevated Host as often as possible,⁹⁹ since rich rewards could be expected from such a practice.¹⁰⁰ People even started lawsuits to ensure their getting a favorable view of the altar.¹⁰¹ There are examples of congregations where the majority of the faithful waited for the sance-bell signalling the approach of the consecration before they entered the church and then after the elevation they rushed out as quickly as they had come in.¹⁰²

Of course such abuses were discountenanced, but the underlying usage itself gradually obtained ecclesiastical approval.¹⁰³ Great preachers knew how best to inculcate the right attitude. Berthold of Regensburg in one of his sermons on the Mass cried out: "At the elevation of the Sacrament the priest seems to be saying three things to you: See the Son of God who, for your sakes, shows His wounds to the Heavenly Father; see the Son of God who, for your sakes, was thus lifted on the Cross; see the Son of God who will come to judge the living and the dead."¹⁰⁴ For this reason some wanted the elevation of the sacred Host at this spot to be not a mere momentary lifting but an actual "showing" lasting some time, so that the congregation could greet and worship the Body of the Lord in prayerful song. The ceremony might even be repeated at other places in the Mass—at the end of the canon¹⁰⁵ or after the Agnus Dei¹⁰⁶—and it was not to be omitted even on Good Friday.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, naturally, warnings about moderation had to be given, since some priests seemed to know no bounds.¹⁰⁸

⁹⁹ Browe, 66-68

¹⁰⁰ A Graz MS. of the 15th century indicates that on that day, among other things, one will not lose one's eyesight, will not starve, will not meet a sudden death; that heedless words will be forgiven, etc. Franz, 103; cf. 70.

¹⁰¹ Dumoutet, 67 f.

It could happen—as it did in England—that if the celebrant did not elevate the host high enough, the people would cry out: "Hold up, Sir John, hold up. Heave it a little higher." Fortescue, *The Mass*, 341 f.

¹⁰² They rush out of the church *quasi diabolium vidissent*, is the moan of the Franciscan Michael de Hungaria, *Sermones dominicales* (Hagenau, 1498), Sermon 74; Dumoutet, 69. A similar complaint is registered by a Westphalian preacher; Franz, 18.

¹⁰³ Theologians manifested a certain reserve as early as the end of the 14th century; the people's interest lagged after the 16th. Dumoutet, 29 ff.

¹⁰⁴ Franz, 744. Cf. Bridgett, *A History of*

the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain (London, 1908), 100-102.

¹⁰⁵ Thus the ancient elevation of host and chalice grew into a sort of "showing," tied in often with the *Pater noster*; see *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 2.

¹⁰⁶ Thus for a time the Dominicans; Browe, 63. This was but an augmentation of the custom they still have at present of holding the host over the chalice from the *Agnus Dei* to the Communion; see *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 7.

The *Officiarium curatorum* of Autun, printed in 1503, opposes such customs with the injunction that the host is to be shown only once, because Christ was crucified only once, but it adds: *quamvis secundum aliquos trina fiat ostensio propter crucifixionem linguarum Judæorum dicentium, Crucifige*; Dumoutet, 55.

¹⁰⁷ Browe, 64. The practice is retained to this very present.

¹⁰⁸ Browe, 63 f. There were even ecclesiastics who took a stipend for these longer "showings"; Dumoutet, 70 f.

However, it was not long before this "showing" was freed from its connection with the Mass, and, with the introduction of the monstrance, was transferred to other occasions. From the beginning of the fourteenth century it became customary to carry the Blessed Sacrament, unconcealed, in solemn procession through the streets on the feast of Corpus Christi, a feast which had come to the fore since 1246 as a result of the new movement.¹⁰⁹ Then, during the high Mass that followed, it was allowed to remain on the altar; this was continued through the entire octave, and sometimes the solemn exposition was extended through the whole period of the choral office in this festival season.¹¹⁰ During this same fourteenth century it even became customary to leave the Blessed Sacrament exposed on other feast-days of the year, especially on Maundy Thursday, in connection with the Votive Mass of the Blessed Sacrament.¹¹¹

Mass before the Blessed Sacrament exposed, which then became customary and which, after the Reformation, along with the rest of the exposition cult—again as a protest against heresy—was given a new impetus, was from then on the most striking expression of the fact that in the whole course of the Mass-liturgy interest and understanding was still centered mostly on the moment of consecration. There was still a desire that this moment and the corresponding elevation of the Host might be stretched out through the whole Mass.¹¹² Roman legislation had always held aloof from these efforts which had, in the years to follow, grown to great proportions particularly in the south; for such things Rome allowed very little leeway.¹¹³

Towards the end of the Middle Ages there arose, out of the same zeal for honoring the Blessed Sacrament, a rite which penetrated everywhere

¹⁰⁹ Browe, 98 f.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 154 f.

¹¹¹ Browe, 141-154. In Klosterneuburg a weekly solemn Votive Mass in honor of the Blessed Sacrament was instituted as early as 1288; Schabes, *Alle liturgische Gebräuche*, 71.

In my own native parish, Taufers in the Pustertal, during my youth it was still customary every Thursday to celebrate this Votive Mass, the so-called "Pfinstagamt," as a *missa cantata* with exposition. The practice was discontinued in 1910. While here the choice of Thursday makes it plain that the reason for the custom was thankfulness for the institution of the Blessed Sacrament, there are to this day parishes in the Alpine countries where every day there is celebrated either a Requiem or a "Segenmesse," that is, a German *Singmesse* before the Sacrament exposed.

¹¹² The notion that the whole liturgy was

properly only a decorative framework for the accomplishment of the Sacrament was given rather unreserved utterance in the metrical *Pastorale novellum* of the Beromünster choirmaster, Rudolf von Liebenegg (d. 1332): *Missa sacramento servit specialiter isti, Cuius ad ornatum patres hanc constituerunt, Præcipue Jacobus et Basilius venerandi*. Franz, 488. Cf. in a similar vein Heinrich von Hessen (d. 1397); *ibid.*, 518.

¹¹³ See Codex Jur. Can., c. 1274 and the numerous sources noted there. Cf. J. Kramp, *Eucharistia. Essays on Eucharistic Liturgy and Devotion* (trans. Wm. Busch; St. Paul, 1926), 111-157.

Nicholas of Cusa (circa 1400-1464), when sent by Nicholas V as papal legate to Northern Germany and the Netherlands, 1450-1452, took a very determined stand against the practices of long expositions and exposition Masses (outside of Corpus Christi). Browe, *Die Verehrung*, 170-172.

and changed the outward picture of the Mass-liturgy between consecration and Communion, ornamenting and enlivening it in remarkable fashion—the genuflection before and after every touching of the Blessed Sacrament. This was not known before the fourteenth century.¹¹⁴ Thus at this very late date there was transferred to the Blessed Sacrament a token of honor which—like the use of lights and incense, and throne and baldachin—originated in princely ceremonial and from thence had long ago been taken over into the liturgy as an honor to persons.¹¹⁵

A clear parallel to the conception and presentation of the Mass-liturgy as a dramatic play which appeals primarily to the eyes of the onlooker was to be found in the efforts made to enrich also the audible side of the liturgical action.

Gregorian Chant had already achieved a great height in the eighth century, especially in Rome itself. Not a few Frankish and Anglo-Saxon clerics, coming to Rome, had taken the trouble to procure from Rome books and teachers of the ecclesiastical chant. It was an art-song rich in melodies, demanding a *schola* properly trained, but—save for the accompaniment of boy voices singing an octave higher—strictly built on the principle of unison. But even in the last years of the Carolingian period the first waves of ornamental enrichment had risen. At that, it affected chiefly only the text.¹¹⁶

The long melismas or series of notes, often built upon a single syllable, seemed to have had little appeal to Germanic tastes. So new texts were created in which each syllable corresponded to a note of the given melody. This is the original form of the so-called *tropes*. They were sung as decorative covering by one part of the choir, while the rest of the singers sang the foundation text to the same melody. In the tenth century they had spread everywhere, on festive occasions accompanying first the Proper parts of the Mass, later on also the Ordinary, from introit and *Kyrie* right through to the end of the Mass, sometimes including also the *Ite missa est*. At the same time, corresponding phrases were inserted in the traditional melody along with the corresponding text, or—especially in the introit—introductory phrases preceded the melody. A very special case was the sequence which arose out of the many-toned melodies of the alleluia. It then acquired an independent existence, was developed far and wide during the Middle Ages, and produced thousands of poems. It is noteworthy that Rome and Italy, which showed the greatest reserve towards Gothic art, were also very reluctant to admit the sequences which

¹¹⁴ See *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 2, 13.

¹¹⁵ A genuflection is still prescribed for the clergy whenever they pass before the bishop; *Cæremoniale episc.*, I, 18, 3. The relation to the ancient *προσκύνησις* is made clear in *Ordo Rom. VIII* (8th century), n. 7, which enjoins upon the candidate for episcopal

consecration a triple *prostratio* before the pope.

¹¹⁶ Ursprung, *Die kath. Kirchenmusik*, 67-75; Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 248-299; Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1940), 185-193. The exact origin of the tropes and sequences has not yet been determined with sufficient clarity.

were the very first metrical productions to be introduced into the Mass. Since as a rule only new texts were under consideration, this enrichment of the liturgy was generally of value only to clerics who understood Latin.

But new melodies too, were composed, especially after the year 1000, melodies for those texts which were repeated at every Mass, the texts of the Ordinary. Up to this time the chants of the Ordinary had the same simple recitative character as the altar chants of the priest; in fact, they were often only continuations of these¹¹⁷—or like the acclamations and responses from which they differed only in length.¹¹⁸ They were little more than elevated speech, relieved by certain cadences. Everyone could therefore take part in them.

A corroboration of what has been said is found in the fact that only by way of exception is the *schola cantorum* mentioned as carrying these melodies.¹¹⁹ It is true that even in the Carolingian period they were not as a rule sung by the people—excepting perhaps the *Sanctus*—but they were at least at this time and, in general, also in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, reserved for the clerics in the sanctuary who formed the choir.¹²⁰ The trained singers who sang the chants of the *Proprium* would naturally take the lead here, and as the chants of the Ordinary grew more ornate, gradually take over. This was the case with the *Kyrie* as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries. The songs of the fore-Mass thus assumed a greater importance than those of the Mass proper.¹²¹ Richer melodies for the

¹¹⁷ In this class belongs the Gregorian Mass numbered XVIII in the *Kyriale*, still used at present on ferias in Advent and Lent and, with changes, at Requiems.

¹¹⁸ Actually not only the *Kyrie*, but also the *Sanctus*, *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei* have an acclamatory quality at least in a wider sense, and even the *Gloria* is composed in good part of acclamatory materials.

¹¹⁹ This is the case, in part, in the Roman *Ordines*, especially clear in that of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 456, 458) and in the Roman city *Ordo XI*, n. 18 (PL, LXXVIII, 1032 f.).

¹²⁰ Wagner's opinion, expressed in *Einführung*, I, 61, that by the 11th/12th century the choir displaced not only the people but also the clergy at singing, cannot be sustained, at least in this general form. True, the authors do usually ascribe the singing to the *chorus*, but as a rule this included not only the *schola cantorum* but all the clergy present in "choir." This is especially plain in John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 38; cf. 36 ff.): the kiss of peace is given in *utroque choro*, and then at once the *chorus* sings the *Agnus Dei*. Sicard of Cremona, *Mitrale*, III, 2 (PL,

CCXIII, 96 f.), in describing the singing of the *Kyrie*, uses *chorus* and *clerus* as synonymous.

But there is another terminology, to be noticed in Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 6, 7, 16, 19, 23, etc. (PL, CLXXII, 545, etc.), where a distinction is made between the *chorus* as a singing choir and the *clerus*.

In our study of the individual chants of the Ordinary we will have the occasion to note that the clergy still undertook them as late as the 12th and 13th centuries. Of a lay element in the choirs the liturgists of this period as yet make no mention.

¹²¹ This distinction, in which the considerations that led to the silence of the canon continue to function, was consciously kept in view for a long time. Even polyphony was restricted at first to the texts of the fore-Mass; Ursprung, *Die Kath. Kirchenmusik*, 121. Likewise Nicholas of Cusa, in the course of the reform he undertook as papal legate, wanted to restrict the use of the organ to the Mass of the Catechumens; *ibid.*, 163 f. He made the same demand as bishop of Brixen; G. Bickell, *Synodi Brix-*

Sanctus and *Agnus Dei* were not created until somewhat later. The *Gloria* and *Credo* retained a simple, psalmodic-recitative character even in the new forms they now acquired.¹²² Still the musical ornamentation of the chants of the Ordinary had become so elaborate by the time of St. Bernard (d. 1153) that, under the reform of church music begun with his cooperation, it was thought these forms would have to be banned from use in churches of his order.¹²³ At that time the chants of the Ordinary were not conceived as units. The oldest example of a chant Mass comprehending all its parts as a unit is one originating about the end of the thirteenth century, a Mass still frequently sung, the *Missa de Angelis*.¹²⁴

Gradually *chorus* begins to mean something new. It turns into a choir of singers separated from the clergy, often composed of laics, and independent even as regards its place in the church. First it rambled to the rood-loft, the high reading- and singing-gallery often found in Gothic structures in place of the sanctuary enclosure between the choir and the nave, and elevated in its entire width. Later it finally wandered to the upper gallery which was built at the back of the church.

Polyphony begins to take on some importance in Church music. The first attempts at counterpoint, starting in the ninth century, affected only the songs of the *Proprium*. These attempts resulted from the use of a second voice singing an accompaniment to the main melody at the interval of a fourth or fifth. The text might be with a trope or without. And the accompanying voice—*vox organalis*—might be an instrument.¹²⁵ In the twelfth century it is the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris that takes the lead. On festive occasions the gradual or alleluia was sung not to the chant melody alone, but a second or even a third or fourth voice was added here and there in a free independent movement. And sometimes, where an over-elaborate melisma presented the opportunity, a special text, often even one in the vernacular, was added to the proper one.¹²⁶ Of a similar sort, but of course not so high a rank was the song art of the travelling singers who, we are told, were wont to sing their verses at Mass *super Sanctus et Agnus Dei*.¹²⁷ Such music seemed to suit the time which liked this type of light

nenses sac. XV (Innsbruck, 1880), 34.

The same idea, in a new dress, is proposed today by E. Drinkwelder, O.S.B., *Die Grundfunktion der Gesänge im Amt: Heiliger Dienst*, II (Salzburg, 1948), 143-145.

¹²² Ursprung, 57 f.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 93.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 58.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 116 ff.; cf. also Eisenhofer, I, 231-233. Further notes on organum and dis-cant in G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (N. Y., 1940), 249-330.

¹²⁶ The so-called "motets"; see the tables in Ursprung, 129f., with examples from MSS. of the 13th/14th centuries. A late German

example is presented in a Klosterneuburg MS. of 1551; here the Easter Mass *Resurrexi* has a polyphonic setting with an upper voice accompanying the Latin text with the German Easter hymn, *Christ ist erstanden*; Schabes, 150. See the discussion in Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1940), 311 ff.

¹²⁷ The Synod of Trier (1227), can. 9 (Mansi, XXIII, 33). Other synods which forbade the appearance of *ioculatores, truttanni* or *goliardi* in Browe, *Die Pflichten-kommunion*, 97.

There was even some consideration of refusing players and ballad-singers Com-

embellishment. But it was a dangerous road to take. So warning voices were raised to safeguard the seriousness of the traditional ecclesiastical chant and even to induce the ecclesiastical authority to take a definite stand.¹²⁸

As a matter of fact the art of Church music did again confine itself to stricter bounds during the last centuries of the Middle Ages. It was satisfied—especially in Germany—to accompany the Gregorian Chant melodies at holyday services, even (and later, especially) the music of the Ordinary, with a form of falso bordone, as it was the practice to do—and is still done today in many churches—in psalmody.¹²⁹ By the fourteenth century the organ had been perfected enough to make its entrance everywhere in the larger churches, provided no stricter principles stood in the way, and could perform a like duty.¹³⁰ About this same time in France the first example of Mass composition in our modern sense begins to appear—compositions in which all the parts of the Ordinary of the Mass, from *Kyrie* to *Agnus Dei* are set to polyphony and are no longer bound down to the Gregorian Chant, even though chant melodies are used as a *canto fermo* or are interwoven with the harmony.¹³¹ When, in 1377, the papal court returned with Pope Gregory XI from Avignon to Rome, the papal singers brought the art of polyphony with them to Italy. Slowly the new art spread to other countries. It did not get the same joyous reception everywhere; thus Swiss monasteries were very reserved in their attitude, and at St. Gall it was banned from divine service even as late as 1560.¹³² But all in all a new period had begun in the history of Church music and in the history of the external embellishment of the liturgy.¹³³

munion; *ibid.*, 93 ff. Cf. W. Bäumker, *Zur Geschichte der Tonkunst* (Freiburg, 1881), 106-122.

¹²⁸ In this connection an enactment of the II Ec. Council of Lyons (1274) is often cited (but hardly with right); amongst other things it forbids *publica parlamenta* (Mansi, XXIV, 99 A); a reference to singing (*quod . . . ars cantus melius docetur*) is found in the Appendix, III, 1 (*ibid.*, XXIV, 130 B). More emphatic is one of the decretals of John XXII of 1324-5, which does not condemn polyphony outright but does expressly forbid that the plainsong melodies be smothered *triplis et motetis vulgaribus*; *Corpus Jur. Can., Extrav. comm.* III, 1 (Friedberg, II, 1256). Cf. Ursprung, 138 f. This decretal and other references to church music conveniently available in *Oxford History of Music*, ed. H. E. Wooldridge, (2nd ed., 1929), I, 290 ff.

¹²⁹ Ursprung, 141 f. For a study of fauxbourdon and English discant see Reese, 398 ff.

¹³⁰ Ursprung, 163 f.

¹³¹ Ursprung, 147 f.; P. Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe*, I (Kleine Handbücher der Musikgeschichte, XI, 1; Leipzig, 1913). A study of Machaut's Mass and the *Messe de Tournai* in Reese, 356.

¹³² Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe*, 27, note.

¹³³ How sweeping this change was is seen, for instance, in the choice of the patrons of music. In the high tide of the Chant it was St. Gregory the Great; at the start of the polyphonic era it was John the Baptist (at whose birth his father had been given back his speech). But now the heavenly patronage is switched to St. Cecilia, on account of the words *cantantibus organis* in her Office, although amongst the Irish her musical association had long been cultivated. All in all the development in the musical world as well as in the entire later medieval culture was from unity and simplicity to plurality and multiplicity. B. Ebel, "Die Kirchenmusik als sinnbildlicher Ausdruck

During the years that followed, the chants of the *Proprium*, whose texts were built up on the lyrical materials of the psalms and which had been knowingly inserted into the "rest" periods of the service as an artistic element, retained the archaic simplicity of their ancient traditional Gregorian melodies.¹³⁴ But the unassuming acclamatory phrases, in which originally the people were able to frame their cries of prayer and praise, or in which at any rate, represented by the clergy, they professedly resumed and continued the altar chants of the priest—these were fitted out in the pomp of polyphony.¹³⁵ Even if these latter texts (with the exception perhaps of the *Credo* which arose out of the doctrinal struggle of the East, the recitation of which was in part at least quite prosaic), because of the pithiness of the words, proved favorable to an artistic handling and were not ill-fitted for the musical development of their contents, still it was precisely this artistic elevation above the ordinary plane that put them beyond the reach of the people who were called upon to cooperate, and so to a certain extent the texts departed from their proper function.

In view of the foreign language of the liturgy, the only possible pathway was again the stressing of the *Ordinarium*, since there was no question, in general, of creating new texts.¹³⁶ Through the development of these various choral Masses, a road was opened to getting away from the traditional melodies. The texts were always the same, and their meaning could easily be explained even to people not knowing Latin; hence these texts lent support to the propagation or spread which came about through their new musical setting. Their constant repetition made their performance rather easy. And if the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* especially filled in with their sound the vacancy left in the canon, this was a compensation to the hearing of the congregation for whom the basic tone of the *eucharistia* was thus once more rightfully restored where it had been barred by the silence of the canon and, fundamentally, by the insertion of the intercessory prayers.

12. The Close of the Middle Ages and the Tridentine Reform

The designation of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as the "autumn of the Middle Ages" (Huizinga) proved to be exceptionally apt in the history of the liturgy and not least in that of the Mass. There is indeed a rich and manifold growth, as we have just seen exemplified in Church music.

der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen im Wandel der Zeiten," *Liturg. Leben*, V (1938), 223-233, esp. 230 ff.

¹³⁴ The only exception was the *Requiem* which still incorporates both Ordinary and Proper.

¹³⁵ Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 61, arrives at

this judgment from a different viewpoint: "This evolution of things brought about no special gain."

¹³⁶ An exception is to be found in the songs at the consecration and, partly, in the new Communion songs (*infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 2, 13 and 3, 14).

New forms, new inferences are continually being developed. But the inferences are developed only from what is already at hand. There is no cutting back to the living roots, no springing forth of new, healthy growths. Scholastic theology produced nothing for the liturgy of the Mass or for a better understanding of it. So the forms appear over-ripe, the growth becomes dry and withered.

But all this does not hold so true for the text of the Mass *ordo*. Even though here too, especially outside Italy, the preparatory prayers, the versicles and invocations of the prayers at the foot of the altar, the blessings at the offertory, the hymnic greetings before the Communion have become prevalent, still, since they are all the silent prayers of the priest, this is all more or less in the background. However, within the ambit of the Ordinary there were some things that fit more surely into the description we have given—the musical expansion mentioned in the last chapter and the increase in the forms by which the Sacrament is venerated.

Reverence for the Sacrament led to a change in policy regarding the handling of the sacred Host by lay people. No lay hand was allowed to touch it, even if that meant depriving a dying person of Viaticum. It was a very special favor when Popes of the fourteenth century gave to princes in certain instances the permission to touch the chalice on Communion days with their bare hands.¹ In the late Middle Ages the corporal was often shown honor that amounted to superstition.² For the washing of the corporal special prayers were composed.³ In this same connection we might note that the chapters on the *pericula* or *defectus* which might occur in the Mass grew larger and larger. The early medieval period had already considered certain contingencies, like spilling the chalice or dropping a particle, and had prescribed stern punishments for them.⁴ Now pertinent mistakes and defects are discussed and decided with reference to theology and from the practical viewpoint of what to do so that due reverence will be shown towards the Sacrament in every instance. Innocent III had considered certain cases at some length⁵ and St. Thomas devotes an Article of his *Summa* to them.⁶ But new *pericula* were constantly being discovered—even such as: what if the Lord should appear in *specie carnis vel pueri!*⁷—and for each, corresponding instructions were given.⁸

¹ Browe, "Die Sterbekommunion im Altertum und Mittelalter," ZkTh, LX (1936), 13.

² Franz, 88-92.

³ Breviarium of Linköping of the year 1493 (J. Freisen, *Manuale Lincopense*, Paderborn, 1904, p. XIX).

⁴ P. Browe, "Liturgische Delikte und ihre Bestrafung im Mittelalter," *Theologie u. Glaube*, XXVIII (1936), 53-64.

⁵ Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, IV, 11; 16; 24; 31 f. (PL, CCXVII, 863; 873; 877 f.). Cf. also the work attributed to Odo

of Paris, *Præcepta synod.*, c. 22 ff. (Mansi, XXII, 681 f.).

⁶ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.*, III, 83, 6.

⁷ Franz, 474, note 1; Beck, 330.

Bernard de Parentinis devotes to the *pericula* the third of three main sections of his exposition of the Mass (ab. 1340); Franz, 505 f. Cf. also *ibid.*, 491, 605.

⁸ A selection of the useful portion has been inserted in our Missal as the chapter *De defectibus in celebratione missarum occurrentibus*.

Of course here it was often only a lack of proportion—too much of a good thing! But considerable consequences were to be feared from the one-sided discussions and the unenlightened and isolated popularizing of another phase in the teaching of the Mass, the phase of the effects of the Mass. That the Mass not only offers God due honor but also redounds to the welfare of living and dead was already a conviction of Christian antiquity. But now this side of the sacrifice comes to the fore. In the declining Middle Ages it becomes the main theme of sermons on the Mass.⁹ Formal enumerations of the fruits of the Mass are compiled, especially of those fruits which derive from a devout hearing of Holy Mass.¹⁰ Such enumerations first appear in the thirteenth century. People were satisfied then with four or five or six points, with the spiritual effects foremost.¹¹ But soon it became ten fruits, finally twelve. The editor of a German version of them made the remark that "the formulas for the fruits of the Mass take on a more gross appearance the nearer they stand to the end of the Middle Ages."¹² For each of the spiritual effects a Father of the Church is cited in support—no matter how incredible the effect may sound.¹³ Although contemporary theology did not approve such exaggerations, still they were able to flourish unimpeded in the homiletic and devotional literature of the day. That meant the people were encouraged to zealous attendance at Holy Mass, but also they were lulled into a false security, as though the salvation of their souls could be assured by merely hearing Mass.¹⁴

With this exaggerated description of the effects of the Mass, another fact is intimately connected, the Votive Mass. Towards the end of the Middle Ages there appear numerous new formularies.¹⁵ And they are ar-

⁹ Franz, 738 f.

¹⁰ A considerable portion in Franz, 36-72: The "Fruits" of the Mass, is devoted to this matter. Cf. also *supra*, p. 117.

¹¹ Franz, 37 f. The heart of the matter is found in the following assurances: One returns from Mass *quasi deificus, minor peccato, confortatus contra diabolum, felicitior quam prius*.

¹² Franz, 40.

¹³ Thus Augustine is saddled with the statement that during the time one hears Mass one does not grow older; Franz, 51; cf. 57. Other fruits are these: after hearing Mass one's food tastes better; one will not die a sudden death; the souls in Purgatory will not have to suffer while one is hearing Mass for them, etc. In a poetic rendering which appeared about the 14th century, the first of the fruits of the Mass is thus described: If one owned all that sun and moon shone upon, and he gave it all to the poor, and if he wandered over the face of the earth, in heat and cold, in hunger and thirst,

that would not do his soul as much good as the hearing of one Mass; Franz, 48 f.

Similar presentations of the *virtutes missarum* circulated in England; see examples in Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, 131 f.; 366-371.

As a rule the emphasis was laid on a devout attendance in the state of grace. A portion of these assurances was transferred to the devout looking at the Host; see *supra*, Chapter 11, note 100.

¹⁴ See the conclusion in Franz, 71 f. Also *ibid.*, 61-71, a theological discussion of each of the medieval "fruits of the Mass."

¹⁵ To those already at hand are added formularies of Masses against various sicknesses, against dangers to right and property, against attacks by an enemy, and especially formularies in honor of those saints who were honored as patrons and protectors in these various situations; see the thorough treatment in Franz, 115-217; numerous examples also in Ferreres, *Historia del Misal Romano*, 350-376.

ranged in marked and defined series, the particular order of the Masses being thought to obtain certain specified results. The start of this custom of a series of Masses is traced to the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory the Great, where we read—though without a particular significance being attached to the numbers—that Mass was said for a deceased person in one case for seven days in a row, in another for thirty.¹⁶ This example had successors all through the medieval period.¹⁷ But it was not till the last few centuries that any arrangement was decided upon and carefully planned out. Series are stipulated for 3, 5, 6, 7, 9 and 30 Masses, even for 41, 44 or 45, for the benefit of the dead and also for the wishes and intentions of the living. For each Mass a specified formula, independent of the day's Mass, is prescribed; sometimes, too, a specified number of candles and a specified number of alms-gifts are stipulated.¹⁸ What was really questionable in this practice of Mass series and Votive Masses was the assurance—recurring time and again—of unfailling results. Such assurance could even be seen in Mass books; *Si quis positus in aliquo necessitatis articulo has triginta missas celebraverit vel celebrare petierit, liberabitur sine mora.*¹⁹

It is hardly to be wondered at that the faithful seized upon an easy means like this which coincided with their own mania for miracles. And so there arose during the last centuries of the Middle Ages an unnatural multiplication of Masses and, along with it, an unnatural increase in clergy of whom a part, at least, derived their entire income from Masses either through endowments (foundations or chantries) or by way of Mass stipends.²⁰ For the most part they celebrated Votive Masses or Masses for

¹⁶ Gregory the Great, *Dial.* IV, 55 (PL, LXXVII, 416-421).

¹⁷ K. Eberle, *Der Tricenarius des hl. Gregorius* (Regensburg, 1890), 20-38.

¹⁸ Franz, 218-291; L. A. Veit, *Volksfrommes Brauchtum und Kirche im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg, 1936), 26 ff.

Thus, for example, a septenary for each day of the week included on the first day a Mass *de Trinitate* with three candles and three alms; on the second *de angelis* with nine candles and nine alms, etc.; Franz, 254, 255, 258 f., 265 ff. Other examples of the Gregorian trentals and votive lists in Bridgett, *A History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*, 131 ff.

¹⁹ Missal of St. Lambrecht of 1336: Köck, 34. Similar assurances in other Styrian missals, *ibid.*, 27; 36 f.; 41 f.; 74; 81; 83; 137; 138; 139. Cf. Franz, 250, 262, 266, 270, 278, etc. For Hungary, see Radó, 171 f.

²⁰ Towards the end of the Middle Ages every town had countless "altarists" ("altar-thanes") who had no other duty except to

say Mass and the Office. Strassburg, for instance, in 1521 had 120 Mass foundations; L. Pfleger, *Kirchengeschichte der Stadt Strassburg* (Colmar o. J., 1941), 172. Further details in F. Falk, "An der Wende des 15. Jh.," *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, CXII (1893, II), 545-559. In England Henry VIII suppressed 2,374 chantries just before his death; Bridgett, *History of the Eucharist*, 136.

The rise of this spiritual proletariat was a source as well as an effect of these curious views. W. Neuss, *Das Problem des Mittelalters* (Colmar o. J., 1943), 26 f., shows that the increase of these city clerics who were unemployed was associated with the fact that in many of the guilds only a specified number of craftsmen and laborers were given entry. This gave the impulse to find some security for the other young people of the town in the clerical state, sometimes by means of established foundations, but more often on the chance of making something out of the various Mass bequests.

the Dead, since these the people wanted most.²¹

This multiplicity of Masses had its effect on the rites and ceremonies. Some of the Masses were celebrated with chant. But since in churches only one Mass could be sung, a solution was worked out by which several such Masses could be celebrated in close succession. These were the so-called "Boxed Masses" which followed each other in this way: one Mass was sung to the offertory or to the *Sanctus*, then continued as a low Mass while at another altar a second Mass was begun.²² But the most pronounced result of the multiplying of Masses was the increase in low Masses, since most of them were for private requests and had no public character. This trend to the private and the subjective, to an independence from the grand order of things was also displayed in another abuse, namely, setting aside the arrangement of the ecclesiastical year and confining oneself to Votive Masses either chosen at will or arranged according to the rules of the Mass series.²³

Even while these various conditions were setting in, Peter Cantor (d. 1197) was inveighing against the evil he saw coming; there would have to be fewer churches, fewer altars, fewer and better priests.²⁴ Several later German mystics spoke in a similar vein.²⁵ John Gerson comes out publicly against the nuisance. He says: Preachers who attach extravagant promises to the Mass are misleading the people into Judaism and promoting superstition.²⁶ In Germany too, voices were raised in like denunciation.²⁷ Nicholas of Cusa gave the example of practical reform. As Bishop of Brixen, he ordered in 1453 and 1455 that all Mass books in his diocese should be

²¹ The Provincial Council of Florence in 1517 imposed a penalty of two ducats upon priests who out of avarice celebrated anniversary Masses even on Sundays and feasts in place of the Mass of the day (Mansi, XXXV, 240).

²² J. Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch* (Reformationsgeschichte. Studien u. Texte, 4-5; Münster, 1908), 81-83; J. B. Goetz, *Das Pfarrbuch des Stephan May in Hilpoltstein vom Jahre 1511* (same series, 47-48; Münster, 1928), 65, 95; cf. 24, 27; A. Gumbel, *Das Messnerpflichtbuch von St. Lorenz in Nürnberg im Jahre 1493* (Munich, 1928).

Berthold von Chiemsee, *Keligpuchel* (Munich, 1935), Ch. 20, 9, mentions this method of celebration as an "unbecoming custom" which is to blame that many think they can leave after the consecration.

The custom continued even down to modern times, especially at funerals; the diocese of Brixen had to forbid it as late as 1900; *Synodus Brixinensis* (Brixen,

1900), 33 f.; and in some parishes in the Salzburg diocese the practice lasted even into the present century.

²³ There were complaints that often only the *missæ favorabiliores*, which were likewise *missæ obolarie*, were chosen; Franz, 149 ff. There is an account of priests who never said any Mass except that *de beata Virgine* and whose action was guarded against ecclesiastical authority even by miracle; *ibid.*, 152 f.

²⁴ Petrus Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, c. 28 f. (PL, CCV, 102-107). A further demand, which is rather startling to us, was that the offertory procession be reduced to three or four times a year.

²⁵ Franz, 298 f. Amongst other warnings is this remark of Meister Eckhart: "Note that neither blessedness nor perfection consist in saying or hearing a lot of Masses."

²⁶ John Gerson, *Opera* (Antwerp, 1706), II, 521-523; Franz, 299 ff.

²⁷ Franz, 301-308; 312 f.

assembled at certain centers, Stams, Wilten, Neustift and Innichen, and corrected according to one stipulated unobjectionable exemplar.²⁸ The use of uncorrected books was sternly forbidden. Unfortunately men of such energy were not to be found elsewhere. In general, the evil continued to flourish. The holiest of the Church's possessions remained, it is true, the center of genuine piety. But alas, the clouds and shadows surrounding this center brought matters to such a pass that the Institution of Jesus, that well of life from which the Church had drawn for fifteen-hundred years, became an object of scorn and ridicule and was repudiated as a horrible idolatry by entire peoples.

The complaints raised by the Reformers, especially by Luther, were aimed accurately and quite relentlessly against questionable points in ecclesiastical praxis regarding the Mass; the fruits of the Mass, the Votive Masses with their various values, the commerce in stipends.²⁹ But the complaints went far beyond that. Taking as his principle the Bible alone, Luther denied the sacrificial character of the Mass and thought in this way to have reached the root of the trouble. The Eucharist was only a "testament," a bequest and benefit handed us, and as such—this is Luther's rash conclusion—in no wise a "*bene-fit*" or good work that we can offer God in order to "merit" from Him something for ourselves or especially for others. Therefore, the Mass cannot be read either for the living or for the dead.³⁰ All prayers in the Mass-liturgy in which there is any mention of this, particularly of sacrifice—like the canon—are bad human additions and must be dropped. A special work of Luther's deals with "the abomination of the low Mass called the canon" (*Von dem Greuel der Stülmesse so man Canon nennet*, 1524). Very effective were the charges made that Masses, especially Masses for the Poor Souls, were a means of fleecing the people. The result was felt even in sections of Europe which remained staunchly Catholic, so that as early as 1528 we are told that in the church of Salzburg a hundred *gratiani* (priests who lived on stipends) could formerly be maintained more easily than now even a single one.³¹

The reference to self-interest and superstition had made an impression. And considering the low state of religious training, this adverse criticism threatened to destroy in people's minds not only the excess foliage but the very branch and root. The Mass was disregarded, despised. And nothing was done about it. The Council of Trent did indeed accomplish one thing; in its doctrinal definition the Council clearly distinguished between truth

²⁸ G. Bickell, *Synodi Brixinenses sæc. XV* (Innsbruck, 1880), 37, 39 f., 53; Franz, 308.

²⁹ Examples in Franz, 316-322.

³⁰ M. Luther, *Eyn sermon von dem neuen Testament*. The passages in Franz, 314 f. Cf. L. Fendt, *Der lutherische Gottesdienst*

des 16. Jh. (Munich, 1923), 78-81; N. M. Halmer, "Der literarische Kampf Luthers und Melancthons gegen das Opfer der hl. Messe," *Divus Thomas*, XXI (1943), 63-78.

³¹ Berthold von Chiemsee, *Tewtsche Theology* (Munich, 1528), ch. 66, 6; Franz, 324.

and error and declared the objective character of the Sacrifice of the Mass as something more than a mere reminder of the Sacrifice of the Cross or a mere Communion rite. Thus the foundations of Catholic liturgy were secured. But a reform was also needed, a reform which would attack the ecclesiastical praxis of the celebration of Mass and, not least, take cognizance of the Mass books which had in many ways become a jungle.³²

According to the law then in force, the diocesan and ecclesiastical provinces were called upon to undertake such a reform provided only they did not touch the ancient traditional Roman core of the Mass book, particularly the canon. Thus the provincial synod of Trier in 1549 commanded that in all the dioceses of the province the diocesan missal alone should be standard, or if there was none, the Trier missal should.³³ Something similar was prescribed in Mainz, along with the demand that every diocese have its missal checked and corrected by experts, so that some common arrangement might be reached in the whole province.³⁴ But neither here nor in any other church province was a program, so carefully circumscribed, ever put through. The demand for the reform of the Mass book itself was expressed in the German Reichstag at Speyer in 1526, long before any synod even thought of it. The demand could not be refused.

About the same time there was hue and cry for a unified missal in which only the special diocesan saints' Masses would be added as a sort of appendix. The first such recommendation was made in Italy in 1546, and then later, more strenuously, in Spain and Portugal.³⁵ But the idea was not shared everywhere. The proposals sent to the Council from France preferred internal regulation within each country, and the attitude of England during the brief period of Mary Tudor was much the same.³⁶ But in the last analysis, as previous experiences had demonstrated, some sort of initiative on the part of the Church as a whole was quite indispensable.

So the Council of Trent took up the matter. In 1546-1547, while considering the use and misuse of Holy Scriptures, it had touched on the question of the Mass book. And in 1562, in connection with the discussions regarding the doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass, the subject was finally taken up. A special commission was to assemble the *abusus missæ*. This task was not difficult, since sore points had been constantly marked out not only by the innovators but by the Council itself, by synods, in memorials and reform programs. Saints' sequences and prefaces with legendary content, prayers for peace, prayers in need, and various chants after the consecra-

³² Cf. H. Jedin, "Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform des Römischen Messbuches," *Liturgisches Leben*, VI (1939), 30-66. Most of what is said in this chapter is based on this article of Jedin's or his other in *Eph. liturg.* noted below.

³³ Hartzheim, VI, 601.

³⁴ Hartzheim, VI, 579.

³⁵ Jedin, *loc. cit.*, 34, 37 f.

This point is illustrated more clearly in another article by the same author, "Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform der liturgischen Bücher," *Eph. liturg.*, LIX (1945), 5-38; esp. 8, 11, 28, 37.

³⁶ Jedin, in *Liturg. Leben* as above, 40.

tion,³⁷ new Mass formularies of questionable origin, especially the abuses regarding Votive Masses, Mass series, and the setting aside of the order for Sundays and the Church year in favor of privately chosen formularies—these were all pointed out. Add to the list the great variety of Mass rites which, as Cardinal Hosius charged, sometimes went so far that, to the surprise and bewilderment of the people, not even in the same Church did all follow the same rite.³⁸

The commission did not neglect any of this and even added to its collection,³⁹ which was “the most comprehensive accumulation of reform ideas,”⁴⁰ a long list of minutiae which, because they were theologically controversial, would have to be examined and tested. They included certain expressions like *Hostia immaculata, calix salutaris* at the offertory, the crosses after the consecration, the prayers at the commingling which in Italian Mass books began with *Fiat commixtio*, the offertory of Masses for the Dead. Likewise the custom of saying private Masses in church while high Mass was going on, and the practice of saying private Masses without at least two participants present were placed amongst the disputable points. Without imposing a complete uniformity, the commission desired chiefly for the secular clergy a certain consistency, at least for the beginning and conclusion of Mass, where the greatest differences were to be found, and a certain consistency in the rubrics, especially in external ceremonial.

It stands to reason that the Council, already assembled overly long, could hardly discuss details of this sort, about which there could be many opinions. The plan of the commission had to be drawn in a second, a third and finally a fourth draught, each one shorter and more likely to obtain general acceptance.⁴¹ The *Decretum de observandis et evitandis in celebratione missæ*, which was passed on September 17, 1562, in the twenty-second session, as a supplement to the teaching and the canons regarding the Sacrifice of the Mass, is concerned only with the most obvious abuses and evil conditions which could be lined up under the notions of avarice, irreverence, and superstition. The bishops should be vigilant about stipends. Mass should be celebrated only in consecrated places. Disturbing and irreverent conduct and frivolous music must be banished. The capriciousness of

³⁷ Thus at Hilpoltstein about 1511 an antiphon was daily sung after the consecration, usually *Gaude Dei Genitrix*; Goetz, *Das Pfarrbuch des Stephan May*, 28 f.

Customs of this sort existed in other countries besides the north. As late as 1677 the Congregation of Rites was asked by Seville whether it was permissible to interrupt the Mass after the elevation of the chalice or just before the *Pater noster* and to insert prayers for various needs, the priest participating; *Decreta authentica* SRC, n. 1588, 9.

³⁸ Jedin (*Liturg. Lebens*), 34-5.

The confusion grew all the more with the start of the Reformation era, since many priests took it upon themselves to start their own reforms. In Austria many priests even left out the canon. *Ibid.*, 44.

³⁹ *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Soc. Goerres., VIII, 916-921.

⁴⁰ Jedin (*Liturg. Leben*), 47.

⁴¹ *Concilium Trid.*, VIII, 921-924; 926-928; 962-963. See Schroeder, 144-152 for the pertinent chapters on the Eucharist.

priests regarding rites and prayers at Mass, and the superstitious observance of numbers for fixed Masses would have to cease.⁴² There was no mention of the reform of the missal. By a decree in the twenty-fifth session this was left—along with the reform of the breviary—to the pope.

Pius IV at once (apparently in 1564) set about carrying out this decree by creating for this purpose a commission which his successor, Pius V, enlarged.⁴³ Unfortunately there are no detailed reports of what the commission did. Only the product of their activity, *Missale Romanum ex decreto ss. Concilii Tridentini restitutum, Pii V. Pont. Max. iussu editum* which by a Bull of July 14, 1570, was made binding, with certain reservations, on the whole Western Church, gives us some ideas, for by comparing this composition with what was then in existence, and adding the few occasional remarks that have been handed down, we can learn something of the work done and of the aims that directed it.⁴⁴

The task of reform was not therefore solved by a number of ordinances and decisions by which the abuses were branded and the proper lines for creating new missals pointed out. One of the proposals sent to the Council had suggested that the regional differences in the Roman Mass and the episcopal right to regulate them be left unrestricted. But the commission took another course, by establishing the wished-for uniform missal. This uniform missal was in truth a Roman Missal, for as its basis they chose the *Missale secundum consuetudinem Romanæ Curiae* which already had the greatest vogue. However, this choice could not have been taken for granted, since not only was Pius V a Dominican, but members of the Dominican order, which had its own well-integrated rite, had been in the commission even before this Pope ascended the throne.⁴⁵

As far as the calendar and the collects and Gospels of each Mass were concerned, the new missal agreed very closely with the *Breviarium Romanum* which the same commission had produced and published just two years before—an agreement hardly to be found in previous books. For the exact rules about the choice and arrangement of each Mass formula and for the directions regarding the ritualistic aspect of the Mass, the *Rubricæ Generales Missalis* and the *Ritus servandus in celebratione Missæ* were prefaced to the new Mass book. These were taken almost bodily from the *Ordo Missæ* of the papal master of ceremonies, John Burchard of Strassburg, a work which appeared in 1502 and had meanwhile circulated widely.⁴⁶

⁴² Only the Gregorian series for the dead has finally been allowed to continue.

In our own day a new series of 44 Masses (and the usual superstitious promises) has turned up in Poland; it was immediately condemned by Roman authorities; *AAS*, XXVI (1934), 233.

⁴³ Jedin (*Liturg. Leben*), 52-54.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 54-66.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁴⁶ Printed in Legg, *Tracts*, 124-174. Another edition, prepared by F. Ravanat, appeared as a supplement to *Eph. liturg.*, XXXVIII (1924).

Cf. K. Schrod, “Die Rubricæ generales des Römischen Messbuches. Eine literarhistorische Notiz,” *Der Katholik*, LXIV (1884), I, 314-316.

By this means Votive Masses were restricted to proper limits.⁴⁷ Besides, only a few of these Masses were retained, a small selection of formularies where the danger of superstition was less likely, mostly those for each day of the week, Sundays excepted. The fear that greed might induce abuses prompted the dropping of the offertory procession which was still provided for in Burchard's *Ordo*.⁴⁸ One practical innovation was a *Commune Sanctorum* in which not only a number of texts were included for introit, collect, etc., but complete Mass formularies were provided.⁴⁹

Other viewpoints which guided the reform come to light in the study of the festal calendar of the new missal. First of all, the Church year is freed somewhat from the overburden of saints' feasts which in the later Middle Ages had increased immensely. The new missal had, in round numbers, 150 days free of feasts, not counting octaves. This was achieved by retaining only those feasts which were kept in Rome itself up to the eleventh century.⁵⁰ Of the countless feasts later introduced, especially under the influence of the Franciscans, only a small number were preserved, and few of these of saints outside Italy.⁵¹

The commission's ideal, therefore, was a return to the liturgy of the city of Rome, and indeed, the liturgy of that city as it was in former times. With this coincides the stern opposition the commission showed toward the sequences which abounded in other Mass books and amongst which—even apart from the four kept—there were genuine pearls which might have heightened the splendor of many a solemnity. But they were a modern growth and had never taken hold in Rome or Italy. Besides, their unclassical rhythm might not have suited the humanist taste of the era.⁵²

In many places there was the intention of putting through a real reform in the sense of disengaging the basic "form" from all distorting accretion. This can be seen from the fact that already in 1563, when the correction of the missal was still being taken up by the Council, a Vatican manuscript of the Gregorian Sacramentary was sent from Rome to Trent. This was not a solitary instance. The commission, too, had investigated the ancient sources. In the Bull of July 14, 1570,⁵³ introducing the new missal, Pope Pius V expressly attests that the scholars on the commission had discharged their work *diligenter collatis omnibus cum vetustis Nostræ Vaticanæ Bibliothecæ aliisque undique acquisitis, emendatis atque incorruptis codicibus, necnon veterum consultis ac probatorum auctorum scriptis*, and that they had thus brought the missal *ad pristinam sanctorum Patrum normam ac*

⁴⁷ *Rubr. gen.*, IV, 3.

⁴⁸ See *supra*, p. 129 ff.

⁴⁹ A *Commune Sanctorum* is to be found even in some of the earliest sacramentaries, lectionaries and antiphonaries; cf. Righetti, III, 99-101.

⁵⁰ E. Focke and H. Heinrichs, "Das Kalendarium des Missale Pianum und seine Tendenzen," *Theol. Quartalschrift*, CXX

(1939), 383-400; 461-469.

⁵¹ Germany, for instance, was represented only by St. Ursula (*loc. cit.*, 466).

⁵² An attempt was made to re-introduce a portion of these old sequences; see G. Mercati, "Un tentativo d'introdurre nuove sequenze sotto Gregorio XIII," *Rassegna Gregoriana*, VI (1907), 141-145.

⁵³ Printed in every missal.

ritum. The self-evident idea, that the development which had taken place meanwhile, separating the present from the *pristina sanctorum Patrum norma* should not be put aside as long as it did not disturb the ground-plan but rather unfolded it—that idea was never once expressed.⁵⁴

No one need be surprised that this high aim should have been attained only in a very limited way. Even if there had been further sources for research, one could not expect a commission composed of a few men and entrusted with a practical job, to anticipate in two years the liturgico-historical knowledge which would be attained only by the continued efforts of many students during several centuries. So much in the Mass book and in the Mass *ordo* remained unaltered and perhaps even unexamined—much that during the Franco-German period had been overlaid inartistically upon the austere form of the Mass of the city of Rome, or that had during the Gothic period found a place in the Mass books *secundum usum Romanæ Curie*.⁵⁵ The Mass book of this type, and therefore the traditional practice in Italy, remained the standard, in general, for the *Ordo Missæ*. But whatever could be done with the tools of the period, was done substantially. In particular the humanistic period had an opportunity to leave its own trace on the work.⁵⁶ The newer appraisal of the Church Fathers was shown in the fact that, besides the memorial days of the four Latin Fathers who were alone acknowledged in the Middle Ages, those of the Greeks were also included. Here and there in the literary style the humanist touch was added.⁵⁷ Besides the whole task of purifying the Mass book of disturbing accessories was itself in line with the "love of humanism for the clean, the unadulterated form."⁵⁸ This work of purification was accomplished with remarkable energy. The members of the commission were not held back from doing away with added trimmings which the pious mind considered untouchable, like the already traditional Marian insertions in the *Gloria in excelsis*.⁵⁹ Finally, it was because of the humanist artistic spirit that the Council did nothing to hinder the polyphonic Church music

⁵⁴ Similar principles, aiming at a return to ancient models, were at work some decades later in the reform of the *Rituale Romanum*; see B. Löwenberg, "Die Erstausgabe des Rituale Romanum von 1614," *ZkTh*, LXVI (1942), 141-147, esp. 142.

⁵⁵ Obviously the Commission did not want to go as far as Radulph de Rivo (d. 1403), *De canonum observ.*, ch. 22, f. (Mohlberg, II, 124-156) had sought. He deplored, especially in the Office, the use of the rite of the papal court, which the Franciscans had spread everywhere, preferring the older rite of the Roman basilicas. In the Missal the Mass order of Micrologus (see *supra*, p. 103) appears as the ideal. Cf. Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 148 f.

⁵⁶ Cf. A. L. Mayer, "Renaissance, Humanismus und Liturgie," *JL*, XIV (1938), 123-171.

⁵⁷ Amongst these the careful insertion of *eundem, eodem* in the conclusions of orations. There are slight differences, too, in many prayers; the text of Burchard still has in the *Suscipe s. Trinitas: . . . memoriam facimus*; in the *Suscipiat: . . . et totius Ecclesie*; in the Memento for the living: *circumstantium*; in the prayer for peace: *pacem meam do vobis, pacem relinquo vobis*. Cf. Jedin (*Liturg. Leben*), 58, note 87.

⁵⁸ Mayer, 158.

⁵⁹ See *infra*, p. 359 f.

which meanwhile had become strong and flourishing, and so left the road open for the great masterpieces of Church music.⁶⁰

To have gone farther and deeper, say in the direction of a restoration of a stronger communion between priest and people, would have demanded different spiritual conditions amongst the faithful. It was understandable that a preference was felt for things which even in their traditional form had a meaning and a solid foundation, and not for exorbitant and often heretical pretensions of reformatory polemics, particularly since their supporters had refused to take part in the Council.⁶¹ Clear limits were here the thing that was essential. One exception was made in the case of the chalice for the laity; the experiences were not favorable. For that reason the dogmatic chapters of the Council did not confine themselves to putting down errors. They tried to focus attention once more on the grand outlines of the Christian sacrificial celebration, even to the point where they recommended that the faithful receive Communion each time they came to Mass, a notion far removed from the practice of the day.

The greatest and most consequential innovation of the Mass book of Pius V was the enactment, clearly expressed in the Bull of introduction, that this book was to be, from then on, the standard in every church and that no changes were to be made therein. Only churches which could demonstrate a two-hundred years' custom for their own usage, were permitted to retain that usage. This was the case with the ancient orders which since the eleventh century had produced their own variants of the Romano-Frankish Mass-liturgy and which have kept them, for the most part, till the present.⁶² Many dioceses also took advantage of this stipulation, among them—besides Milan and the remnant of the Mozarabic rite—Trier, Cologne,⁶³ Liège, Braga and Lyons, of which only the last two have kept their own rite until now.⁶⁴

Such a broad and sweeping unification could never have been completely accomplished before the day of the printing press. Even as things stood,

⁶⁰ The compositions of the Fleming, Jacques de Kerle, which were sung at the Rogations during the last period of the Council, seem to have been decisive; Ursprung, 182-186. Palestrina's first works were also becoming known. Ursprung, 186, designates the new vocal polyphony which blossomed at this time as "a musical style closely related to the Tridentine liturgical reform."

⁶¹ Still some of the more pertinent questions were the occasion of debate in the Council. Several bishops advised that those who wanted to say the canon aloud be left undisturbed; *Concilium Trid.*, ed. Goerres, VIII, 756, l. 27; 757, l. 52; 768, l. 25; 771, l. 40. Many likewise were anxious that the use of the vernacular be not condemned;

ibid., VIII, 757, l. 51; 758, l. 12; 766, l. 20; 768, l. 25; 780, l. 3.

⁶² *Supra*, pp. 98 f.

⁶³ See the writing, issued anonymously, *Die Liturgie der Erzdioezese Köln* (Cologne, 1868). A special Cologne Missal appeared as late as 1756 (*ibid.*, 105).

⁶⁴ Cf. J. Schmid, "Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte des römischen Breviers und Missale," *Theol. Quartalschrift* (1885), 472 ff.

Details about the gradual change to the Missal of Pius V in P. Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques* (Le Mans, 1840), I, 445-476.

Regarding the Braga rite see Archdale A. King, *Notes on the Catholic Liturgies*, 153-207.

there were bound to be many doubts and problems resulting from such widely diverse conditions and local customs, not to speak of the difficulties of making the change. To handle these doubts and problems, Pope Sixtus V, by the Constitution "Immensa" of January 22, 1588, founded the Congregation of Rites. Its charge was to see to it that everywhere in the Latin Church the prescribed manner of celebrating Mass and performing the other functions of the liturgy were carefully followed. It had to settle doubts, to give out dispensations and privileges, and, since there was always a chance of introducing new feasts, it had to provide the proper formularies for them. On the other hand it was not in the ordinary power of the Congregation to change the rubrics or alter the wording of prayers.⁶⁵ Thus the Congregation of Rites was not to be an organ for liturgical evolution.⁶⁶ In so far as such a development might occur within the narrow limits left for it, the Congregation was to act as a regulator, charged with the duty of seeing that the status of things established by the Missal of Pius V be in no way altered or endangered. To regulate new questions in accordance with existing ordinances, that was the task fulfilled by the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites which have appeared since 1588.⁶⁷ Almost half of these have to do with the Mass-liturgy and its requisite concomitants.⁶⁸ Few of these decrees, however, provide any new regulations for the rites of the Mass itself. The chief ones are the stipulation of certain reverences, the decree that the chalice be covered after the Communion just as it was at the start of the Mass, the casuistic regulation of the order in which various saints are to be mentioned in the oration *A cunctis*, and who is the *antistes* to be named in the canon.

A greater number of the decisions dealt with the various circumstances around the Mass; the proper hour for celebrating it, consideration of locale in choosing the formulary, the *applicatio pro populo*, bination, removal of defects. Many decrees refer to special questions about high Mass or pontifical Mass, or to peculiarities incident to services with celebrants of various ranks, or to the reverence to be made when handing the celebrant the sprinkler (*aspergillum*), or when offering the Gospel book to be kissed, or at the incensings or at the *pax*. Or they refer to the function of the assistant priest and other assistants, or to the choir rules at a conventual Mass, or to the limitations regarding the use of chant and organ. Many are devoted to the various kinds of Votive Masses and to the Requiem and how the conflicting wishes of those who set up the foundation or ordered the Masses might be reconciled with the arrangements of

⁶⁵ See M. Gatterer, *Annus liturgicus, cum introductione in disciplinam liturgicam*, (5th ed., Innsbruck, 1935), 45-55.

⁶⁶ This is shown, for example, in the word *tuendis* which is still often used in the official headings of the documents: *Patres sacris tuendis ritibus prepositi*.

⁶⁷ The older collection, begun in 1807 by

A. Gardellini, had grown by 1887 to 5993 numbers. The new *Collectio authentica* published at Rome 1898-1900 contains but 4051, about a third of the older decrees being dropped; Gatterer, 80-87. Since 1909 the decrees of the Congregation of Rites also appear in the *AAS*.

⁶⁸ See the systematically arranged work of

the Church year. And finally, the changes in the Mass rite occasioned by the course of the Church year. Very many of the decrees settle an open abuse or decide an anxious question with the simple reply: *serventur rubricae*.⁶⁹

Some real changes since the sixteenth century in the rubrics and in the text of the Missal of Pius V have resulted in certain instances from papal orders. For instance, in the new edition of the missal under Clement VIII (1604), the biblical chant pieces, which in some printings had been arbitrarily changed in favor of the new Vulgate, were restored to their original state, and new regulations were made regarding the final blessing.⁷⁰ In another new edition of the Mass book under Urban VIII (1634), the wording of the rubrics was greatly improved and the revision of the hymns already accomplished in the breviary was carried out also in the few hymns of the missal.⁷¹ No new edition with any notable changes came out till that of 1920 which contained the revisions based on the reform of Pope Pius X.⁷² For the rest, excepting the increase in saints' feasts, very little was done to affect the arrangement of the Mass. Pope Clement XIII prescribed the Preface of the Holy Trinity for Sundays, and Pope Leo XIII ordered the prayers said after low Mass.

On the other hand, despite the force of general regulation, some rubrics, under pressure of custom, have dropped out of practice—the use of the *Sanctus* candle, for instance, and the rule that at the distribution of Communion each communicant should partake of the *purificatio*.⁷³

All in all, the changes thus made within the Mass-liturgy are very few indeed. After fifteen hundred years of unbroken development in the rite of the Roman Mass, after the rushing and the streaming from every height and out of every valley, the Missal of Pius V was indeed a powerful dam holding back the waters or permitting them to flow through only in firm, well-built canals. At one blow all arbitrary meandering to one side or another was cut off, all floods prevented, and a safe, regular and useful

P. Martinucci, *Manuale decretorum SRC* (4th ed., Regensburg, 1873).

⁶⁹ Gatterer, 84-86, holds, not without good grounds, that even the *decreta particularia*, even though they answer questions of a particular church, have a universally binding force.

⁷⁰ Slight changes regarding the vesture of the Mass-server and the time of preaching; see *infra*.

Further details enumerated in J. O'Connell, "A sixteenth century Missal," *Eph. liturg.*, LXII (1948), 102-104. See also the introductory Bull of July 7, 1604 which is printed in all the modern missals

⁷¹ Cf. Baumstark, *Missale Romanum*, 152-154.

Regarding the revision under Leo XIII (1884), see Fortescue, *The Mass*, 209.

⁷² The changes are, in substance, found in a special chapter added to the general rubrics, *Additiones at variationes in Rubricis Missalis*; they are concerned especially with the new regulations regarding the use of ferial Masses in Lent.

⁷³ *Ritus serv.*, X, 6, 9.

Further examples in Kramp, "Messgebräuche der Gläubigen in der Neuzeit," *StZ*, II (1926), 212, Note 1. Cf. the thorough discussion in C. Callewaert, *De s. liturgia universim* (3rd ed., Bruges, 1933), 139-146.

flow assured. But the price paid was this, that the beautiful river valley now lay barren and the forces of further evolution were often channeled into the narrow bed of a very inadequate devotional life instead of gathering strength for new forms of liturgical expression.

13. The Mass in the Baroque Period, the Enlightenment and the Restoration

Due to the reform of 1570, the divine worship of the Church became refined and purified. Since the new Mass book was not only declared binding everywhere, but also withdrawn from all regional initiative,¹ the Roman Mass entered into a condition of rigidity and fixation, even though this stiffening was not set down as necessarily permanent. To take the place of a development of existing things, prominence was given to the juristic and casuistic discussion of established norms. A special branch of knowledge was developed for this purpose, the science of rubrics. In fact someone has styled this period of liturgical history beginning with Pius V as the epoch of inactivity or of rubrics!²

However, it is hard to say whether in the period to follow, this circumstance was good fortune or bad. What would have happened to the Roman liturgy if the various irenic tendencies had taken a path of development closer to that trodden by Protestant worship? Or if the creative spirit of the Baroque had been allowed to tamper with the rite of the Mass as fully

¹ However, the notion that one could work out new formularies for Masses needed in a particular diocese or religious congregation, without getting a special approbation, continued for long. There are examples of formularies newly devised or revised in the 17th century in Bremond, *Histoire litt. du sentiment relig.*, II, 410, 510. The oldest formularies for the feasts of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Heart of Mary originated and spread in this private fashion; cf. N. Nilles, *De rationibus festorum ss. Cordis Jesu et purissimi Cordis Mariae*, (5th ed., Innsbruck, 1885) II, 1-42.

² Theodor Klauser, "A Brief History of the Liturgy in the West," *Orate Fratres*, XXIII (1948-9), 7-17, 61-67, 116-121, 154-160. His fourth epoch is styled "The Period of Codified Liturgy and Rubrical Rule" (p. 154). Klauser further points out the dangers that lurked in this view of the rubrics (pp. 157-159) and the wisdom of Pius XI's move in setting up (Feb. 6, 1930) a special historical department within the Congregation of Rites.

³ Cf. G. Rietschel, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik* (Berlin, 1900) I, 396-441; L. Fendt, *Der lutherische Gottesdienst des 16. Jh.* (Munich, 1923); P. Graff, *Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands*, I, (2nd ed., Göttingen, 1937). The attitude of the Anglican High Church was hardly less conservative; after making the great change in liturgical tradition to the Book of Common Prayer, it stood pat and made few other changes; see the survey by H. Zettel, "Das anglikanische 'Book of Common Prayer,'" *Liturg. Leben*, III (1936), 177-197.

The greatest distinction between the Protestant and the Catholic tradition lay in the sacrificial character of the Mass; hence the canon was the part most affected. But even a Catholic bishop, Friedrich Nausea of Vienna, proposed a change in the canon at the Council of Trent; *Concilium Trid.*, XII, 420 f.

as did the Middle Ages, handling it according to its own conceptions of sacrament, sacrifice and solemnity?

In reality, the Baroque period was but little concerned with the liturgical form of the celebration of Mass. The contrast between the Baroque spirit and that of the traditional liturgy was so great that they were two vastly different worlds.⁴ The new life-spirit which would wrap earth and heaven in one whirling tempest—how different from the quiet dignity of the old Roman orations. More than this: theological and religious thought, caught up in the swirl of the Counter-Reformation, was as different from the old Roman tradition as it is possible to be, granted the basis of the same Catholic faith. No one who learns to know the intellectual situation of the time will make it a matter of reproach that the period had found no closer tie to the liturgy.

Through the controversy with the Reformers, the whole stress of thought on the Eucharist was directed to and bound down to the Real Presence, almost to the neglect of other aspects. Even for the scientific treatment of the liturgy which now began, how much the defense of the eucharistic mysteries stood in the foreground is seen in the fact that Muratori, who issued a careful edition of the older sacramentaries, devoted the greater part of the introductory study to a discussion of this dogma as revealed in the liturgical texts.⁵ A detailed re-evaluation of the sacrificial character of the Eucharist resulted from the efforts of a new blossoming of Scholastic study. But these studies were likewise aroused by the Protestants' impugning of the dogma and consequently more or less determined by it. Since the greatest concern was Christ's oblation which is constantly realized and re-realized without hurt to the singleness of the Christian sacrifice, and since no interest was felt for the offering through the Church, of which the prayers of the Roman Mass speak, these studies too merely skirted the edge of the liturgy. Thus the spirit of the times forced into the background any notion that the faithful had a part to play in the prayer of the priest or that they should co-offer in closer union with him. For, since the Reformers had denied a special priesthood, it seemed necessary to stress not what was common and connective between priest and people, but rather what was distinctive and separative. This was certainly the case in the Society of Jesus whose theologians were leaders in the intellectual movement of this period; its members had no close contact with the liturgy and did nothing towards a pastoral development of liturgical possibilities. True, the Ignatian *Exercises*, with their definite theocentricity and their conscious alliance to Christ, appeared to harmonize most favorably with liturgical prayer and thought, but the circumstances of the time did not permit this germ to bud forth—in fact, they acted quite the contrary.

But an important step toward realizing what the Mass had to offer was

⁴ Cf. A. L. Mayer, "Liturgie und Barock," *JL*, XV (1941), 67-154.

⁵ L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana vetus* (Venice, 1748), I, 101-288.

taken in the French Oratory of Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle (d. 1629). On the basis of meditation on the Word made flesh and of His complete life-long dedication to the Father, worship was established from the start as the center of piety.⁶ Private prayer was deliberately allied to public liturgy.⁷ In fact participation in the oblation of Christ gradually became the fundamental concept of piety in the school of Bérulle, of Condren (d. 1641) and of Olier (d. 1657).⁸ Thus in regard to the Mass, the sacrifice of the Church and with it the liturgical side of the sacrifice became more prominent.⁹ During this period, one of the best explanations of the Mass came from the circle of the Oratory.¹⁰ The invitation was given to the people to draw closer to the priest's action.¹¹ Similar attempts, be it said in passing, were not absolutely lacking in Germany.¹²

But efforts of this sort did not at the time gain a favorable reception. Apparently fearing that an effort was being made to introduce the vernacular into the Mass, Alexander VII had in 1661 condemned a translation of the Roman Missal into French and had forbidden any further translations under pain of excommunication.¹³ The strict idea which had already obtained in the Middle Ages was thus increased.¹⁴ Rome took, and continued

⁶ Bremond, *Histoire litt. du sentiment relig.*, III, 22 ff., 155 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 118, and note 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 359 ff., 491 ff.

⁹ Lepin, *L'idée du sacrifice de la Messe*, 485 f., 494-496.

¹⁰ P. Lebrun, *Explication littérale, hist. et dogm. des prières et des cérémonies de la Messe* (Paris, 1716-1726). The first volume contains a detailed explanation of the Mass; the other three are devoted to other discussions. Lebrun even studies the question, how the Church and the faithful take part in the sacrifice (I, 22-26, ed. 1860).

¹¹ N. Letourneux, *De la meilleure manière d'entendre la sainte Messe* (Paris, 1680). The so-called Montpelier Catechism, by the Oratorian F. A. Pouget, *Instructions générales en forme de catéchisme*, contained several thorough instructions on the Holy Mass, but the book was put on the Index in 1721 for its Jansenist leanings.

Cf. E. M. Lange, "Vergessene Liturgiker des 17. Jh.," *JL*, XI (1931), 156-163. See also an account of the liturgical materials in the work named above, *JL*, XIV (1938), 523-543.

¹² A. G. Volusius, *Catechismus biblicus* (Mainz, 1660), devotes fully a third of the book to an explanation of the sacrifice of the Mass and presents a careful instruction on how to unite one's prayer at Mass with

the priest. Cf. J. Hofinger, *Geschichte des Katechismus in Osterreich von Canisius bis zur Gegenwart* (Innsbruck, 1937), 167 f., 334.

A forerunner of these efforts to get the people to join in the prayers and offering of the priest was the Strassburg priest who became papal master of ceremonies, John Burchard, whose Mass order appeared 1502 (Legg, *Tracts*, 135).

¹³ H. Vehlen, O.S.B., "Geschichtliches zur Übersetzung des Missale Romanum," *Liturg. Leben*, III (1936), 89-97. The undertaking in question, by Joseph de Voisin, was branded as *vesania*. The prohibition was eventually explained in many different ways, and was not everywhere accepted as binding.

Further studies in P. Bussard, *The Vernacular Missal* (Washington, 1937), 10-39. Cf. also Ellard, *The Mass of the Future*, 125-132.

¹⁴ Even in the late Middle Ages translations of the missal, with or without the canon, appeared. Vehlen, p. 89, mentions two manuscripts and one printed translation from the century before Trent. The little exposition of the Mass published in 1480, *Messen singen oder lesen*, included the canon; later editions left out just the words of consecration; Franz, p. 632. Johannes Busch, the reformer of northern German monasteries

to take,¹⁵ the stand that the Latin Mass prayers were not to be given to the faithful in any way, although nowhere was this formulated in a general Church law. In harmony with such a misconception, was another fundamental notion, that the faithful would reverence the liturgy of the Mass more if the veil of mystery were kept around it.¹⁶ The old idea of the canon as a sanctuary which only the priest could enter thus survived and was in fact extended to the whole Mass. There was therefore little chance of encouraging a closer participation in the priest's celebration,¹⁷ and in any case this approach was left to the devotion of each individual. All these endeavors made hardly any impression on the general picture of the divine service at this time.

On the other hand, it is the heritage of the Middle Ages, purified and refined by the Tridentine reform, which really determines the religious picture of the Baroque period as well as the picture of its religious service. The great abuses have all disappeared. But still the Mass remains a service in which only the priest and his assistants have an active role. The faithful follow the divine action only from a distance. As in the late Middle Ages, an effort is made to foster their devotion by bringing certain more general features of the Mass closer to them—its worth, its fruits, its imaging of the Passion of Christ. The old themes are thus the standard.

But there are plain traces of a deepening effected by the theology of Trent. The essence is more distinctly laid in the sacrifice and by preference unfolded on the basis of the four aims of sacrifice. The fruits of the Mass are spiritualized and the representation of our Lord's life and sufferings is no longer culled from the individual ceremonies but connected with the celebration only in their great phases.¹⁸ Allegorizing is not yet dead,¹⁹ but in an age already nearing empiricism and scientific

(d. circa 1479), bemoans the fact that lay people had *missale cum canone . . . in teutonico*; he himself found, and burnt, copies that nuns had; *ibid.*, 632, note 3.

A French translation of the Paris Missal is found as early as 1370; Batiffol, *Leçons* (1927), p. xix. Various translations of the Mass order also appeared long before Voisin—in 1587, 1607, 1618, 1651; Bremond, IX, 176 f.

¹⁵ In a notice to a Chinese missionary, Sept. 15, 1759, it was made clear that the prayers to be said in the vernacular by the people at Mass were not to be those said by celebrant or deacon or altar boy (servente) or choir; *Collectanea S. C. de Prop. Fide* (Rome, 1907), I, p. 267, n. 422; cf. X. Bürkler, *Die Sonn- und Festtagsfeier in der katholischen Chinamission* (Rome, 1942), 96, note 24.

¹⁶ Cf. Bremond, IX, pp. 164 ff.

¹⁷ But it grew and grew, as a statement of Claude Judde, S.J. (d. 1735) indicates; he would not recommend the method, but he timidly admits "the Church tolerates it; it can now be made use of without scruple" (*Oeuvres Spirituelles*, V, 397). See Lange, JL, XI (1931), 162; also G. Chevrot, *Unsere hl. Messe* (Einsiedeln, 1946), 25 f.

¹⁸ This description is certainly true of the commentary which was most widespread in Germany and German-speaking countries, the work of the Capuchin Martin von Cochem (d. 1712), *Medulla missæ germanica*, which aimed at gathering all the best and most useful material on the Mass into one book.

¹⁹ A noteworthy continuation of the Amalar ground-plan is seen in Bellarmine, *Christianæ doctrinæ latior explicatio* (1598; Kempten, 1711), 206-209; taken in relation

study it has lost most of its strength. No longer does it satisfy the people. It can no longer so shackle the minds of the faithful that they are able to follow the action in silence. Those who during the Counter-Reformation attempted to rebuild religious life had to look for other ways and means to enable the faithful to participate in a devout manner. Of course, judging from what we have said, these ways and means could only be stop-gap measures, filling in what the Middle Ages had to offer, since there were too many obstacles in the way of a closer approach to the priest's prayer.

Amongst these ways and means was the prayer book which, after the advent of the printing press, had gained in importance at least for people with some education. It is true there is at first only a slight inducement to any participation in Holy Mass, since the prayer book originated chiefly from the Book of Hours with its extra-eucharistic prayer material. In the early stage it generally appears in the form of one of the traditional allegorical explanations of the Mass,²⁰ but formulated prayers are also offered.²¹ Aside from the elevation of the species at the consecration, these prayers for the most part²² follow the course of the Mass along very general lines,²³ and even when the prayers are more or less faithful to the missal text, the fundamental rule still holds that the canon must be excluded.²⁴

The masses, however, were not reached by the prayer book. A genuine interest in souls, however, did hit upon a plan of overcoming the estrangement of those who attended Mass without really taking part in it—namely, common prayers and singing. This method had often been chosen since the beginning of the eighteenth century, especially during the popular missions

with his theory on the Mass we find: The *Pater noster* represents our Lord's words on the Cross; the fraction is the piercing by the lance; the Communion is the burial; etc.

Besides the prayerbooks, the allegorical exposition played a role also in religious instruction. In his catechetical missions in the Passau diocese in the latter half of the 18th century, Father Karl Helbling, S.J. was accustomed to explain the Mass from the pulpit while another read the Mass at the altar; he would relate the mysteries of Christ's Passion to the ceremonies and add an exhortation; B. Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge* (Regensburg, 1928), IV, 2, p. 243.

Of course, in some form or other the method reached down to our own days.

²⁰ Cf. Franz, 709 f., 719 f.

²¹ F. Falk, *Die deutschen Mess-Auslegungen von der Mitte des 15. Jh. bis zum Jahre 1525* (Cologne, 1889). For the 16th

to the 18th centuries see A. Schrott, "Das Gebetbuch in der Zeit der katholischen Restauration," *ZkTh*, LXI (1937), 1-28; 211-257.

²² But there were always exceptions; Falk, p. 34, describes a prayerbook with prayers at the *Kyrie*, collect, preface, canon, consecration, communion. Two other samples *ibid.*, pp. 11, 31.

²³ Falk, 27, 32, 35 f.; also 34 f.

Peter Canisius, too, in his prayerbook. *Rechte und katholische Form zu beten* (2nd ed., Augsburg, 1563) inserts for the devotion at Mass long prayers of preparation to awaken faith, hope and love, and a prayer at the elevation of the Host; then follow prayers to Christ's Passion; Schrott, p. 214. Most prayerbooks contain, besides a devotion of this type, also an allegorical exposition of the Mass; Schrott, pp. 237, 243, 248. But the tie with the priest's prayers is apparently quite loose.

²⁴ Schrott, 244, 248.

of the Jesuits.²⁵ Thus they started, in certain instances even on the occasion of a common celebration, to have a low Mass but accompanied by prayers said out loud. In the prayer texts employed in such cases, one cannot expect any closer approach to the liturgy than was to be found in the prayer books. Quite often, it appears, the rosary was used,²⁶ with or without additions.²⁷ Inadequate as such an attendance at Mass might seem to us in the light of our own superior methods, it must be conceded that, in common with the allegorizing of the Mass, it offered the contemplation of the mysteries of Redemption, and offered it, moreover, in a way comprehensible to the people, and with the advantages of congregational participation.

There is somewhat more consideration of the course of the liturgy in the German Mass-songs which begin to gain in significance about this time. In their beginning in the Middle Ages, these songs did not manifest any close regard for the liturgy; a continued series of verses unfolded the meaning of the Mass as a memorial of the Passion and as a sacrifice, and interspersed appropriate petitions.²⁸ A short time later the custom appears of singing a song at the *Credo* and at the sermon, and of inserting into the sequence strophes in the German tongue.²⁹ The cultivation of German ecclesiastical song by the Reformers could not remain without its repercussions on the Catholic side. Canisius continually spoke out warmly for German church song.³⁰ In the sixteenth century we again find not only the song at

²⁵ There are reports of morning devotions that started a half hour before Mass and continued all during the Mass with German prayers and songs; see Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, IV, 1, pp. 70, 73.

²⁶ The introduction of the rosary at Mass is mentioned *inter alia* at popular missions; F. Hattler, *Missionsbilder aus Tirol* (Innsbruck, 1899), 63, 66, 70. Similarly it was regarded as one of the lasting results of the mission at Elberfeld in 1784 that at the early Mass morning prayers, the rosary and other German prayers were recited and hymns sung; A. Schüller, "Die Elberfelder Jesuitenmission und ihre Katechismusdramen," *Bonner Zeitschrift f. Theologie u. Seelsorge* (1927), 141. Cf. a report about Rastatt in the year 1718; Duhr, IV, 2, p. 261. That the custom of saying the rosary during Mass became quite general throughout German lands is evidenced by the fact that at the end of the 18th century the practice is everywhere combated by the protagonists of the Enlightenment; see *infra*, p. 153.

In some individual cases the private recitation of the rosary at Mass is indicated at

a much earlier period. Thus according to a poem by the Danish secular priest Michael which appeared in 1496, the members of the confraternity of the rosary were to say three rosaries each week "at the hours or even at Mass"; W. Schmitz, *Das Rosenkranzgebet im 15. und im Anfange des 16. Jh.* (Freiburg, 1903), 97; cf. 53 f.

²⁷ During the *devotio matutina* at the town of Hadamar mentioned in Note 25 above, the rosary was interrupted by the singing of a verse from one of the mission hymns; Duhr, IV, 1, p. 73.

²⁸ There are two traditional examples, one from the year 1200 of 43 verses, the other from the 12th century of 94 verses; see Franz, pp. 685-688. But it is not sure whether these poems were church hymns. Cf. also R. Stroppel, *Liturgie und geistliche Dichtung zwischen 1050 und 1300* (Frankfurt, 1927), 104 f.

²⁹ See *infra*, p. 440; 460 f.; 472 f.

³⁰ Canisius appears to think of the German hymn as intimately connected with the sermon. He encourages the faithful to sing; on New Year's, 1562, he has the sermon introduced with the singing of "Der Tag der ist so freudenreich." *B. Petri Canisii*

the sermon but likewise (since the sequence had practically disappeared) a song in the vernacular at the gradual.³¹ Besides these, there was also a song at the offertory and at the communion,³² or one after the *Sanctus*³³ or after the consecration.³⁴ These do not appear to be anything but pre-Reformation growths which at that time sprang up into stronger life and spread out over a wider area.³⁵

The Cantual of Mainz (1605) contains a fixed plan for singing in German in churches in which non-Latin song had long been customary. The Cantual first makes a reference which is very significant for the changes in men's minds, namely, that many of the laity had a greater desire to sing than to meditate on Christ's Passion, as they did of old, by praying from their prayer books or on their rosaries; and because it often happens that there are not enough singers for the chant, the Cantual goes on to outline a plan for the sung-Mass (*Singampt*). According to this arrangement, German hymns could be inserted even at a Latin Mass, especially in place of the chants of the Proper, namely, instead of the gradual, the offertory, and likewise after the *Agnus Dei* and—"wann viel Communicanten seyn"—also during the Communion. Besides, one could also insert a hymn in honor of the Blessed Sacrament after the consecration. The Cantual also gives directions for singing German hymns during a low Mass: The singing should stop at the Gospel, at the elevation, and at the final blessing.³⁶ From then on, these directions are repeated in various places.³⁷

epistola et acta, ed. Braunsberger, III, 650-652; cf. IV, 889 f.; V, 569. In his letter of Oct. 2, 1566 he mentions the German hymn as *causam piam et Ecclesiae salutarem*; *ibid.*, V, 327.

³¹ According to the Breslau Synod of 1592 (Hartzheim, VIII, 395), wherever Latin singing was not customary a song in the vernacular was to be inserted at the gradual and after the consecration.

³² So Joh. Leisentritt, *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen* (Bautzen, 1567), Introduction (printed in W. Bäumker, *Das Katholische deutsche Kirchenlied*, I [Freiburg, 1886], 189).

³³ According to an injunction of the Würzburg Cathedral chapter of the year 1564, for the parish of Ochsenfurt, the priest was directed to have the people sing in German the Act of Faith, right after the *Patrem* and before beginning the sermon; and to keep the people till the elevation he should have the *Media vita* sung in German right after the *Sanctus*; this, they maintain, was customary in the Catholic church. A. Amrhein, *Reformationsgeschichtliche Mitteilungen aus dem Bistum Würzburg* (Reformationsgeschichtl. Stu-

dien u. Texte, 41-42; Münster, 1923), p. 154.

³⁴ See *supra*, note 31.

³⁵ It is striking that Luther, in his *Formula missae et communionis* of the year 1523 (ed. Lietzmann: *Kleine Texte*, 36 [Berlin, 1936], p. 22) speaks of the possibility of inserting songs in the vernacular in his Mass (still in Latin) *iuxta Gradualia, item iuxta Sanctus et Agnus Dei*, either after the Latin chant or in place of it.

As a matter of fact, even German synods of the 15th century—among them the Synod of Schwerin (1492) which is often understood in a different way—were struggling against the obviously repeated attempt to introduce vernacular songs into the High Mass; see W. Bäumker, *Zur Geschichte der Tonkunst* (Freiburg, 1881), 128 f.; J. Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes* (20th ed., Freiburg, 1913), I, 289, 291 (with note 3), 298.

³⁶ Text reproduced in W. Bäumker, *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied* (Freiburg, 1886), I, 198-200.

³⁷ Ursprung, *Die Katholische Kirchenmusik*, 225.

If certain starts were thus given to a communal celebration of Mass that reached down to the people, still in all these instances, as can be plainly seen, there was little thought of following the course of the Mass except within very modest limits. The liturgy of the Mass stands before the faithful in all its splendor, but it is a splendor whose greatness is self-contained and whose arrangement is as immutable as it is puzzling; and in the midst shines the Blessed Sacrament, a precious jewel for which this traditional setting appeared just, right, and necessary.

Indeed, the Mass was actually treated as self-contained even where it appeared in its festive form and where a Baroque culture could share with it its own riches. The mighty Baroque sermon was extended before the Mass whenever it did not—as it might rightfully have—lay claims to its own hours. And when it did find its way into the Mass, it seemed to burst beyond its limits, so that it seldom had any connection with the Gospel. Since the Middle Ages the site of the pulpit had gradually been altered, moved generally away from the altar and further into the nave. Like the sermon, it grew independent. The Communion of the faithful took place as a rule *after* the Mass, and *not* after the parochial Mass but rather—because of the law of fasting—after one of the early Masses. As far as frequency went, this was once more on the increase. But Communion was an independent, self-contained exercise, looked upon not as a participation in the sacrifice but simply as a reception of our Lord present continually in the Sacrament.

What has been said holds true also for church music at this time. Here, too, the Mass was treated as self-contained. Music spread its gorgeous mantle over the whole Mass, so that the other details of the rite scarcely had any significance. Encouraged by the moderate attitude of the Council of Trent, it had developed into mighty proportions. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are marked by a plethora of new musical forms. Besides the organ, there were accompaniments by other instruments, growing ever richer, more gorgeous. And often a single many-voiced choir was not sufficient, but use was made of several choirs either answering each other or even blending together. The history of music, therefore, makes mention of a particular “splendid” style which was formed during this period.³⁸ The victorious temper of the post-Tridentine age, which once more felt the courage to absorb the entire wealth of the contemporary culture into the Catholic cosmos—that temper found its triumphal voice in this music.

It is significant that the princely courts, both great and small, were the first places where this type of church music was cultivated and where it

³⁸ Ursprung, 204 f.

At the consecration of the cathedral of Salzburg, 1628, a festival Mass by Orazio Benevoli (d. 1672) was sung, requiring

two eight-part choirs and corresponding orchestras—in all 53 voices or parts; *ibid.*, 207.

reached its splendor.³⁹ Because of the religio-cultural situation it sometimes happened that this church music, which had fallen more and more into the hands of laymen, forgot that it was meant to subserve the liturgical action. As a result of this, the music often fitted very poorly into the liturgical setting. And since this latter was but little understood, and because esthetic consideration began to hold sway, the liturgy was not only submerged under this ever-growing art but actually suppressed, so that even at this time there were festive occasions which might best be described as “church concerts with liturgical accompaniment.”⁴⁰ Even the connection with a text was taken very ill by music such as this. Texts which could be chosen at random—as was permitted after the elevation—were transferred to other places in the Mass,⁴¹ and the Proper especially was replaced by some such songs.⁴² On the other side, the celebrant often tried to continue with the offertory even while the choir was still singing the *Credo*,⁴³ or to restrict the singing of the preface and *Pater noster* to the initial words so as to leave the rest for the music and the organ.⁴⁴ Thus singing, too, had freed itself from the liturgical bonds and achieved independence.

The place taken by the choir corresponds to this new situation—not in the *choir* from which it derives its name, but far away, on the boundary between the world and the church, in the organ-loft.⁴⁵

The development in the field of music made it really possible to “hear” the Mass. In fact on festival occasions the hearing of polyphonic pieces—

³⁹ Ursprung, 220.

Right down to the present the court churches and palace chapels were in the forefront in the cultivation of church music, e.g., at Vienna, Munich, Dresden.

⁴⁰ Ursprung, 219.

⁴¹ As far as Rome was concerned this attempt was frustrated in 1657 by Alexander VII, who insisted on the use of approved texts. Ursprung, 219; cf. F. Romita, *Jus Musicae Liturgicae* (Rome, 1947), 77-79. The pertinent paragraphs are reproduced in the *White List* of the Society of St. Gregory of America (New York, 1947), 4.

⁴² Ursprung, 219.

⁴³ Even before the reform of the missal St. Francis Borgia had, on the occasion of the first General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, 1558, urged this procedure for all High Masses in the Society. *Monumenta hist. S.J., S. Franciscus Borgia* (Madrid, 1908), III, 346 f.; cf. 356.

But such a practice must have become widespread in France even after the reform of the missal, since Letourneux expressly combats it; JL, XIV (1938), 537. The Congregation of Rites replied in the

same tenor against similar attempts in answers to Beneventum, Sept. 13, 1670, to Besançon, April 3, 1677, and to Genoa, Dec. 17, 1695; Martinucci, *Manuale decretorum SRC*, n. 631, 700, 709. Similar practices of telescoping are not unheard of even nowadays!

But even more revolutionary things were to be met with. The Cologne Provincial Synod of 1536 had to enjoin that the Epistle, symbol, preface or *Pater* were not to be omitted or shortened on account of the music; can. 12 (Hartzheim, VI, 255). Likewise a Synod at Trier (1549), can. 9 (Hartzheim, VI, 600).

⁴⁴ Lebrun, I, 337, who had encountered this abuse during a trip through Germany, 1714; a condemnation at the Council of Basle, 1431, shows how early this practice had crept in.

⁴⁵ This change appears to belong to the 17th century; Ursprung, 219 f. For its previous position, see *ibid.*, 208-9; 215. Ursprung, p. 220, correctly points out that the chants of the Ordinary of the Mass were by rights the congregation's but had been taken over gradually by the clergy.

which demanded no activity whatever on the part of the congregation—cast all other sensations into shadow. But in ecclesiastical Baroque the eye, too, was satisfied. Looking at the Host at the consecration no longer possessed the attraction and significance that it had towards the end of the Middle Ages.⁴⁶ The new age sought not the sight of the holy, but the sight of the beautiful in art and universe. And so the church became a great hall, its walls shimmering with marble and gold. The paintings on the ceilings, which grew right out of the plaster of the entablature, made the room appear to fade away into heavenly glory. The *presbyterium* is hardly any longer distinct from the nave, and along with the latter it mounts upwards, by force of the cupola or dome, into a higher unity. At its base the glance falls on the mighty structure of the high altar in which the design of the Gothic altar-piece has been reconstructed architecturally. The prominent thing in this structure is the altar-piece itself, perhaps also the exposition throne for the Blessed Sacrament, and finally the tabernacle which has become part and parcel of the plan. By contrast, what really makes the altar an altar, the *mensa*, is not given the prominence it deserves. Its significance appears to have suffered, just as in Baroque polyphony the liturgical action suffered.⁴⁷ The interior of the church has become a great hall filled with sensuous life. Even the galleries and boxes are there. And the liturgy itself is conceived of as a play, to be looked at and listened to. But it is no longer—as it was in the Middle Ages—the Mass itself with its succession of ceremonies which bears this dramatic character. Only the adoration of our Lord at the consecration retains its position as the dominating climax. Indeed, the adoration and glorification of the Sacrament, which had been so outrageously attacked by the Reformers, now stands so prominently in the foreground that one is almost bound to look upon the Mass in general chiefly from this point of view. The catechism of J. M. Kettler which appeared at Würzburg in 1734 treats the Mass as one of the five ways in which to worship Christ in the Sacrament.⁴⁸ It is no wonder, then, that eucharistic devotion, especially the Forty Hours and the grand processions, vied with the Mass in splendor and in the fervor of attendance, and that in many countries it became the rule more and more to expose the Blessed Sacrament during Mass as an enhancement of the celebration,

⁴⁶ Dumoutet, 72-74; 102-104.

⁴⁷ Mayer, "Liturgie und Barock," JL, XV (1941), 142 ff.; Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, II, 288 f. See the description of Baroque in H. Lützel, *Die christliche Kunst des Abendlandes* (Bonn, 1932), where its relation to liturgy is carefully weighed (152 f., 160 ff.).

A very good description of the Baroque church is presented by Paul Claudel, *Ways and Crossways* (trans. Fr. J. O'Connor;

London, 1935), "On Art," p. 132.

⁴⁸ J. Hofinger, *Geschichte des Katechismus in Osterreich*, 168. Martin von Cochem, too, in his two chapters on devout attendance at Mass, deals mostly with the consecration; till the elevation, say your daily prayers, after that worship the divine Lamb (*Medulla*, 3rd ed., Cologne, 1724, p. 439). However he gives instructions about paying attention to the *Confiteor* and the *Sanctus* (*ibid.*, p. 433).

especially on feast days.⁴⁹ This type of piety achieved at this very time its highest artistic manifestation and, at the same time, the proof of its power in the *autos sacramentales* of Spanish poetry.⁵⁰

That the manner of celebrating Mass in the post-Tridentine era did not correspond in every respect to the deep mystery and especially to the faithfully guarded form of its Roman vesture could not even then remain hidden from everyone. The advent of the Reformers had not only awakened a theology of controversy but had also necessitated a closer and deeper study of the writings of the Fathers and of the life of the ancient Church. Along with the writings of the Fathers the old liturgical texts came to light—the sacramentaries, the *ordines*—and with them a picture of a divine service which, far and wide, had embraced the entire Christian people in the community of celebration.⁵¹ This picture easily became a pattern and model. Knowledge became a spur to make some attempt—on one's own initiative—in the direction which was deemed, or at least poetically painted, as the ideal. There were few restraints in the way of this attempt, at least where the relationship to the government of the Church Universal had become slack either because of dogmatic differences as in the circles of Jansenism, or because of canonical and legal disagreements as in Gallicanism, or finally because of a novel view of Christendom which de-emphasized the supernatural in favor of the natural, as in the Enlightenment. So various attempts were made at improvement, but even in the good and worthwhile things that they contained they were burdened by this double difficulty, that they worked on their own and that they were stimulated by questionable motives, so that they were from the outset bound inevitably to fail.

It was not a good omen when one of the first to take up the slogan that simple people were not to be deprived of the consolation of lifting their voices in union with the voice of the entire Church, was Pasquier Quesnel.⁵²

⁴⁹ The fact is attested especially by the efforts made to oppose it in the period of the Enlightenment; see *infra*, p. 153.

⁵⁰ In Germany the Corpus Christi play developed to a high degree during the era of the Baroque; see R. Hindringer, "Fronleichnamsspiele," LThK, IV (1932), 216; A. Dörrer, *Bozner Bürgerspiele* (Leipzig, 1941), I, 107-239.

⁵¹ Of the liturgico-historical publications of this period only the few need be mentioned which are still of value in the study of the Mass: the editions of the Roman *Ordines* and of medieval explanations of the liturgy by M. Hittorp (1568); the work of three Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maur: the edition of a Gregorian Sacramentary, with a goodly supply of notes by H. Ménard (1642), the collection of the Roman *Ordines* with a commentary by J.

Mabillon (1687-89), and the texts assembled from numerous MSS. and accompanied by a discussion in the important work of E. Martène (after 1700); further the edition of Roman and Gallican Sacramentaries by L. A. Muratori (1748) and the collection of ancient liturgical source-materials in German libraries by Abbot M. Gerbert (1779). Add the various drafts of an historical appraisal of the Roman Mass, especially those by Cardinal J. Bona (1671), by Cl. de Vert (after 1707), by P. Lebrun (after 1716) and by the learned Pope Benedict XIV (1748).

Further bibliography in Eisenhofer, I, 134-141.

⁵² In his *Reflexions morales* (1691; the work appeared earlier but in a different form); cf. the 86th of the propositions condemned in 1713 (Denziger-Umbert, *En-*

Soon after his appearance the endeavor was made in France to have the canon prayed aloud, but an episcopal prohibition was passed against this for the first time in 1698.⁵³ In a new printing of the Missal of Meaux in the year 1709 there suddenly appeared in the canon and in some other places a red-printed *R* just before the Amen; the people were thus expected to respond to each prayer section, and this presupposed that the praying was done aloud. A lengthy battle ensued regarding this inconspicuous but yet not unimportant innovation.⁵⁴ The ominous letter had to disappear. In the year 1736 a Missal of Troyes carried this notice regarding the praying of the canon: *submissa voce*; it sought thus to retain the rubric in a mitigated form. According to the same authority, the prayers before the distribution of Communion, from the *Confiteor* to the *Domine non sum dignus*—which had formerly been said in the Mass—were to be left out. And the priest was no longer obliged to repeat softly to himself the chants and readings which had formerly been performed aloud. There were also in this Mass book as in the Paris Mass book of 1684, attempts along another path, to substitute biblical texts for the non-biblical song texts. The former directions had to be rescinded, in accordance with a governmental decree which the then archbishop of Sens obtained in 1738.⁵⁵ But editions of the missal which made changes in the texts of the *Proprium* continued to appear and, following the example of Paris, were finally adopted in more than fifty dioceses.⁵⁶

Later, but more pretentiously, the feeling of dissatisfaction with the traditional forms of the divine service found expression elsewhere. In Germany especially, where the Baroque had had its greatest development in ecclesiastical life, the reaction in that same ecclesiastical life—after this development had exhausted its strength—was the strongest. This occurred during the Enlightenment. The desire was to get free from all excess of emotions, free from all surfeit of forms; to get back again to “noble simplicity.” As in contemporary art, where the model for this was sought in antiquity and attained in classicism, so in ecclesiastical life the model was perceived in the life of the ancient Church. And so a sort of Catholic classicism was arrived at, a sudden enthusiasm for the liturgical forms of primitive Christianity, forms which in many cases one believed could be taken over bodily, despite the interval of a thousand years and more, even though one was far removed from the spirit of that age.⁵⁷

chiridion, n. 1436) : *Eripere simplici populo hoc solatium iungendi vocem suam voci totius Ecclesiae, est usus contrarius praxi apostolica et intentioni Dei.*

⁵³ Prosper Guéranger, *Institutiones liturgiques* (Le Mans, 1841), II, 180 f.

⁵⁴ Guéranger, *op. cit.*, 181 ff.

The defense of silent prayer was taken up by Lebrun (see note 10 above), who devoted half of his fourth volume to the problem; IV, 226-520. He thought he was able

to prove silent prayer was to be found even in the earliest centuries of the Church.

⁵⁵ Guéranger, *op. cit.*, 188 ff.

⁵⁶ Guéranger, *op. cit.*, 365 ff.

The liberties taken with the Breviary were even greater; see F. Cabrol, “Liturgies néogallicanes,” *Liturgia* (Paris, 1935), 864-870. The Holy See did not take any stand whatever regarding these activities.

⁵⁷ A. L. Mayer, “Liturgie, Aufklärung und Klassizismus,” *JL*, IX (1929), 67-127.

One group of liturgists in the Enlightenment absolutely misjudged the essence of the liturgy and wanted to make of divine service a human service designed for instruction and moral admonition.⁵⁸ Others desired only to set aside disturbing non-essentials and to bring into prominence an outline of the celebration of the Mass which would consolidate the congregation. The whole community should assemble in the parish church; here one Mass, and only one Mass should be celebrated. After the Gospel there was to be a sermon, and after the priest's Communion the Communion of the faithful. Instrumental music was not to be allowed, or at most only on great feast-days. As much as possible the people themselves were to accompany the sacred ceremony with singing in the vernacular or even with prayer, which, however, should correspond to that of the priest. The common recitation of the rosary during Mass was censured. These demands are repeated in the pastoral theology of the period with almost wearisome uniformity.⁵⁹ They are demands in which one would hardly say an ecclesiastical spirit was wanting.⁶⁰ Other wishes which often reappear are for an increase in the frequency of Communion,⁶¹ for a decrease in altars,⁶² for the turning of the altar towards the people,⁶³ for greater restraint in the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament.⁶⁴ The offertory procession,⁶⁵ the kiss of peace,⁶⁶ and concelebration⁶⁷ are also proposed as the objects of reform.

B. Thiel, *Die Liturgik der Aufklärungszeit. Ihre Grundlagen und die Ziele ihrer Vertreter* (Breslau, 1926).

A very thorough and detailed survey is presented in W. Trapp, *Vorgeschichte und Ursprung der liturgischen Bewegung* (Regensburg, 1940), 14-189.

⁵⁸ Trapp, 19-68. A leading part was played by Canon Winter of Eichstätt; see A. Vierbach, *Die liturgischen Anschauungen des V. A. Winter* (Munich, 1929).

⁵⁹ See the proofs in Trapp, 85-189. Most of these demands are found repeated by the extremists amongst the Enlightened; *ibid.*, 21 ff.; Vierbach, 102-151.

For reforms that were actually put into practice see Vierbach, 32-44. For a general idea of pastoral work in this period see E. Hegel, “Liturgie und Seelsorge in der Zeit der Aufklärung,” *Theologie u. Glaube*, XXXV (1943), 103-107.

⁶⁰ The proper notion is conveyed in a reform-writing which appeared in 1812, which points to the need of giving the liturgy “full play” in religious life, since, owing to the secularization which had occurred, so many external aids had been withdrawn; Trapp, 117.

⁶¹ Trapp, 90, 157 f., 166 ff.

⁶² Trapp, 102, 134.

Like so many of the points already mentioned, this part of the program was also taken up at the Synod of Pistoia (1786); the demand was made that in every church there be but one altar. This proposition was characterized as *temeraria* by Pius VI in the Bull *Auctorem fidei*; similarly other propositions requiring the use of the vernacular and the discontinuance of Mass-stipends and of private Masses (Denziger-Umberg, *Enchiridion*, n. 1528, 1530 ff., 1566). Cf. R. Pilkington, “La liturgia nel Sinodo Ricciano di Pistoia,” *Eph. liturg.*, XLIII (1929), 310-424; the author points out that not everything the synod did was bad, and that some of its liturgical notions contained “delle cose buone” (p. 410). The same must be said of the more conservative program developed in that same year, 1786, at the Congress of Ems; see Mayer, “Liturgie, Aufklärung und Klassizismus,” 102 f., 111 f.

⁶³ Trapp, 122 f., 162 f., 219; cf. 25; also Vierbach, 149.

⁶⁴ Trapp, 90, 98, 103, 131, 136, 158.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 122, 222.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 126 f., 165.

In all of these desires for change, one point plainly recurs time and again, and that is that the participation of the faithful had reached a certain critical stage. The faithful ought not only to be present at Mass but ought to be able to follow along. Concern over this matter was practically as old as the split between the vernacular and the liturgical language. The solution adopted for many centuries, the allegorical interpretation, is no longer considered; it is not even mentioned.⁶⁸ The ornamentation of the Mass with rousing music is hardly a more practical remedy than the common praying of the rosary, which appears to have become quite extensive at the daily celebration of Mass.⁶⁹ So new ways had to be sought. One substitute would be the thorough instruction of the faithful.⁷⁰ Prayer books would have to be distributed in which the Mass prayers are offered in faithful translation.⁷¹ For a similar reason, praying and singing in common should be practiced. But ultimately one had to acknowledge that for a closer coordination between the people and the liturgy the language was the great stumbling-block. This was a time when Latin, which had already for a long time ceased to be the means of communication between the cultured, no longer served as the language of learned literature. Therefore the desire was expressed time after time for a more or less extensive use of the vernacular, especially where the priest turns to the people. A reference to 1 Cor. 14:16 f. often recurs. Still no one was blind to the value of Latin, any more than to the limits of the advantages which a language change could produce.⁷² Indeed there were continual warnings against any arbitrary procedure and a demand for deference to ecclesiastical superiors.⁷³

While other points in the program of the liturgists of the Enlightenment left no traces in the devotional life of the subsequent period, their work in one field was crowned with lasting success, namely, in the field of German church-song. As we have already seen, it had been customary even in the previous centuries under certain circumstances to accompany the celebration of Mass with singing in the vernacular. But now there was inaugurated a certain systematic promotion of popular church singing, which led eventually to the formation of the German *Singmesse*. German

⁶⁸ But cf. note 19 above.

⁶⁹ Cf. Trapp, 24 f., 115, 134, 147 f., 157, 178; Vierbach, 75, 109.

⁷⁰ Trapp, 90, 92, 106 f., 164.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 92, 119 f., 146, 159 f.

This demand was fulfilled to some extent by the Constance hymnbook of 1812: *Christkatholisches Gesang- und Andachtsbuch*; Trapp, 148. A complete translation of the Mass prayers was offered in J. M. Sailer, *Vollständiges Lese- und Betbuch* (Munich, 1783), I, 1-69.

⁷² Trapp, 106, 119, 161. Sailer especially, while emphasizing the seriousness of the question, also points out the preliminaries

that must be investigated before any change to the vernacular was feasible. Amongst these difficulties he names the incoherence that is to be found in many of the Scripture texts used; *ibid.*, 214-216. Similarly, K. Schwarzel; *ibid.*, 108.

⁷³ The "episcopalism" of the era is shown by the fact that usually only ordinariates and synods seem to come to mind; see Trapp, 106, 108 f., 130.

In the years that followed, two others especially sued for a German liturgy, F. A. Staudenmaier (*ibid.*, 248) and, with particular zeal, J. B. Hirscher (218, 222 f., 225 f.).

songs replaced not only the variable chants of the Proper but also those of the Ordinary which up till now had continued current here and there in their Latin text and with their ancient chant melodies even amongst the people.⁷⁴ The Paderborn Hymnal of 1726 contains German songs for the *Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei*; finally the Speyer Hymnal of 1770 contains a *Singmesse* with German selections for all parts of the Ordinary.⁷⁵ The best known example from this period is the *Singmesse* "*Hier liegt vor deiner Majestat*" (Here before thy majesty lies), which appears with a first melody in the Landshut Hymnal of 1777 and which, after acquiring a new set of melodies by Michael Haydn (d. 1806) continues in use even today.⁷⁶

Just as the first attempts to introduce German singing into the Mass-liturgy dealt with a service in which the priest continued to sing his part at the altar, so also in the eighteenth century no one had any misgivings about combining the new *Singmesse* with a chanted Mass as well as with a low Mass. That is plainly to be seen especially from the prefaces in the hymnals.⁷⁷ A circumstance which might have urged some such solution was the situation in which country choirs found themselves at that time—a situation even now not entirely overcome. The many-voiced church music performed at the court churches and the large city churches had become the fashion, a fashion which was followed even in the country, although with inadequate resources. Therefore a simple song in the vernacular actually appeared to deserve the preference, more especially since the ecclesiastical prescriptions regarding the language of the accompanying singing were not then so precise and the liturgical books generally left the question quite open.⁷⁸ Thus a German high Mass came into common use and

⁷⁴ W. Bäumker, *Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied* (Freiburg, 1891), III, 13 ff.; (1911), IV, 13.

That the singing of the Chant was still alive amongst the people in the 18th century is seen by the fact that many proponents of the Enlightenment opposed it as vehemently as they opposed the rosary; Trapp, 178; cf. 59. The resistance of the people in the diocese of Mainz to the introduction of the German High Mass rested largely on this fact that the Chant would be ousted; see JL, VI (1926), 425. Gregorian chant did not disappear from Mainz until 1837.

⁷⁵ Ursprung, 225. A midway sample is found in the *Singmesse* in the *Lobklingende Harfe* published 1730 by the Jesuit missionary Anton Koniass (*ibid.*, 225, 227).

⁷⁶ Ursprung, 259 f.

⁷⁷ The hymnbook which appeared at St. Blaise in 1773 under Abbot Gerbert expressly proposed that the German songs be substituted for the Latin ones which the

farmers hardly used. Similarly the Catholic songbook of Ignaz Franz (1778) was intended as a replacement in villages and small towns for the figured music commonly employed. Trapp, 176 f.

In Mainz and Paderborn episcopal decrees commanded the substitution of German songs for the Chant. Ursprung, 257.

Further evidence in Trapp, 88, 136, 147, 156.

⁷⁸ The Paderborn Hymnal of 1726 refers to a decree of the Roman Provincial Council of 1725 under Benedict XIII ordering that at High Mass catechetical hymns be sung in the vernacular right after the sermon; Ursprung, 225.

On the other hand, the singing of vernacular songs at Mass was forbidden—in 1639 in a reply to Rimini (Gardellini, n. 1129), and on March 22, 1862, in a reply to Valencia (*Decreta Authentica SRC*, n. 3113). An admonition to get rid of the custom *sensim sine sensu* was addressed to the bishop of St. Hyacinth in Canada

as a result of a custom already in vogue it remained in use, especially in North German dioceses, all through the nineteenth century and right down to the present.⁷⁹

This type of service employed at sung Mass appears to have been carried over to the low Mass only secondarily. As a matter of fact the German *Singmesse*—the term was now by preference applied to this latter case—gave somewhat the impression of a one-sided conversation, for not only the orations but the readings (or at least the Epistle) and the preface and *Pater noster*, none of them unimportant parts in the structure of the Mass, do not receive any kind of expression. That there was no mention of any of the changeable chants of the *Proprium* was again a carry-over from the high Mass that was then current and is to a great extent still current. But, this much must be conceded, that in the German *Singmesse* a form of celebrating the Mass had been found which was both popular and dignified, a form moreover which was nowhere in contradiction to existing legal prescriptions; for with regard to the method of accompanying a *missa lecta* with prayer and song the fullest liberty reigned, and still reigns. It was a form by which the people could not only understand the action of the priest but also to a certain extent actively follow. It was a form in which, through singing in common, the community consciousness was aroused, and indeed imbued with a certain degree of solemnity. No wonder that in many dioceses the German *Singmesse* gradually won great popularity.⁸⁰ That this did not occur more quickly was due in part to the violent methods by which its introduction was effected in many places, in part also to the weaknesses of content which the creations of the period of Enlightenment so frequently displayed.⁸¹

The weaknesses and mistakes with which the Enlightenment proved to be burdened, in other fields more plainly perhaps than in the liturgy, turned out to be the reason why a reaction was bound to set in, a return to the complete affirmation of dogma and the supernatural, to a respect for the hierarchic structure of the Church and for tradition. A Catholic *Restoration* was bound to come.⁸² The excessive enthusiasm for reform reached an end. The older arrangements were once more honored, including the arrangement of the celebration of Mass, just as a former generation had

on Dec. 10, 1870 (*ibid.* n. 3230). The first *decretum generale* to forbid the mingling of vernacular singing with the Latin at High Mass did not appear till May 22, 1894 (*ibid.*, n. 3827). Since then several particular decrees (*ibid.*, 3880, 3994) and the *Motu Proprio* of Pius X (*ibid.*, n. 4121, 7) have confirmed this legislation.

⁷⁹ Its toleration for Germany has been affirmed by the Holy See by a letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State dated Dec. 24, 1943.

⁸⁰ In Lower Austria it appears to be a valid substitute even for the parish Mass on Sundays in many of the country churches, so that the Latin service (except for the *Requiem*) is heard only on feasts.

⁸¹ Cf. Ursprung, 258 f.

⁸² A. L. Mayer, "Liturgie, Romantik und Restauration," *JL*, V (1930), 77-141. Mayer maintains that Romanticism, because of the independence of its views, had little or no connection with the liturgy (104 f.); still certain Romantic elements did enter

found it, with all its excellencies and, to a great extent with all its deficiencies. No one wanted to listen to critical voices.⁸³ Even the healthy reform aims of the older period—many of which were to be taken up, a century later, by the highest authority in the Church—were looked upon with suspicion because they had emanated from the epoch of the Enlightenment.

Still by teaching respect for the existing liturgy, this period of Catholic Restoration did begin the necessary preparation for a healthier and more blessed resumption of these former strivings at a later time. The beauty of the Latin prayers, the dignity of the ceremonies, the harmony of the whole conglomerate—all these were extolled. Enthusiasm developed once more for Gregorian Chant and for all vocal art based on the chant after the manner of Palestrina.⁸⁴

It was in the field of church music that the Restoration set to work most visibly to remodel the divine service. The works of the Baroque period which had found in the liturgy only an occasion for unfolding a musical splendor that was all too worldly and which often bore no relationship to the seriousness of the liturgical text and the liturgical mystery—from these one turned aside. An effort was made to bring the unabbreviated words of the sacred songs into their rightful place. War was declared on the amalgamation of songs in the vernacular with the Latin service, which now frequently returned in its pure unadulterated form. The Cæcilian movement made the relevant demands and principles common property of the widest circles, and succeeded in introducing even in country churches many-voiced Latin singing in place of the German Mass-songs.⁸⁵

But this movement had one drawback; the people at Mass were once more—and this time more consciously than ever—reduced to the role of spectators, and the attempt to reveal the Latin liturgy to the faithful was turned aside partly as a matter of principle.⁸⁶ The Mass-liturgy was, for the leaders who espoused this tendency, a monument, finished and fixed once and for all, a monument which in its mystery-filled objectivity not only did not take the faithful into consideration but even shut off their

into the restoration, especially, e.g., the attraction of the Middle Ages.

⁸³ Cf. the views of M. v. Diepenbrock regarding the opposition of Hirscher; Trapp, 270.

⁸⁴ Ursprung, 280.

⁸⁵ Ursprung, 277 ff.; O. Rousseau, *Histoire du mouvement liturgique* (Paris, 1945), 151-166.

In many places, however—as in the Provincial Council of Cologne, 1860—Gregorian Chant was prescribed except on feast-days.

For the decision of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884) regarding

Chant, and for other early evidences of an American "liturgical movement" see Wm. Busch, "The Voice of a Plenary Council," *Orate Fratres*, XXI (1946-47), 452-458.

⁸⁶ This was the stand taken by H. Bone in the preface to his hymnal *Cantate* (Mainz, 1847); the temple of God, he maintained, would lose none of its sublimity even if no congregation ever assembled there for worship, for the living principle is not the congregation but the sanctuary and the sacrifice. The earlier attempts to introduce the vernacular and a participation of the faithful he tags as "devotional communism"; these attempts, he felt, went too far. Trapp, 271-273.

every approach. Therefore the liturgy is praised as a finished art-product, as a wondrous work of the Holy Spirit, and it is almost forgotten that in the service of this higher master, human hands had been at work through the centuries, probing and fumbling and not always very happily, endeavoring to make the eternally incomplete as fit for its purpose as they possibly could.⁸⁷

In such a treatment of the liturgy we recognize the expression of a time grown tired, a time which is accustomed, with every technical skill, to measure the tasks of intellectual culture, not by an independent judgment of things themselves but by comparison with certain finished patterns which thus passed muster as an unalterable canon. This was the age which started out in classicism, following the traces of classical antiquity, an age which in matters ecclesiastical considered Gothic the ideal in architecture, Raffaele and Perugino in painting, and Palestrina in music. It is an age in which our churches began to be filled with imitations and in which the liturgy of the Mass, by and large unquestionably wonderful, was crystalized in a framework that was utterly unworthy of it.

The intellectual backgrounds of this phase of evolution will be made more plainly visible by a consideration of the parallel phenomena in the French area. In Abbot Prosper Guéranger, founder of Solesmes (1833) and renovator of the monastic ideal, there arose an implacable adversary of the so-called neo-Gallican liturgies, or to speak more exactly, of the arbitrary changes introduced into the Roman Missal and Breviary. He demanded an uncompromising return to the books of the pure Roman liturgy,⁸⁸ and was so successful in carrying this out all along the line that in many dioceses even the Propers which were ancient and traditional were swept by the board. By 1860 the Roman Missal and the Roman Breviary without any additions had once more been reintroduced nearly everywhere.⁸⁹

Here, too, it is the spirit of the Catholic Restoration which stands behind the movement. At the same time, however, the opposition to the previous generation's deification of reason took on, in one strong group, the form of traditionalism. This became the teaching that, in general, man can achieve all higher knowledge, not through the labor of his own reason, but only from tradition, and in the last analysis from an original revelation. Tradi-

⁸⁷ See the survey in Trapp, 319-324. The most striking thing is the effort to compare the liturgy thus conceived (as a work finished and complete) with other products of spiritual culture. According to J. B. Henninger (d. 1892) the Church possesses in the prayers of the liturgical books a treasure "which would of itself suffice to prove its divine origin" (p. 320, note 244). According to F. Hettinger (d. 1890) the contents of the liturgy, especially the missal,

are amongst "the most perfect possessions of literature" (p. 323).

⁸⁸ P. Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques*, 3 vols. (Le Mans & Paris, 1840-1851). The second volume especially is devoted to this struggle. Miscellaneous polemic papers were assembled after his death (1875) in a fourth volume of the 2nd edition (1878-1885).

⁸⁹ F. Cabrol, "Guéranger," *DACL*, VI (1875-1879); H. Leclercq, *CE*, VII (58-59); Rousseau, 1-43.

tion and authority, as opposed to every individual project and all private initiative, thus acquired an unconscionably great importance. This attitude was prominent already in the case of Joseph de Maistre. And young Guéranger, too, paid homage to this spirit. He had picked it up in the circle of Lamennais and in his work with him. After Lamennais' condemnation Guéranger definitely broke with him, but the unsparing fight against the liturgical independence of the French bishops which he had opened up in Lamennais' publication, he continued to the end in the same spirit in which he had started it.⁹⁰ Guéranger therefore stood squarely for the persistence of the existing Roman liturgy and a veneration for it that set aside any critical consideration. In spite of his great work on the Church year he did not favor an unrestricted elucidation of liturgical texts and practices for the people; for the Christian multitude the liturgy should instead remain wrapped under a veil of mystery.⁹¹

14. The Mass since Pius X

Notwithstanding the shadows that envelop even a figure like Dom Prosper Guéranger, it was from him and from what he established that the most momentous impulses proceeded for that intense rapprochement of the liturgy to the people and for that far-reaching reorganization of divine service which we witness today. Reverent and loving submersion in actualities has at last proved to be a blessing, thanks to the wealth that lies buried deep in the liturgy. It led to a knowledge of the ways and means to bridge, at least in some scant manner, the thousand-year old cleft between the Mass-liturgy and the people, without using allegory and also without any fundamental changes.

First of all, the *opus Dei* as performed in the new centers of monasticism, dignified, replete with the spirit of adoration, became a drama in the best sense of the word, drawing to itself the eyes of all. The products of Beuronese art soon gave it a visible background. Gregorian Chant, too, was refurbished. There were many differences to be found in the various editions and even at Rome there was no obligatory norm regarding the use and execution of the chant,¹ but at Solesmes it was made the object of learned study, so that its true form in the flourishing period, as discovered in the manuscripts, was once more re-established. These studies received the highest recognition under Pius X, who had already in early life been influenced by the Benedictine movement for the renewal of chant,² and

⁹⁰ E. Sévrin, *Dom Guéranger et La Mennais* (Paris, 1933); see the review, with further references, by A. Schnütgen, *JL*, XIII (1935), 442-444. For similar and related matters in Germany see Trapp, 268 ff. ⁹¹ Guéranger, *Institutions*, III, 210 ff.; cf. II, 230, 245.

¹ The *Editio Medicea* of the Roman Graduale, printed 1614-1615, was first declared authentic by Pius IX in 1868, and this only in the form of a privilege for 30 years to the publishing firm of Pustet (Regensburg) which edited the work. *Ursprung*, 279, 286. ² *Ursprung*, 283, 286.

who, as Pope, utilized the results of the labors of Solesmes as the basis of his efforts for the restoration of chant and for the new authentic editions of the chant books (*Editio Vaticana*).³ The chants of the *Ordinarium missæ* appeared in 1905, the complete *Graduale* by 1907. Already in the very first year of his pontificate, on November 22, 1903, the *Motu Proprio* on church music had appeared,⁴ calling attention to the dignity of Gregorian Chant, encouraging the participation of the people in its rendition, but also developing the norms for a polyphony and a harmonized music that is ready to serve in the sacred celebration.

Under Pius X, too, other endeavors, which in the nineteenth century had resulted in a deeper search into the treasures of the Church's heritage, began to bear fruit in the life of Christian worship. Not in vain had the life of the ancient Church been lifted out of the darkness of the catacombs. Not in vain had a more intense study of patristic literature been inaugurated. Not in vain had a revival of Scholasticism brought honor once more to an uncurtailed affirmation of dogma and of the Sacrament. Since the middle of the nineteenth century voices had been raised more and more confidently to seek for a return of the practice of the ancient Church regarding Communion, and to point to the natural conclusion of the Mass in the Communion of the faithful.⁵ Thus the ground was somewhat prepared for the decree *On frequent and even daily Communion* which appeared in 1905,⁶ marking a milestone in liturgical history even more important than the decrees of the same pope which were more directly liturgical.

At first glance the decree seemed to have little relation to liturgical affairs. It had indeed in its very first words (*Sacra Tridentina synodus*) alluded to the wish of the Council of Trent that the faithful receive Communion at Mass not only spiritually but also sacramentally. But for the rest, it had not gone into the connection between Mass and Communion at all, but had restricted itself to setting forth and analyzing the value and the conditions of frequent Communion. If you read through the religious periodicals in the years following the publication of the decree, conning the articles that urged frequent Communion, you will see that at first the liturgical connection hardly played any role at all in their arguments. For generations men had been accustomed to regard Communion as an exercise complete in itself, and everywhere, in town and country, in the convent and in the parish church, Communion was distributed each day, perhaps, but always before or after Mass. After a few years had passed, however,

³ A brief but satisfactory survey of the history and results of this work in Leon A. McNeill, "Sacred Music: Its Restoration," *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, LXXVIII (1928), 276-288, esp. 280 ff.; cf. also Sablayrolles' article on Gregorian Chant in *Liturgia* (Paris, 1935), 446 ff.
⁴ Printed in *Decreta authentica SRC*, n.

4121; in English in *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, XXI (1904), 113 ff. and in the *White List of the Society of St. Gregory* (New York, 1947), 7-11.

⁵ Trapp, 297-306.

⁶ *Acta S. Sedis*, XXXVIII (1905-6), 400-406. See *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, XXXV (1906), 75-81.

the realization began to grow that this Communion movement could last only if Communion were fitted into some larger entity and became fully integrated in the organization of Christian life—if it took its rightful and natural place within the Mass.

Here it was, then, that the Communion movement came into contact with the liturgical movement, a decade or so after the appearance of the decree. And the latter kept making these facts plainer and more manifest: the offering to God in the sacrifice is the proper preparation for Holy Communion; the sacrificial meal belongs to the sacrifice, God invites us to it; all the prayers of the Mass lead up to it; and this meal is at the same time the meal of the Christian community. The Eucharist once more appears in a new light. The ancient and more complete symbolism gradually creeps back into Christian consciousness; the simple cult of adoration, already shaken by the decree on Communion⁷ loses its dominance.⁸ After another decade these realizations begin to have an effect on parochial life: Communion once more stands in its natural liturgical relationship as a conscious participation in the Holy Sacrifice. From the viewpoint of liturgical history that was a very important step, and it was not the only one.

The liturgical movement, which, especially in its first beginnings was almost entirely a movement promoting the Mass, had come closer to the Mystery of the altar also from another angle. When the movement—a closed movement embracing wider circles—suddenly came into being in Belgium only to spread at once into Germany and other countries, it made itself manifest, above all, by a new way of participating in the celebration of Mass.⁹ Growing out of the intellectual movement of the past decade, it had still to overcome many obstacles. The first thing that demanded solution, even if it was not formally expressed, was the question whether the separation between people and celebrating priest, maintained for more than a thousand years, was to be continued. It was certainly continued in law by the prohibition to translate the Mass books. Efforts had been made to shake this prohibition, but even as late as 1857 the prohibition to translate the Ordinary of the Mass was renewed by Pius IX, although, to be sure, its enforcement was no longer seriously urged.¹⁰ However, it was not openly and definitely rescinded until near the end of the century. In the revision of the *Index of Forbidden Books*, issued under Leo XIII in 1897, the prohibition was no longer mentioned.¹¹ After that the spread of the

⁷ By the reference to the fact that the Eucharist is intended to sanctify the faithful, *non autem præcipue, ut Domini honori ac venerationi consulatur*; *op. cit.*, p. 401.

⁸ The transition is signalized somewhat by the booklet of J. Kramp, S.J., *Essays on Eucharistic Liturgy and Devotion*, trans. Wm. Busch (St. Paul, 1926).

⁹ Regarding the beginning see Rousseau, 217-229; Trapp, 362-367; A. Manser,

"Liturgische Bewegung," *LThK*, VI (1934), 615-617.

See also vol. 6 of the *Cours et Conférences* (Louvain, 1931), with the theme, "Le mouvement liturgique dans les différents pays."

¹⁰ Vehlen (*Liturg. Leben*, 1936), 95 f. Cf. 182 f.

¹¹ Vehlen, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

For that reason Schott's missal did not

Roman Missal in the vernacular took on greater and greater proportions.¹² Ever-widening circles of the laity began to read the prayers of the Mass along with the priest. And thus the separation between people and priest was closed in at least one definite point: in their prayer the faithful used the same words as the priest at the altar.

But now a new wish stirred, to do collectively and in common what many were already doing by themselves individually, and with this wish the liturgical movement brushed against the picture of divine worship which had prevailed up till now. Thus arose the problem of the community Mass—or as it is called in some places, the *missa dialogata* or *missa recitata*. The argument ran something like this: If reading along with the priest was to be something more than reading from a textbook, as is customary at the opera or at the production of an oratorio, there must be, in some measure at least, an external speaking along with the priest, especially since the rubrics of the missal in several places seem to expect some such response from the *circumstantes*.¹³ The first steps in this direction were taken in academic circles, and then by societies of young students. It was only later that parochial worship followed suit. At first there was no clear norm.¹⁴ But in the German area the threatening disorder was held off in some places by private projects.¹⁵ And finally, in 1929, a uniform text of all the prayers to be read in common was agreed on for Germany and this was used as a basis by most publishers.

Gradually the various principles on which the dialogue Mass is to be based became clearer. It is a fact that the history of liturgy must take into account, that at the beginning of the twentieth century the low Mass had

carry a translation of the canon till 1900, and the words of consecration were missing even in the 7th edition of 1901.

¹² The most popular missal in the German tongue was the *Messbuch der hl. Kirche* by Anselm Schott, O.S.B., which first appeared in 1884; in 1906, in its 10th edition it had reached 100,000 copies and by 1939, in its 45th edition some 1,650,000 copies. Predecessors were the translations of Ch. Moufang (1851; 19th ed., 1905) and of G. M. Pachtler, S.J. (1854; 9th ed., 1890); cf. Trapp, p. 363. But all these are surpassed by the popular American missals of J. A. Stedman, *My Sunday Missal*, of which 15 million copies sold in the years 1939-1945. Another popular English missal is the *Leaflet Missal* published in St. Paul, Minn.; see Ellard, *The Mass of the Future*, 129.

¹³ *Rit. serv.*, III, 9; IV, 2; VII, 7.

¹⁴ This was really but another step in a long, gradual process. For it was already cus-

tomary in many places for the youngsters at the "Children's Mass" to pray aloud either prayers of a private character or even devotions more or less liturgical. As early as 1883 V. Thalhofer had advocated the people's answering the priest. In one diocesan hymnal, that of Königgrätz (1897), liturgical prayers were included along with the songs; the people were to say the *Confiteor*, an offertory prayer, etc., in German. Trapp, 293, 331; cf. 163 ff., 290 ff.

¹⁵ The earliest attempts included: R. Guardini, *Gemeinschaftliche Andacht zur Feier der hl. Messe* (1920); J. Kramp, *Missal* (1924). Greater success attended the work put out by Pius Parsch, *Klosterneuburger Chormesse*, and the version of the dialogue Mass in the *Kirchengebet* issued by L. Wolker which has reached five million. In the U. S. the greatest success followed the introduction of a version by the Sodality of our Lady (The Queen's Work).

gained such a great preponderance over the various forms of high Mass that without further ado it was used as the groundwork for the development of the dialogue Mass. No one seemed to notice that in this sort of Mass the alternation of functions between priest, lector, singing choir and people had been leveled off to a uniform speaking by the priest alone, and this more or less quiet. Now it was recognized that in essentials the high Mass had to set the norm, and that therefore at a *missa recitata* the people would answer and pray along in those parts that had been taken over by the choir, thus to some extent recovering these parts for themselves, while the old chants of the *schola*, the readings, and the prayers spoken aloud by the priest would be read aloud in the vernacular by a special reader or leader.¹⁶ In Germany the development reached a certain definite shape when in 1940 the whole problem of the liturgical movement, and along with it the question of the dialogue Mass, was taken over by the assembled episcopate¹⁷ and thus brought to some kind of clarification. In many dioceses, therefore, directions for the celebration of the dialogue Mass—which left no little room for variations—were published.

A most significant variant of the dialogue Mass grew out of the inclusion in it of elements proper to the German *Singmesse*.¹⁸ The so-called *Betsingmesse*—"Pray and sing" Mass—has very quickly gained recognition since its first trial use at the Vienna Catholic Day in 1933, and since it is at once liturgically inspired, popular, and solemn, not only has it often replaced the simple *Singmesse*, but it is even being used with increasing frequency as the Sunday parish Mass.¹⁹

A similar development was taking place about the same time in places where French is spoken,²⁰ and elsewhere it is still in process.

¹⁶ Cf. J. Gülden, "Grundsätze und Grundformen der Gemeinschaftsmesse in der Pfarrgemeinde," *Volksliturgie und Seelsorge* (Colmar o. J., 1942), 98-122. Cf. G. L. Dieckmann, O.S.B., in *Orate Fratres*, XXIII, (1948-9), 472 ff.

¹⁷ Encouragement was given the movement towards using this dialogue Mass when the Fulda episcopal conference of 1936 issued directions for aiding youth (*Volkslit. und Seelsorge*, 151); in Belgium the Provincial Council of Malines had urged it in 1920 especially for educational institutes and religious societies (see Lefebvre, p. 189, as below); in the U. S. inspiration came not only from individual bishops but from the Sodality of our Lady and the Liturgical Conference (see Ellard, *The Mass of the Future*, 202-210).

¹⁸ Gülden, 122.

¹⁹ Thus in the diocese of Salzburg in 1937

it was prescribed once a month as Sunday parish Mass in those parishes that had more than one priest.

²⁰ B. de Chavannes, "La messe dialoguée et ses réalisations," *La vie spirituelle*, LVIII (1939), 307-317; see also *Orate Fratres*, XII (1937-8), 225, 469, 517. G. Lefebvre, "La question de la messe dialoguée," *Cours et Conférences*, XI (Louvain, 1933), 153-196. (This whole volume is devoted to the topic of "Active participation of the faithful in worship.") The French form of the dialogue Mass is an outgrowth of the popular chant service, with a substitution of recitation for singing; it does not usually include any vernacular elements. A particularly festive form has been developed for the circles of Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique, including a symbolic decking of the altar and presentation of offerings. For the U. S. see G. Ellard, S.J., *The Dialogue Mass* (New York, 1942).

In all of these changes—some of them not unimportant—not one letter of the *Missale Romanum* was touched, not a word, not a rubric²¹; for in no case was there any tampering with the priest's performance of the Mass for which the norms of the *missa lecta* continued to serve always as unimpaired principles. All these changes had to do only with the participation of the people, for which there were nowhere any exact regulations. Therefore no objections were raised by the highest authority in the Church,²² especially since the new forms match the fundamental instructions of the popes with regard to the active participation of the faithful in the liturgy.²³ And yet something very important was achieved. In this setting—even though in a still imperfect form—our celebration of the Mass was assured, at least to some extent, an advantage which the liturgy of the Eastern Church appears to have retained all along by means of its accompanying interchange of prayers between deacon and people.²⁴ The old distance between altar and people was to a great extent broken down at the opportune moment. From the dialogue Mass the faithful gain a living knowledge of the actual course of the Mass and so they can follow the low Mass as well as the solemn Mass with an entirely new understanding. To have been deprived of such an understanding much longer would not have been tolerable even to the masses in this age of advanced education and enhanced self-consciousness. But what is even more important, now that the faithful answer the priest and concur in his prayers, sacrifice with him and communicate with him, they become properly conscious for the first time of their dignity as Christians and at the same time they achieve an awareness

²¹ The rubrics themselves take cognizance of the presence of people attending Mass, by regulating the use of the voice. The *clara voce* parts of the *missa recitata* correspond to the regulations of the *Rubrica generales*, XVI, 2.

²² The common response of the people was given a reluctant approval by the Congregation of Rites, August 4, 1922; *Decreta authentica SRC*, n. 4375. For a detailed study of this decree see: J. Pauwels, "De Fidelibus qui Celebranti Respondeant," *Periodica*, XI (1923), 154-157; I. M. Hanssens, "Vetera et Nova de Missa Dialogata," *Periodica*, XXV (1936), 57-89; cf. also *Eph. liturg.*, XLVII (1933), 181-184; 390-393; and W. J. Lallou, "The Status of the 'Missa Recitata,'" *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, CIV (1941), 455.

²³ Pius X, Motu proprio of Nov. 22, 1903: The people assemble in God's house *ad eundem spiritum ex primo eoque necessario fonte hauriendum, hoc est ex actiosa cum sacrosanctis mysteriis publicis sollempnibusque Ecclesie precibus communicatione*

(*Decr. auth. SRC.*, n. 4121). The same thought in Pius XI, Constitution "Divini Cultus Sanctitatem" of Dec. 20, 1928 (AAS, XXI [1929], 35) and again, with greater emphasis on concrete methods of participation, in the encyclical of Pius XII, "Mediator Dei" (AAS, XXXIX [1947], 521-595, esp. 554 ff., 560, 589 f.).

²⁴ In view of the system in the Orient, where the faithful do (and always did) have numerous opportunities to play an active part in the liturgy, but where the texts used are limited and the connection with the action of the priest is, to say the least, reserved, it may be questioned whether the ideal form of participation is achieved when the people say all the prayers along with the priest whether by means of a lay leader reading aloud or by silently following the prayers in the missal. Or should the prayers for the people be specially fitted out for them? On the other hand, the use of such newly-created texts always involves a great deal of bickering and is hardly ever free from justified objection. Regarding the special

that they are the Church, that they stand in corporate relationship to all those whom God has graciously drawn to Himself in Christ.²⁵ If in this way a start has been given to a broad and comprehensive cure of souls fed on the very basic forces of the Church, it is not hard to estimate what weight all this will have not only for the individual's confirmation in faith and for his mode of life, but also for the stabilization of the Church at a time when nearly all external props have fallen down.

The community or dialogue Mass achieves its goal by superimposing its own form like a shell over the fixed, permanent structure of the *missa lecta* or low Mass. The price it must pay is high, namely that the first *liturgus*, the priest, is wholly in the background during the audible part of the Mass, the greetings and summonings excepted. For this reason, the Mass which is adorned with the altar songs of the priest—the *missa cantata*—must and will take the first place. The questions about the proper form of the celebration of Mass all come back to this, and chiefly to the priest's celebration. The ideal which Pius V had in view, to give the Mass a purity and clarity such as it possessed in the time of the Fathers (*ad pristinam sanctorum Patrum normam ac ritum*) will always stand before the Church. Not, indeed, as though ancient forms should be or could be merely brought back—even the church architecture of the last century does not simply revive the ancient basilica—but in the sense that in the celebration of the Christian mysteries the inner wealth of the Church comes to light as of old and the children of the Church constantly renew their joy and gladness because of their possessions and their blessings.

The monumental greatness of the Roman Mass lies in its antiquity which reaches back to the Church of the martyrs, and in its spread which, with its Latin language, spans so many nations. Nowhere else is it so plain that the Church is both apostolic and catholic. But this double advantage of the Roman Mass also involves weaknesses. The Latin tongue has nowadays become more and more unfamiliar even to cultured people. Will there ever be any relaxing in this matter in the setting of the Mass? As a matter of fact, Latin is by no means the only liturgical language within the Catholic Church, even abstracting from the diocesan rituals in which the vernacular already occupies a large space. The Catholic Mass is celebrated not only in the ancient languages of the Orient and of the Slavic peoples, but also in several modern languages.²⁶ Even within the Roman Mass tendencies in this direction are to be found: in Glagolitic congrega-

form the people's prayer should have, see Jungmann, *Liturgical Worship*, 122-124.

²⁵ For a moderate discussion of the desire for the vernacular in the readings, see E. Dolderer, "Die Volkssprache in der Liturgie," *Theol. Quartalschrift*, CXXVII (1947), 89-146.

²⁶ The Byzantine Mass, for instance, is cele-

brated by the Roumanians, even Catholics, in Roumanian. See the survey by W. de Vries, "Die liturgischen Sprachen der katholischen Kirche," *StZ* (1940-41), 111-116; and the chapter "de linguis liturgicis" in Raes, *Introductio*, 207-227; cf. also El-lard, *The Mass of the Future*, 146-158, and a pertinent bibliography, 159-160; cf. 257.

tions the Old Slavonic has been in use for centuries.²⁷ When at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Chinese missions began to flourish, the question was very seriously posed, whether the language of the liturgy should not be Chinese, for, unlike the early medieval mission to the Germans, here a people was being dealt with who already had a literary language of its own.²⁸

The Latin language is only one of the peculiarities of the Roman liturgy that, due to its venerable age, has to some extent become a problem. As we already saw in the exposition so far, each succeeding cultural epoch has overlaid the original plan of the Mass-liturgy with its own layer. Not always has this been a harmonious, progressive, organic growth. In our explanation of the various parts of the Mass we shall have to point out continually how in the process of development, displacements, intermixtures, contractions occurred which sometimes left nothing more than a remnant of the expression of the original idea. In other cases the basic idea itself has become strange to us.

Thus in the present shape of the Roman Mass, forms and practices have been retained which are no longer comprehensible to the ordinary onlooker and for which an adequate explanation can sometimes be found only after a tiresome search into history. And when this does not concern some inconspicuous, subordinate rite, it is really very irritating.²⁹ Still this venerable heritage, which took centuries to produce, should not be discarded lightly. Even so, it is clear that at a time when one unified missal is appointed for nearly all Christendom, it is no longer possible—as it was possible, perhaps, and self-evident in the era of manuscript missals—to make the changes that one recognizes ought to be made, or to make them all at once. A great deal of patient waiting is certainly needed.

And yet, because the Church is eternally young, it will not shrink back from a task however big. When Pius X determinedly undertook the revision of the psalter in the breviary, he remarked that he was thereby taking

only the first step towards a correction and reform of breviary and missal.³⁰ When at the same time he revamped the position of the Sunday Masses and the weekdays in Lent, making them privileged, he was but following a plan which Trent had followed, to emphasize the essentials and to repress what is merely rank overgrowth.³¹ The same line was traced in the years after Pius X when, for the first time in nearly a thousand years, new prefaces were composed for the Universal Church—arrangements of the prayer of thanksgiving which once more brought into renewed prominence the central themes of all *eucharistias*, the pierced heart of our Redeemer and His eternal Kingship. Great changes, like the sanctioning of evening Masses and the easing of the law regarding the eucharistic fast, are witnesses to the courage to make bold reforms when they are required. In the last analysis, the revival of elementary liturgical thinking, as it was ushered in, in such a magnificent fashion, by the encyclical letter of Pope Pius XII, *Mediator Dei* of November 20, 1947, is the foundation—supporting but also necessary—for any and every renovation in the matter of external forms.

³⁰ In the Bull "Divino afflatu" of Nov. 1, 1911 (printed at the beginning of the missal and of most copies of the breviary: *nemo non videt . . . primum nos fecisse gradum ad Romani Breviarii et Missalis emendationem*).

³¹ The rubrical formulation of this and other changes followed in the new edition of the missal which appeared in 1920 under Benedict XV.

Still shortly before efforts were made to add other unessentials even to the Ordinary of the Mass. Under Leo XIII, as the result of a postulatium of many Frenchmen, it was almost certain that the name of St. Joseph would be added to the *Confiteor*, *Suscipe s. Trinitas, Communicantes* and *Libera nos*; see E. Springer in *Pastor Bonus*, XXXIV (1921-22), 20 f.

²⁷ *Supra*, p. 81.

Benedict XV, on May 21, 1920, also approved the use of Old Slavonic at Mass on certain feasts in the many sanctuaries within Czecho-Slovakian territory; see *Bibel u. Liturgie*, X (1935-6), 113 f.

²⁸ The permission to use Chinese was actually given in 1615 by Paul V, but it never reached the petitioners. When, in 1631, after the new missal was finished, the request for permission was renewed, it was no longer granted; Benedict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missæ*, II, 2, 13 (Schneider, 85); A. Vaeth, *Das Bild der Weltkirche* (Hanover, 1932), 96-98.

H. Chirat, in *Etudes de liturgie pastorale* (Paris, 1944), 227, tells of Pius XI's approval of a project to use the Roman liturgy, translated into Estonian, in Estonia.

²⁹ Cf. P. Simon, *Das Menschliche in der Kirche* (2nd ed., Freiburg, 1936), 52 f.

What H. Mayer, *Religionspädagogische Reformbewegung* (Paderborn, 1922), 141 wrote is not at all impertinent: At one time, he remarked, liturgy was the interpreter of religion, acting as a sort of sermon or catechism. Nowadays we are in the uncomfortable position of having to interpret what should be the interpreter, and of tuning up what should have been able to give us life and spirit.

Part II

THE NATURE AND FORMS OF THE MASS

1. Names of the Mass

THE NAMES BY WHICH THE EUCHARISTIC CELEBRATION HAS BEEN designated at various times do not give us an idea of its essence. They do not even suggest what that essence was thought to consist in. But they do show us certain aspects, whether purely on the surface or deeply intrinsic, by which the Mass was principally known to the faithful. These names are like a shadowy outline which permits certain characteristics of the essence to appear.

The earliest names we meet with are taken from outstanding details in the rite. The Acts of the Apostles uses the term “the breaking of (the) bread,” referring thereby to the act by which the presiding person, following the ancient custom and the example of our Lord Himself at the Last Supper, opened the meal.¹ But perhaps the idea behind the “breaking of bread” was not the material meal which was associated with the ceremony, but rather the sacramental bread itself: “Is not the bread we break a participation in Christ’s body?”² This is all the more certain if—as seems probable—the consecration of the bread was bound up with this rite of breaking. St. Paul himself calls the celebration “the Lord’s Supper,” Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον (1 Cor. 11:20) and thus places its character as a meal all the more plainly in the foreground.

Since the turn of the first century the term “Eucharist” has been employed, and thus is brought into prominence a spiritualizing word which had been connected with the meal from the outset. Εὐχαριστία is first of all the prayer of thanks with which, after the manner of our Lord himself, the sacred action was surrounded. The word was used by Catholic writers as well as by the Gnostic groups from which the apocryphal histories of the Apostles stemmed.³ In the Fathers of the second century this is the word which suggests a precise phase of the celebration; it is a celebration

¹ Κλάσις ἄρτου, *fractio panis*: Acts 2:42, (Quasten, *Mon.*, p. 341); *Acta Thomæ*, 46; 20:7. Cf. *supra*, pp. 9-11. c. 27 (*ibid.*, p. 343).

² 1 Cor. 10:16; cf. *Acta Johannis*, 110 ³Cf. e.g., *Acta Thomæ*, c. 27, 49, 158 (Quasten, 343-5).

in which the thanks of the redeemed rises up to God.⁴ In the *Didache*⁵ at least by inference, and plainly in Justin the consecrated gifts themselves are called *Εὐχαριστία*.⁶ And in this last meaning especially, the word is adopted by Tertullian and Cyprian as part of the vocabulary of the Latin Church,⁷ and has so remained till the present.

As we saw, the celebration of the Eucharist was very early designated as an *offering* or *sacrifice*. And the designation became a name then and there. In the Latin area there appeared, in this sense, the words *oblatio* and *sacrificium*, respectively from *offerre* and *sacrificari*—again first of all in the writings of the two Africans already mentioned. In Africa the word *sacrificium* appears to have prevailed as the usual name. Cyprian⁸ and Augustine⁹ use it regularly for the celebration of Mass. How strongly it was impressed on the literary usage of the Middle Ages we can learn from the fact that in the penitential books offenses against the eucharistic species are denominated as offenses against the *sacrificium*.¹⁰

But in other sections of the Church the word *oblatio* prevailed. Thus the pilgrim lady Aetheria, whenever she refers to the celebration of Mass on her pilgrimage, regularly uses *oblatio* and *offerre*.¹¹ Until the sixth century *oblatio* continued to be the usual name for the Mass.¹² To describe the action, *offerre* (even without an object) continued in use even later¹³; *sacerdotem oportet offerre* is what the bishop still says at ordination.

⁴ Cf. *supra*, pp. 20-22.

⁵ *Did.*, 9, 5.

⁶ Even Philo already calls the meal connected with the thanks-offering *εὐχαριστία*: Th. Schermann, "Εὐχαριστία und εὐχαριστεῖν" (*Philologus*, 1910), 391.

⁷ Dekkers, *Tertullianus*, 49, where it is at once apparent that Tertullian had no fixed term to designate the celebration; for Cyprian see Fortescue, *The Mass*, 44.

⁸ Citations in Fortescue, 398.

⁹ See the index, PL, XLVI, 579 ff.

¹⁰ *Pœnitentiale Vallicellianum I* (8th century), n. 21: *si quis non custodierit sacrificium*; cf. n. 123-125 (H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche* [Mainz, 1883], 344 f.; cf. 386 f., 425 f., etc.). The terminology seems to hark back to Scottish penitentials: *Pœnitentiale Cummeani*, c. 13, 5-23 (*ibid.*, 641-643). As Prof. W. Havers wrote me in reference to R. Atkinson, *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac* (Dublin, 1887), 6360, the word is also to be found in Old Irish in the form *sacarbaic*.

In England the word was still in vogue in the late Middle Ages; see the Sarum

Missal: (Martène, 1, 4, XXXV (I, 667 A): *calicem cum patena et sacrificio*.

The word was also used in German; in the rhymed explanation of the Mass (12th century, edited by A. Leitzmann (*Kleine Texte*, 54), 19, l. 22, we read of the little elevation: the priest "daz sacrificium uf heuet" (the priest lifts up the sacrificium).

¹¹ *Ætheriæ Peregrinatio*; see the index in the edition of Geyer (CSEL, XXXIX, 408).

¹² H. Kellner, "Wo und seit wann wurde Missa stehende Bezeichnung für das Messopfer?" (*Theol. Quartalschrift*, 1901), 429-433, 439. Prof. Havers tells me that in Middle Irish the word *oifrenn*, from the word *offerendum*, had become the common term for Mass; but a Celtic word with the same meaning, *idpart* (the root means "to offer up") was also employed. In modern Celtic languages the only term used is one equivalent to "offering": Irish, *an t'aifreann*; Welsh, *yr offeren*; Cornish, *an offeren*; Scots, *an aifrionn*; see D. Attwater, *The Christian Churches of the East* (Milwaukee, 1948), 30, footnote.

¹³ Citations in Batiffol, *Leçons*, 174 ff.

In the Greek Orient the corresponding word *προσφορά* was used only in passing.¹⁴ A word of similar import, *ἀναφορά* was generally employed only in the narrow sense of the Mass proper, and to designate the formulary used therein.¹⁵ On the other hand, the Syrians, both East and West, commonly used the word *Kurbono* or *Kurbana*, "gift"¹⁶ as the name for the Mass.¹⁷ The Armenians, too, use a word that means offering.¹⁸

We need not be surprised that, besides those names which go to the very core of the matter, other words are to be met with which—in accordance with a rule of sacral speech—designate the sacred action only with a certain reserve, as though from a distance. Several denominations of this sort are to be found.

Thus the West Syrians use, besides the word already referred to, another which expresses only the reverential and awe-filled "approach" to God, *Korobho*. It is generally used not for the whole Mass, but only for the Mass proper—the anaphora—and for the variable anaphora formulas.¹⁹

Elsewhere the Mass is called simply "the Holy," *sacrum*, just as we use it in modern Latin. Thus in one portion of the Semitic language-group various derivatives of the word *kadosh*, "holy," are employed. Amongst the Abyssinians (Ethiopians) the Mass is called *keddase*,²⁰ amongst the Arabs, *kuddas* or *takdis*.²¹ Amongst the Syrian Nestorians (and the Catholic Chaldeans) the corresponding word *kuddasha*, "the hallowing," is commonly used for the Mass formula.²² Of a similar sort is the Greek *ἀγιασμός*, which, however, designates more precisely the sacred—or better, the sanctifying—action. The word has become and has remained the usual name for the Mass amongst the Copts, obviously as a result of the influence of Alexandria.²³

Another name originated by considering the personal source from which the sacredness of the celebration springs—Christ our Lord. So the Mass

¹⁴ Synod of Laodicea, can. 58 (Mansi, II, 574).

¹⁵ So chiefly in the non-Byzantine rites, and usually in the respective national tongue.

This narrower use of *ἀναφορά* is quite appropriate, for while *προσφέρειν* means in a general way "to bring along," *ἀναφέρειν* means "to lay upon" (the altar); Brightman, 569, 594 f.

Cf. A. Baumstark, "Anaphora," RAC, I, 418-427.

¹⁶ Cf. Mark 7:11: *κορβάν, ὃ ἐστίν δωρον*. Similarly the Coptic liturgy is sometimes called *korban*.

¹⁷ Brightman, 579; Hanssens, II, 22.

¹⁸ Brightman, 580: *patarag*.

¹⁹ Brightman, 579; but see the letter of James of Edessa (d. 708) who places the two words *kurobho* and *kurbono* as equivalents; *ibid*, 490, line 25. The two names are

etymologically connected, for *kurbono* (*kurbona*) is derived from the same stem, *kerabh*, "to approach"; that with which we approach, a gift.

²⁰ Brightman, 579.

²¹ Brightman, 580; Attwater, *loc. cit*.

²² A. J. Maclean, *East Syrian daily offices* (London, 1894), 295.

²³ Hanssens, II, 22.

In the *Euchologion* of Serapion *ἀγιασμός* is used for the praise contained in the *Sanctus* (13, 10) and for the blessing of baptismal water (19, tit.; Funk, II, 174, 180). In this word, therefore, two allied notions are inherent, two different meanings of the term "hallow": "to call holy," that is, to worship God; and "to make holy," that is, to bless some creature. Which of these notions applies in the case of the designation of the Mass has yet to be investigated.

is called *dominicum*, “the Lord’s,” a name which was current in North Africa and Rome around the third and fourth centuries.²⁴ During the Diocletian persecution the martyrs of Abitina declare: *sine dominico non possumus . . . Intermitti dominicum non potest*.²⁵ This formation of a name which calls the Mass the celebration of Christ is parallel to that which calls Sunday the day of Christ (*dominica*, κυριακή), and the Christian place of worship the house of Christ, the house of the κύριος (κυριακόν = church). Nor is the creation of either term far apart in time.

In other instances, the name for the Mass is derived from the fact that it is a *service* which those who are invested with the fulness of the Church’s power perform for the believing congregation. That is, as we know, the sense of the word λειτουργία, liturgy,²⁶ which in church terminology designates primarily ecclesiastical functioning in general, then secondarily divine worship, and, amongst the Greeks since the ninth century, simply the Mass.²⁷ Even outside the Greek-speaking area of the Byzantine rite—especially amongst the Slavic peoples and the Roumanians—the same Greek word is in use as a name for the Mass.

There are other instances of a similar practice elsewhere. In German, for example, the solemn Mass is called *Amt* and *Hochamt* (service and high service, respectively), the latter corresponding to the Latin *summum officium* of the decadent medieval period.²⁸ In the closing years of Christian antiquity the common terms in Latin were *actio*, and the related *agere*. In Ambrose the expression for “to celebrate Mass” was either *agere* or *offerre*.²⁹ This expression designates the “consummation” of the sacred action.³⁰ This is brought out by the fact that later the word *actio* is taken in the narrow sense of the sacrifice proper, the canon, which is designated

²⁴ Batiffol, *Leçons*, 171 f.

²⁵ *Acta Saturnini*, etc., c. 10 f. (Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum* [Regensburg, 1859], 418 f.); cf. in Tertullian, *De fuga*, c. 14 PL, II, 141 A): *dominica sollemnia*. The Pauline term *dominica caena* (1 Cor. 11:20) also belongs in this category.

²⁶ E. Raitz v. Frentz, “Der Weg des Wortes ‘Liturgie’ in der Geschichte,” *Eph. liturg.*, LV (1941), 74-80; H. Strathmann-R. Meyer, λειτουργία etc., *Theol. Wörterbuch z. N. T.*, IV (1938), 221-238.

²⁷ Eisenhofer, I, 5; Hanssens, II, 33-36.

²⁸ J. Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch*, 79.

²⁹ F. J. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum*, I (1929), 54-65.

In Gelasius I, *Ep.* 14, 6 (Thiel, 365) the Mass is called *actio sacra*.

³⁰ Dölger, *Sol salutis*, 295-299, derives the word from the usage in ancient sacrificial rites where the sacrificing minister, before

giving the fatal stroke, used to ask, *agone?* But it seems difficult to admit an immediate transfer of such a usage to Christian sacrificial speech. Rather we are dealing here with an emphatic *agere*, such as was in use in ancient sacrificial language, along with *facere* and *operari*, to designate a sacrificial deed (even in the general sense of “celebrating a feast”); see O. Casel, “Actio in liturgischer Verwendung,” *JL*, I (1921), 34-39; *idem*, “Actio,” *RAC*, I, 82 f. In any case we could complement the word with an object in the sense of the full expression *missas agere*, a phrase which actually appears, e.g., in Victor Vitensis, *Historia persec. Afric.*, II, 2, 13 (CSEL, VII, 25, 39); cf. Leonianum (Muratori, I, 401; Feltoe, 101): *actio mysterii*; *Liber pont.* (Duchesne, I, 239): *actio sacrificii*.

On the other hand the derivation from *gratias agere* proposed in Batiffol, *Leçons*, 170, is very unlikely.

the *canon actionis*.³¹ The word *agenda* is also used,³² so that the full expression for “celebrating Mass” was *agere agendam*.

While in these designations the point of view is the activity of the spiritual officiants, Christian antiquity also recognized names which view the celebration of Mass as an assembly of the Christian people—an assembly that was centered on the mysteries of the Eucharist. A Latin appellation of this kind was actually used for the Mass—the word *collecta*—but its use was only passing.³³ Since it was soon employed in the liturgy in another sense, the word did not endure. But it was different with regard to a Greek word having the same meaning, the word σύναξις which from the fourth century on, was for a long time the prevailing name³⁴ until it was displaced by the term λειτουργία. However, it still lives in modern Latin as a substitute for Eucharist: *sacra synaxis*.³⁵ A word of the same type was also developed amongst the Syrians.³⁶

That the celebration of the Eucharist which Augustine lauded as *signum unitatis* should have taken its name from a *coming together* is something we could very well understand. But it is puzzling indeed that, as a matter of fact, it has been designated by a *separating*, a *going apart*. Such, however, appears to be the case in regard to the word which both in Latin and in the modern languages of the West has practically supplanted all other names, the word *missa*, “Mass.” For today there is no doubt at all as to the original and basic meaning of the word: *missa* = *missio* = *dimissio*. It meant, in late Latin, a dismissal, the breaking up or departure after an audience or public gathering.³⁷ Thus too in the language of the Christian liturgy, it was used both to announce the closing of the assembly in the *Ite missa est* and to designate what preceded this close. In this latter signification the word emerges around the end of the fourth century.

³¹ A special feast-day text of the *Communicantes* will therefore carry the heading, to be inserted *infra actionem*. As we all know, this heading now stands, very unsuitably, even above the basic text of the *Communicantes* in the *Missale Romanum*.

³² Du Cange-Favre, *Glossarium*, I, 138.

³³ In the Acts of the Abitina martyrs the word appears time and again along with the word *dominicum*, sometimes as an extension of the latter, sometimes as its equivalent, e.g., c. 12 (Ruinart, 419), where, in connection with the proconsul’s question, *Si in collecta fuisti*, the narrative remarks: *Quasi christianus sine dominico esse possit*. Cf. Eisenhofer, II, 4 f.

³⁴ Hanssens, II, 24-33; *ibid.*, 24 f., citations of a transient use of another word derived from the same root and used in a similar sense: συναγωγή.

³⁵ The word appears to have been given cur-

rency first by the Humanists. In the Middle Ages it was used only in the wider sense of a worshipping assembly; Du Cange-Favre, VII, 688.

³⁶ Brightman, 581: *cenushyo*.

³⁷ Avitus of Vienne, *Ep.* 1 (PL, LIX, 199): *in ecclesiis palatiisque sive praetoriis missa fieri pronuntiat, cum populus ab observatione dimittitur*. For textual criticism of the passage see Dölger, *Antike u. Christentum*, VI (1940), 87 f.

Cf. for the following Jungmann, *Gewordene Liturgie*, 34-52 (on the history of the meaning of *missa*); here will be found an extensive bibliography and the citation of sources. Among the latest untenable meanings suggested we must mention here the conjecture of C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik* (Freiburg, 1917), 221, that *missa* is to be deduced from *mesa* (actually

This closing did not consist simply in a mere prosaic announcement, as we have it in the phrase *Ite missa est*. It regularly comprehended (whether at Mass or at some other service) a definite ecclesiastico-religious act, a dismissal in which the Church once more drew her children to herself with motherly affection before sending them on their way with her blessing. That is the way it was even in the early Church. Already in the church order of Hippolytus the catechumens are sent away each time with a laying-on of hands. And thus it continued for centuries both in the Mass and outside. In a different form this arrangement has remained alive, even today. Nor need that surprise us. For the arrangement is found in the very essence of the Church, which, as the holy Church, is for her members essentially a refuge of grace and blessing. Just as the word *missa*, when we first encounter it as a name for the close of divine service, often implies the blessing just mentioned,³⁸ so also the word *missa* became a designation for the concluding blessing, and then for the blessing in general.

In a more modern extension of the meaning, a custom grew up of calling every divine service as a unit a *missa*, because it included a blessing, much as we today style every evening devotion briefly as a benediction. This usage had already appeared about 400. Soon there was talk of a *missa nocturna*, of *missæ vespertinæ* and *matutinæ*. The celebration of Mass, too, was such a *missa*. The usage took hold all the more easily because the same posture of body—standing bowed—which was perceived when the priest or bishop stretched out his hands in blessing was to be seen frequently also at the high points in the various functions—at the priest's orations and especially at the preface and in the canon of the Mass. In a sense the

found in inscriptions), and this in turn from *mensa*, altar-table.

A recent explanation, without knowledge of the derivation I have proposed, comes from F. Bömer, *Ahnenkult und Ahnenglaube im alten Rom* (Leipzig, 1943), 128 ff., who makes the suggestion that *mittere inferias* or simply *mittere* was a sacrificial term of the Roman cult of the dead, with the original meaning; to send the dead in the grave a gift; from this we get *missa patella* as the designation of the corresponding sacrificial plate. On this Bömer builds the hypothesis that the Christian *missa* must have stemmed from this *mittere* of the cult of the dead (132, note 1). However, the connection with the cult of the dead is hard to demonstrate. The Mass was never "sent" to the dead Christ, still less to a dead martyr; it was always an offering made to God, commemorating the Risen Christ who overcame death. The regular connection

of the Christian altar with the grave of a martyr belongs to the beginning of the Middle Ages, and in Rome itself is not prior to the 7th/8th centuries, while *missa* already appears even here as early as the 5th century, and precisely with our signification. See *infra*.

³⁸ See especially *Ætheria Peregrinatio*, c. 24, 2, 6 (CSEL, XXXVIII, 71 f.), et al. In the oft-cited passage in Ambrose, *Ep.*, 20, 4 f. (PL, XVI, 1037) the word has this meaning; after Ambrose had dismissed the catechumens, following the fore-Mass, he turned to explain the symbol to some candidates for baptism (*competentes*); then the sudden invasion was announced to him: *Ego tamen mansi in munere, missam facere cœpi. Dum offero. . .* By *missa* is here meant the dismissal of the *competentes* (which was done by means of a blessing), for they had to be sent out just as the other catechumens were, before the *traditio symboli*; cf. *infra*, p. 480, note 33.

priestly praying was always a sort of *missa*, for it always drew down God's favor and blessing upon all who bowed down before Him in adoration; but especially was this true where Christ's Body and Blood became present through the word of the priest. So the name *missa* was gradually appropriated to the Eucharist, not (for a long time) exclusively, but at least by preference. Since the middle of the fifth century, examples are to be found in the most widely separated parts of the Latin area—Italy, Gaul, North Africa—examples in which *missa* is used univocally for the Mass celebration. The oldest extant example is in a decretal of Leo the Great in the year 445, in which he inveighs against certain instances in which divine service was held only once on Sundays, *si unius tantum missæ more servato sacrificium offerre non possint, nisi qui prima diei parte convenerint*.³⁹

At the outset, the word used in this narrower sense was employed mostly in the plural, *missæ*, or with some addition, *missarum sollemnia*.⁴⁰ Only by exception, however, was there any adjective appended like *sanctæ missæ*.⁴¹ Even to day in the official language of the Church such adjectives are as a rule left out; it is simply *fit missa* or *celebratur missa*. It is as though the word *missa* has in it so much splendor that it can well do without extra ornament.⁴² At the time of origin and development it must have approached, in content and mood, the Græco-Coptic ἀγιασμός, for it is *the* celebration in which the world is sanctified.

2. Meaning of the Mass. The Mass and the Church

If we put together such meanings as we derive from the names of the Mass we glean nothing more than a very superficial sketch. The Mass is a celebration for which the Church assembles, a celebration which occupies the center of her charge and service, a celebration which is dedicated to the Lord. It is a celebration which presents God with a thanksgiving, an offering, indeed a sacrifice. And it is a celebration which reacts with blessings upon those who gather for it. Other essential features have been revealed to us by the course of history, for we have learnt the various aspects which were given special prominence as time went by. But we must

³⁹ Leo the Great, *Ep.* 9, 2 (PL, LIV, 627). Further citations in Jungmann, *op. cit.*, 40-42.

⁴⁰ This last expression is employed as a rule by Gregory the Great; see, for instance, the Christmas lesson in the breviary. In the early Middle Ages the expression is quite frequent; see, e.g., *infra*, p. 196, note 7. It answers to the consciousness that the Mass had to be "celebrated" or "solemn-

ized," and to the fact that a solemn Mass was then the usual type.

⁴¹ Thus once in Cassiodorus, *Expos. in ps. 25* (PL, LXX, 185 B).

⁴² The other names of the Mass already described are used as a rule without any qualifying additions, with the exception of those used in the area of the Byzantine rite, where the term is regularly "the divine liturgy."

now inquire what the Church herself has said in her formal pronouncements, whether by direct teaching or in theological discussion, regarding the meaning and the essence of this celebration.

It will not be out of place to present this question in a book which has as its primary subject-matter the variety of forms that the Christian celebration possesses. For the discussion should serve not only to establish or prove this variety but also to understand it in its development and growth from its roots, from the very core of its nature. So it is necessary, first of all, to have this essential core before our eyes to see what it is. Naturally it is not our task to excerpt and to rewrite the pertinent treatise in dogmatic theology as an isolated and self-contained chapter or even one related to the full-rounded theological structure or more particularly to the doctrine of the Sacraments. We must rather realize the liturgical connotations of the problem, and try to pose the questions and construct the answers with an eye to religious life and ecclesiastical service.

Let us first orient ourselves with regard to the liturgical facts hitherto established, making them the starting point for a broader excursion into the field of theology. These facts show that we cannot make the notion of sacrifice a basis absolutely and exclusively, otherwise we would leave no room for many other important and essential features. We must start off from one of the broader and more general ideas which find an application in an examination of the essence of the Mass solemnity. Such a notion is the one by which our Lord himself indicated the meaning of what He instituted: "Do this for a commemoration of me." The Mass is a solemnity dedicated to the memory of Christ; it is *dominicum*. And further, it is not merely a remembrance of His person, but a recollection of His work—according to the word of the Apostle: "For as often as you shall eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the death of the Lord, until he comes" (1 Cor. 11:25).

The consideration of the Mass must therefore commence with the mystery of our Lord's Passion and death. This is what is continually being made present and actual—in the institution of the Last Supper. However, neither can this mystery be exhausted with one simple idea. In this mystery our Lord sealed with His blood His testimony to truth (John 18:37), to the Kingdom of God which had come in His own person, and thus had "borne witness to the great claim" (1 Tim. 6:13). With a heroic obedience that was steadfast even to the death of the Cross (Philippians 2:8), He had in this mystery fulfilled the will of His Father against whom the first Adam had set himself with defiant disobedience. With free resolve our Lord had put himself into the hands of His enemies, silently, making no use of His wondrous might, and had offered up His life as "a ransom for many" (Mark 10:45). He had taken up the warfare against the invisible enemy who held mankind imprisoned in sin, and as one who is stronger still, He had been victorious (Luke 11:22): He had cast out the prince of this world (John 12:31). He took His place at the head of mankind, strid-

ing forward through suffering and death, thus entering into His glory (Luke 24:26). As high priest He has offered up in the Holy Spirit the perfect sacrifice; with His own blood He has entered the sanctuary and set a seal upon the new and eternal covenant (Heb. 9:11 ff.). He himself became the Paschal Lamb, whose blood procured our ransom out of the land of bondage, whose slaughter inaugurated our joyous Easter feast (1 Cor. 5:7 ff.), the Lamb that was slain and yet lives, the Lamb for whose wedding feast the bride has clothed herself (Apoc. 5:6 ff.; 19:7 ff.).

By all these notions, by all these pictures the attempt is made in the writings of the New Testament to circumscribe and to illustrate the great occurrence by means of which Jesus Christ effected the re-establishment of mankind.

All that is characteristic of the redeeming death of Jesus is clearly contained in some way in the institution of the Last Supper. There, in a manner that is full of mystery, this suffering is made present, this suffering that is at once testimony and obedience and atonement and struggle and victory and stainless sacrifice. It is made present under the signs of bread and wine, the elements of a simple meal, which are transformed by the hallowing words into Jesus' Body and Blood, and thus changed, are enjoyed by all who partake of them. But what is the more precise meaning of the Presence that is consummated day after day in a hundred thousand places? Does that meaning rest in the very Presence as such?

When Christ on the Cross cried out His *Consummatum est*, few were the men who noticed it, fewer still the men who perceived that this phrase announced a turning-point for mankind, that this death opened into everlasting life gates through which, from that moment on, all the peoples of earth would pass. Now, to meet the expectant longing of mankind, this great event is arrested and, through Christ's institution, held fast for these coming generations so that they might be conscious witnesses of that event even in the latest centuries and amongst the remotest nations, and might look up to it in holy rapture.

The Middle Ages actually did turn to this side of the eucharistic mystery with special predilection. What takes place on the altar is above all the *memoria passionis*. The suffering of Christ was seen represented in the breaking of the bread, in its distribution to the faithful, in the partaking of the Chalice whereby the Blood of the Lord is poured into the mouth of the faithful.¹ From this obvious symbolism the step to an allegorical interpretation of the whole rite was easily made; particularly after the ninth century the whole Mass was explained as a comprehensive representation of the Passion of Jesus. In the action of the assisting clerics, who step back at the start of the preface, is seen the flight of the disciples. In the celebrant's extended hands our Lord is seen agonizing on the Cross

¹ M. Lepin, *L'idée du sacrifice de la Messe jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1926), 87-90, *d'après les théologiens depuis l'origine* 112-129.

with arms outstretched. In the commingling of the species is seen His glorious Resurrection. In fact, the whole life of Christ, the whole history of Redemption is seen represented in the Mass. The sacred action at the altar becomes a play, in which drama and reality are intermixed most mysteriously. How strong an impression this viewpoint made can perhaps be gauged by the fact that even today we use the expression "to hear Mass,"² as if we were an audience.

We must perceive that even in these explanations of the medieval interpreters, a primary essential trait of Christ's institution is given expression; this institution is a memorial ceremony, a sacred action which recalls into the midst of the congregation a redemptive work which occurred long ago, a "mystery-action."³

Another aspect of Christ's institution which was prominent from the very outset and which in earlier times was made visible through its liturgical form, was the fact that a holy meal was being held—a meal and a memorial. The Eucharist is a memorial instituted by our Lord for a remembrance of Himself. A table is set; it is the Lord's table. For a long time Christian speech avoided—or at least refrained from using—the term for altar derived from pre-Christian religion and even today still employs the simple name *mensa*, ἄγια τράπεζα.⁴

At this table the faithful community is gathered in holy society. Here the Lord himself is given them as nourishment, His Body and His Blood handed to them under the species of bread and wine, as a spiritual food, a spiritual drink (cf. 1 Cor. 10:3 ff.).

² The expression "to hear Mass" is already found in the 13th century *Lay Folks Mass Book* (ed. Simmons), 6; cf. 4. The Germans speak of "hearing Mass": *die Messe hören*.

Decretum Gratiani, III, 1, 64 (Friedberg, I, 1312): *missas totas audire*; cf. *ibid.*, 62 (1311), but here the MSS. disagree. Even in Regino, *De synod. causis*, II, 5, 64 (PL, CXXXII, 285) one of the questions is whether the shepherds come to church on Sunday and hear Mass (*missas audiant*). The Carolingian explanation of the Mass, "*Dominus Vobiscum*" (PL, CXXXVIII, 1167) considers the *circumstantes* of the priest's prayer to refer to those who have come *ad audiendam missam*, and that he then prays also for those *qui oblationes suas offerunt*.

An Albanian confrere informs me that the Albanians speak about "seeing Mass."

On the other hand the indeterminate expression "to attend Mass," or at least the concept corresponding to it, is much older; cf. Tertullian, *De or.*, c. 19 (CSEL, XX,

192): *de stationum diebus non putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus interveniendum*. Tertullian commends this *intervenire* in which one can, even without communicating, bring the body of the Lord home; cf. Elfers, *Die Kirchenordnung Hippolyts*, 293.

³ Nothing is here said about the details of the nature of the *mysterium*; cf. the use of the word "*mysterium*" in W. Goossens, *Les origines de l'Eucharistie*, 246 f. It is this locution, however, that is borrowed by O. Casel, *JL*, XI (1931), 271.

⁴ In older English usage the altar is often called God's board, and this expression is especially (though not exclusively) used when reference is made to Holy Communion; cf. Bridgett, *A History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*, 191. In the Greek-speaking East at the present day the usual expression for altar is *hagia* or *hiera trapeza* (the holy or sacred table); cf. Salaville, *An Introduction to the Study of Eastern Liturgies* (London, 1938), 133.

Thus the eucharistic institution does more than commemorate our Saviour. In it the communion and society of the faithful with their Lord is continually renewed. The meal is a sufficiently striking proof of that. And we can therefore safely say that, aside from the external activity, the meal is still in our own time the basic form of the eucharistic celebration.⁵ However, even in the biblical sources, this meal is distinguished as a sacrificial meal. The table of the Lord which is prepared in the church in Corinth is contrasted to the tables of the demons, the tables at which the meat offered up to the heathen gods is eaten.⁶ Already in the primitive Church it was recognized that in the celebration of the Eucharist a sacrifice was offered up, and that therein was fulfilled the prophecy of Malachias who foretold a clean oblation which would be offered up in all places.⁷ The thought of a sacrifice, of an oblation to God, taking place in the Eucharist, occurs time after time in the works of the Fathers. That thought has definitely figured in every text of the eucharistic celebration which is known to us.

The Middle Ages, too, whose devotion to the celebration of the Mass had drawn the remembrance of the Passion so much into the foreground, did not on that account lose sight of the idea of oblation and sacrifice. In fact the later medieval period did so much to emphasize the sacrificial aspect and stressed in so many forms and fashions the value of the Mass for gaining God's grace and favor for the living and the dead, that not only did the Reformation find herein a subject for its immoderate indictment but even Church authorities, both before and after the storm, found reasons for making certain corrections.

The Council of Trent, therefore, was careful to clarify this very phase of the eucharistic mystery. The Council stressed the doctrine that the Mass is not a mere meal nor only a memorial service recalling a sacrifice that had taken place of yore, but is itself a sacrifice possessing its own power of atonement and petition.⁸ Christ had offered this sacrifice at the Last Supper and had given His Apostles and their successors the commission to offer it. Indeed He himself makes the offering through their ministry. Thus He left to His beloved spouse, the Church, a visible sacrifice.⁹ The Mass is therefore a sacrifice which is made by Christ and at the same time by the recipients of His commission; it is the *sacrifice of Christ* and the *sacrifice of the Church*. In our liturgical study we may not treat the sacrifice of the Church as a matter of secondary moment.

⁵ R. Guardini, *Besinnung vor der Feier der heiligen Messe* (Mainz, 1939), II, 73 ff. Cf. *supra*, p. 21, note 63.

⁶ 1 Cor. 10:14-22. Cf. the discussion of the passage in Goossens, 202-208.

⁷ *Didache*, 14, 2 f.

⁸ Sess. XXII, can. 1 (Denziger-Umberg, n. 948): *S. q. d. in missa non offerri Deo*

verum et proprium sacrificium aut quod offerri non sit aliud quam nobis Christum ad manducandum dari, a.s.; can. 3 (*ibid.*, 950): *S. q. d. missæ sacrificium tantum esse laudis et gratiarum actionis aut nudam commemorationem sacrificii in cruce peracti, non autem propitiatorium . . . , a.s.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, c. 1, 2 (Denziger-Umberg, n. 938, 940).

In the theological controversies of the Reformation period and in subsequent theology, the sacrificial notion did indeed stand out as central, but the Church's sacrifice played only a minor role. For the main concern was over a much deeper presupposition, whether the Mass was a sacrifice at all, and—opposing Calvin especially—whether believing that it was contradicted the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews regarding the *one* sacrifice of Christ. Thus, above all else, the Mass had to be safeguarded as the sacrifice of Christ.

But when apologetic interests receded and the question once more arose as to what is the meaning and the purpose of the Mass in the organization of ecclesiastical life, it was precisely this point, the sacrifice of the Church, which came to the fore. The liturgies themselves are quite emphatic in the matter. One has only to scan the text of the Roman Mass, or of any other Mass-liturgy for that matter, to see that there is nothing plainer than the thought that in the Mass the Church, the people of Christ, the congregation here assembled, offers up the sacrifice to Almighty God. What is happening at the altar is called, in one of the most venerable texts of our liturgy, an *oblatio servitutis nostræ, sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ*. And, corresponding exactly to this, there are the phrases to be read right after the words of consecration, at the very climax of the whole action: *nos famuli tui, sed et plebs tua sancta . . . offerimus præclaræ maiestati tuæ*—and the gift mentioned is the *hostia pura*, the sacred Bread and the Chalice of salvation. The same notion finds expression in a phrase incorporated into the Mass some thousand years later, when the priest speaks of *meum ac vestrum sacrificium* which should be acceptable to God. That the Mass is also the sacrifice of Christ is, in the Roman Mass *ordo*, only assumed, but never directly expressed.

There is actually a definite contrast between this language of the liturgy and the language we are used to nowadays in sermons, catechisms, and other religious writings. We prefer to insist on the fact that on our altars Christ renews His Passion and death in an unbloody manner. We talk about the renewal of the sacrifice of the Cross, about an oblation in which Christ gives himself to His heavenly Father. But it is only in very general terms that we mention the sacrifice of the Church,¹⁰ and for this reason even our theological textbooks in discussing the ensuing problem as to precisely where Christ consummates His sacrifice, refer without much reflection to His presence in the sacred Host.

If, by way of contrast, we skim through the pertinent writings of the

¹⁰ This is true not only of German-language catechisms, which are satisfied with a statement that "Jesus Christ offers himself in holy Mass"; the New Baltimore is equally vague ("Christ gives us His own body and blood . . . to be offered. . . ." q. 356) and equally one-sided ("The Mass is the sacri-

fice of the New Law in which Christ, through the ministry of the priest, offers Himself to God in an unbloody manner under the appearances of bread and wine." Q. 357); cf. G. Ellard, "'Mediator Dei' and Catechism Revision," *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, CXX (1949), 289-309.

Fathers even casually, we are surprised to note that they use similar terms in reference to Christ's oblation in the Eucharist and in reference to our own. They emphasize with equal stress the fact that we (or the Church or the priest) offer up the Passion of the Lord, indeed that we offer up Christ himself.¹¹ This is likewise true of the pre-Scholastic Middle Ages. Seldom, it is true, do they use words of their own to express the traditional teaching, but when they do they are especially clear in pointing out that it is the priest at the altar, who, in place of Christ, offers up our Lord's Body,¹² that in so doing he is the *coadiutor Redemptionis*¹³ and *vicarius eius*.¹⁴ And at the same time they declare that the Church offers up the sacrifice through the ministry of the priest.¹⁵ Even the theologians of earlier

¹¹ Irenæus, *Adv. hæres.*, IV, 17 f.; esp. IV, 18, 4 (al. IV, 31, 3; Harvey, II, 203): *hanc oblationem Ecclesia sola puram offert fabricatori.*

Cyprian, *Ep.*, 63, 17 (CSEL, III, 714): *passio est enim Domini sacrificium quod offerimus.*

Athanasius, *Ep. heort.*, 2, 9 (PG, XXVI, 1365): We offer up not a material lamb but the true Lamb that was already offered, our Lord Jesus Christ.

Chrysostom, *In Hebr. hom.*, 17, 3 (PG, LXIII, 131): our priest is he who offered up the cleansing sacrifice; it is this same sacrifice that we now offer up . . . , not another.

Passio Andreae (5th century; *Acta ap. apocr.*, ed. Lipsius-Bonnet, II, 1, p. 13 f.): *Omnipotentis Deo . . . immaculatum agnum cotidie in altare crucis sacrifico.*

Augustine, *Ep.*, 98, 9 (CSEL, XXXIV, 531): *Nonne semel oblatum est Christus in seipso et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes paschæ sollemnitates, sed omni die populis immolatur?*

Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.*, V, 10 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 103): When we are offering up our prayers to God for the dead, we do not plait a wreath but we offer up the Christ slain for our sins.

According to Theodoret, *In ps.*, 109 (PG, LXXX, 1773) "the Church offers the mystery of the body and blood," even if Christ were not active at all.

¹² Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908), *In ep. ad Hebr.*, 8 (PL, CXVII, 874 C; Lepin, 139): *Dum enim nos offerimus sacramenta corporis eius, ipse offert.*

Pseudo-Alcuin (9th/10th century, *Con-fessio fidei*, IV, 1 (PL, CI, 1087; Lepin,

139). *quamvis corporeis oculis ibi ad altare Domini videam sacerdotem panem et vinum offerentem, tamen intuitu fidei et puro lumine cordis inspicio illum summum sacerdotem verumque pontificem Dominum Jesum Christum offerentem seipsum.*

Hugo of Amiens (d. 1164), *Contra hæres.*, II, 2 (PL, 192, 1276; Lepin, 140): *Quapropter manus illæ, manus ad hoc sacratæ, quibus Christi corpus et sanguis in altari sacro habet confici, manus utique sunt Christi. . . . Consecratus itaque sacerdos stat vice Christi coram patre summo.*

The idea that behind the activity of the visible priest stands everywhere the activity of the High Priest Christ is also strongly emphasized by Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, 12, 2 (PL, XII, 1312).

¹³ Peter Comestor (d. 1178), *Sermo 47* (PL, CXCVIII, 1837 C; Lepin, 140).

¹⁴ Stephen of Baugé (d. 1136), *De sacramento alt.*, c. 9 (PL, CLXXII, 1280; Lepin, 140).

¹⁵ Lepin, 141.

Early Scholastic theologians incline towards the view that an excommunicated priest or one publicly heretical can no longer validly consecrate because he can no longer speak the *offerimus* of the prayer in the Canon in the name of the Church (Lepin, 141, note 3). Even Peter Lombard still subscribes to this opinion (Lepin, 157).

Similarly, Cyprian had denied to priests outside the pale of the Church the power to consecrate; C. Ruch, "La messe d'après les Pères," *DThC*, X, 939 f.

St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, III, q. 83, answers with a distinction: only the prayers which are to be said in the name of the

Scholasticism¹⁶ and the great teachers of the flourishing schools of the thirteenth century use the same language,¹⁷ without, however, going into any deeper discussion of the topic. Only Duns Scotus lays any great emphasis on the sacrifice of the Church. The Eucharist, he says, is accepted by God, not because Christ is contained in it, but because He is offered up in it, offered up by the Church.¹⁸ The theologians of the declining Middle Ages stress the activity of the Church with such one-sidedness and partiality that the sacerdotal function of Christ himself is to some extent obscured.¹⁹

Even the Council of Trent itself pointed out, as we already remarked, that it was our Lord's intention at the Last Supper to leave "to His beloved Spouse, the Church, as human nature requires, a visible sacrifice."²⁰ The Church, therefore, was to have this sacrifice, and through it was to be able to satisfy the desire of human nature to honor God by means of sacrifice. For any theological view which would also do justice to liturgical reality, this statement of fact is fundamental.

Our next question therefore follows along this direction. We want to know *how* Christ's institution is to be understood as a sacrifice of the Church, in what relation it stands to the life of the Church in all its fullness, and especially what principles of liturgical formation are taken for granted in it.²¹

To be more precise, how is this sacrifice which the Church is supposed

Church lose their efficacy, not the consecration, which is performed in Christ's name and by virtue of the inamissible power of ordination. Adrian VI (d. 1523), *In IV Sent.*, f. 28 (Lepin, 230) adheres to the conviction that even the power to offer up the sacrifice (which is not taken away by the sinful state of the priest) is always exercised in the name of the Church and for this reason retains its efficacy *ex parte Ecclesiae committentis*.

¹⁶ Lepin, 148 ff.

¹⁷ Lepin, 180, 210 f.

Albert the Great, *De s. Euch.*, V, 3, forms an exception: *solus Filius est sacerdos huius hostiae*, says he.

¹⁸ Duns Scotus, *Quaest. quodlibet*, 20, 22 (Lepin, 231).

Scotus even contests the notion that Christ here himself, *immediate*, offers up the sacrifice, because of the wording of the Epistle to the Hebrews and because otherwise the Mass would be equal in value to the Passion. Because it is the Church that essentially makes the offering, it is also needful that someone answer the priest in *persona totius Ecclesiae*; Duns Scotus, *In IV. sent.*, 13, 2 (Lepin, 238).

¹⁹ A. Gaudel, "La messe: III," *DThC*, X, 1082 f.

²⁰ Sess. XXII, c. 1 (Denziger-Umbert, n. 938). See *ibid.*: *novum instituit pascha se ipsum ab Ecclesia . . . immolandum* (see Schroeder, 144-5). This makes it plain that the words of the Council about *idem offerens* (c. 2) are not to be pressed to the point of excluding the cooperation of the Church, which really represents a subject not at all independent of Christ. Besides, in the same passage the words *offerendi ratio diversa* also leave room for this extension of the subject: Christ here offers along with His Church.

²¹ In recent times the sacrifice of the Church has been given theological emphasis by M. de la Taille, S.J., *Mysterium Fidei* (Paris, 1921). Of the three sections of this work the first deals with the Lord's sacrifice, *De sacrificio Dominico*, the second with the Church's, *De sacrificio ecclesiastico*. Insofar as the Mass, contrasted with the Cross, is a new sacrifice, it is so (according to de la Taille) exclusively as the sacrifice of the Church. The offering which Christ made on the Cross she makes her very own by performing it on His commission and through His power (299). A detailed dis-

to offer up—how is it brought about? By the fact that the Church joins in the sacrifice of her Lord and Master, so that His oblation becomes her oblation. Therefore, in the Mass the one sacrifice of Christ, the one oblation of Golgotha by which He redeemed the world, is in mysterious fashion made present. Because of St. Paul's letter to the Hebrews, the oneness of the sacrifice of Christ is a matter which cannot be assailed.²²

But how is this presence of the sacrifice of Christ to be understood? There must be something more here than just a representation of the oblation that took place once upon a time, something more than the *memoria passionis* as we see it commonly exhibited by the separate presentation of the Body and the Blood of Christ. On the altar a sacrifice truly takes place, but it is a sacrifice which in many respects coincides with the sacrifice of the Cross. For the Council of Trent says of it: "There is the same oblation, and the same Person who now makes the oblation through the ministry of the priests and who once had made an oblation of himself on the Cross. Only the manner of offering is different."²³ It is here that the speculations of theologians take their start; the result has been a variety of explanations which, since the sixteenth century, have continued to multiply.

The simplest solution seems to be one that was not proposed till our own day. According to this explanation the *memoria passionis* is intensified into an objective remembrance in the sense of a *Mysteriengegenwart*—a mystical presence. In the celebration of the Eucharist not only Christ himself but His one-time act of redemption are made present under cloak of the rite, "in the mystery."²⁴ The past happening, Christ's Passion and Resurrection, is re-enacted in time, not indeed in its historical course but "in the Sacrament." So, from the very nature of the case, there is present an oblation—the same oblation which once took place. This, however, is a supposition which is not found in tradition in the precise form it here takes, but is rather the result of reasoning from tradition,²⁵ a deduction which must enlist the aid of certain hypotheses which are themselves quite questionable.²⁶ According to this theory the one oblation of Christ achieves

discussion of de la Taille's theory of the Mass in Lepin, 659-720, and in most theological manuals.

²² Hebr. 9:24; 10:18.

²³ c. 2 (Denziger-Umbert, n. 940).

²⁴ The concept is presented by O. Casel in countless publications. Prominent are "Das Mysteriengedächtnis der Messliturgie," *JL*, VI (1926), 113-204, and his later article, which sets out his position fully, "Glaube, Gnosis und Mysterium," *JL*, XV (1941), 155-305.

²⁵ G. Söhngen, *Symbol und Wirklichkeit im Kultmysterium* (2nd ed., Bonn, 1940), 132-135. A brief introduction to the study of the *mysterium* is provided by P. Botz,

O.S.B., "The Mysterium," *Orate Fratres*, XV (1940-41), 145-151. Of this theory, aside from its detailed application, Th. Klauser, "A Brief History of the Liturgy in the West: I," *Orate Fratres*, XXIII (1948-9), 15, has this to say: "The conception of various liturgical acts as 'mystery-deeds' is clearly demonstrable in certain ecclesiastical regions, particularly eastern ones, and in the writings of some Fathers, but it has never become a general and common teaching of the Church."

²⁶ Cf. J. Pohle-M. Gierens, *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik*, III, 9 (Paderborn, 1937), 361-363.

simply a new presence by means of the consecration. The disparity of the actual oblation would thus be reduced to the barest possible minimum, so small that it is hard to see how there could be any new *ratio offerendi* or how the Eucharist could still be called *our* sacrifice, or how we would be linked to Christ's oblation in any relationship except a very external one.²⁷

The older explanations, on the contrary, generally sought to find the new and "different" manner of offering, of which the Council speaks, in the act of consecration itself. By means of the consecration, the Body immolated on the Cross and the Blood shed thereon are presented to the Father once again at this point of time and space. In this re-presentation which Christ fulfills through the priest—*ministerium sacerdotum*, says Trent—we have the oblation in which, according to the testimony of Christian tradition, the great high-priest offers himself at every Mass. This new offering is necessarily also a sacrifice in its own right, but not one that has independent redemptive value, since it is nothing else than a sacramental extension of the one and only redemptive sacrifice on Calvary which the Epistle to the Hebrews had in view.²⁸

There appeared to be only one difficulty. This re-presentation is indeed some sort of offering (*offerre*), but is not properly a sacrificial offering (*sacrificari*), an *immolation*. Pre-Tridentine theology was not at all agitated over this distinction, the sacrificial character of the Mass being supplied by the *oblatio* which took place in it.²⁹ But the pressure of controversy seemed to demand a search for the precise sacrificial act within the Mass. And especially in view of the sacrifices of the Old Testament, it seemed necessary to acknowledge that a destruction of the gift was essentially required, so that, in the case of a living thing it had to be killed (destruction theory), just as Christ himself consummated His redemptive sacrifice by His death. The post-Tridentine Mass theories are concerned for the most part with demonstrating this "destructive" sacrificial activity in the Mass.³⁰ However, no agreement over the solution has ever been reached.³¹

Some theologians wanted to substitute for this destruction a mere altera-

²⁷ Cf. A. Stolz, O.S.B., *Manuale theologiae dogmaticae* (Freiburg, 1943), VI, 173-175.

²⁸ The above formulation is the result of numerous discussions I have had with a confrere of mine, P. Karl Rahner.

²⁹ See the succinct presentation of statements for the chief periods in the history of the theology of the Mass-sacrifice in the comprehensive article "Messe" in DThC, X (1928), 795-1403, the first three centuries; from the 4th to the 15th by A. Gaudel, 1036 f.; 1081-1083.

St. Thomas distinguishes the two concepts *oblatio* and *sacrificium* when he says (*Sum. theol.*, II, II^o, 85, 3 ad 3): *sacrificia proprie*

dicuntur, quando circa res Deo oblatas aliquid fit, but he places no special importance on it; see Gaudel, *loc. cit.*, 1061 f., 1081.

³⁰ See the survey in Lepin, 337-770; A. Michel, "La Messe, V," DThC, X, 1143-1289; F. Renz, *Die Geschichte des Messopfer-Begriffes*, II (Freiburg, 1902).

³¹ The first generation of post-Tridentine theologians tried to be content to find in the Mass some kind of image of a sacrificial destruction. They were satisfied to refer to the commemoration of the Passion as represented in Communion and, in a limited way, even in the fraction (M. Cano), or finally also in the consecration under sepa-

tion of the gifts, which, added to the offering, would suffice for a sacrificial act.³² Others finally thought they could ignore any special act of immolation that would require the destruction or alteration of the gift, and following the lead of pre-Tridentine tradition they explained that the simple presentation of the gifts was sufficient. Christ, they declared, is made present under the species which by their separation are a sign of His bloody sacrifice of old; thus He presents himself anew to the Father.³³ There could not, of course, be any thought of an oblation of Christ that takes place here and now if this presentation were to consist simply in the interior resignation, in Christ's sacrificial sentiment which is present in this moment of time and space (because enclosed in the sacramental pres-

rate species (Salmeron). But under the pressure of controversy, an actual destruction occurring here and now was looked for: Bellarmine (d. 1621) sought it ultimately in Communion, which he likened to the consumption of the sacrificial victim by fire; Gregory of Valencia (d. 1603) in the consecration, fraction and Communion together.

Soon it was acknowledged more and more that the destroying sacrificial act could only be looked for in the double consecration, which was the only thing requisite for the completion of the eucharistic sacrifice. Lessius (d. 1623) saw—as several others had already seen before him (Lepin, 413)—that the double consecration which produces, *vi verborum*, the separation of body and blood, was an act in itself suited to achieve the actual death of the sacrificial Lamb if the latter were still liable to death; it was therefore equivalent to a real sacrificial act (later designated *mactatio virtualis*). Vasquez (d. 1604), whose theory was supported in the last century by Perrone, found that this double consecration would not in itself acquire the status of an independent sacrificial act, but in view of the relative character of the Mass, reverting as it does to the sacrifice of the Cross—for it is really a commemorative sacrifice—the image of death, the representation of the former slaying inherent in the double consecration, the *mactatio mystica*, would suffice; later adherents to this thesis added that, even abstracting from the relativity, the *mactatio mystica* would do, because Christ appeared each time under the image of death (Bossuet, Billot).

Cardinal de Lugo (d. 1660) maintained that an actually destructive change was in-

admissible as an homage to God, the master of life and death; according to his theory, the words of consecration placed Christ before men's eyes in a *status declivior*, in the condition of food, and this even by the single consecration; the double consecration was required not for the sacrifice but for the representation of Christ's Passion. This theory of de Lugo was revived by Cardinal Franzelin (d. 1886), and J. Brinktrine, *Das Opfer der Eucharistie* (Paderborn, 1938), has endeavored to extend it by the notion that the humanity of Christ, through this reduction to the state of food, experiences a dedication or hal- lowing; see in this connection F. Mitzka, ZkTh, LXIII (1939), 242-244.

³² St. Thomas is here cited as the authority (see *supra*, note 29). Thus R. Tapper (d. 1559) refers to the fact that in the Mass the glorified Christ assumes a sacramental form of existence (DThC, X, 1107, 1109 f., 1116). This theory has been taken up again more recently by N. Bartmann, *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik* (4th ed., Freiburg, 1921), II, 369 f.

Akin to this is the theory of Suarez (adopted to some extent by Scheeben), according to which the sacrificial transformation is referred not to Christ directly but to the eucharistic elements, the bread and wine; see *infra*, note 38.

³³ Thus especially, several German theologians since the 19th century, above all Moehler and Thalhoffer. Lepin, who himself adheres to this theory, cites in its favor the representatives of the French Oratory since Cardinal Bérulle (d. 1629); Lepin, 462 ff., 543 ff. But see in opposition A. Michel, "La messe," DThC, X, 1196-1208.

ence) and enduring (because also retained permanently in heaven). For an interior sacrificial sentiment, the will to sacrifice is not itself a sacrifice. Sacrifice demands some sort of action which moreover must be expressed in an external sign. Those who hold this opinion are therefore forced to assume that Christ in heaven makes a sacrifice which fulfills these conditions, and which is made present in the consecration³⁴—an assumption which cannot easily be confirmed.³⁵

Christ does, however, make the presentation of His one-time sacrifice before the face of God in an externally perceptible action, namely in the consecration which He performs through His priests. The consecration not only stems from Christ, in so far as the commission and powers are derived from Him, but it is in its very performance His work in the first degree, a work of His priestly office.³⁶ And it is a work which—unlike the other sacraments, aimed in the first place at the sanctification of souls—is directed immediately to the glorification of the Father. It is a presentation or offering to the heavenly Father in the very here and now, in an act which enshrines in itself the core of every sacrificial activity: *dedication*.³⁷

³⁴ This profound notion was developed especially by Valentin Thalhoffer; see Lepin, 575 f. In his own statement of his standpoint Lepin believes it possible to admit a heavenly sacrifice without any external act (737-758; see 747).

³⁵ F. A. Stentrup, *Prælectiones dogmaticæ de Verbo incarnato*, II, 2 (Innsbruck, 1889), 278-347.

This notion of sacrifice, constructed as it is exclusively on the concept of oblation, is plainly distinguished from the pre-Tridentine notion in this one essential point, that the latter thought in this connection almost entirely of an offering by the Church while the former speaks of the oblatory activity of Christ and ascribes it to the Christ present in the Eucharist. From this conception a new mode of eucharistic piety derived, directed towards the life of Christ's soul in the Eucharist. It is to be found exemplified amongst the members of the French Oratory; some citations in Lepin, 482 ff., 491 f., 546.

³⁶ Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa theol.*, III, 83, 1 ad 3: *Sacerdos gerit imaginem Christi, in cuius persona et virtute verba pronuntiat ad consecrandum. . . . Et ita quodammodo idem est sacerdos et hostia*. Thomas (and with him apparently the Tridentinum, which alludes to his formulation) sees the sacerdotal activity of Christ at work especially

in the effective consecrating act of the priest.

According to one trend of theological thought, we would have to postulate a physical activity of Christ in each and every consecration—not only knowing of each one but willing it and, as *instrumentum coniunctum divinitatis*, producing it. However, no new act is demanded for each consecration; it is sufficient that there be a continuation of the affirmation and determination of all future oblations, made by Christ during his life on earth in virtue of His foreknowledge. Cf. R. Garrigou-Lagrangé, O.P., "An Christus non solum virtualiter sed actualiter offerat missas quæ quotidie celebrantur," *Angelicum*, XIX (1942), 105-118. Differently in W. Lampen, O.F.M., "De Christo non actualiter, sed virtualiter offerente in Missa," *Antonianum*, XVII (1942), 253-268.

New light on the question in G. Söhnngen, *Das sacramentale Wesen des Messopfers* (Essen, 1946), especially, pp. 25 ff.

³⁷ Basically what is requisite for a sacrifice over and above the oblation is nothing more than an expression of dedication. While with regard to a gift by which we wish to honor a man, we do nothing more than hand it to him: in regard to a gift to the invisible God it is possible to make such an offering only by removing it from our own posses-

This dedication is consummated upon a thing which is still profane, still the world, is in fact the world and human life in the intensest sense, since men prolong their life through it; but it is altered and transformed into the holiest thing between heaven and earth, into the sacrificial gift offered up on Golgotha, an image of which is set forth in the species after the transubstantiation.³⁸ In the "holy and venerable" hands of the Lord the earthly gift has become a heavenly gift in the very act of giving.³⁹ Thus the oblation of Christ is again on our altars, and as an oblation which He himself performs anew before our very eyes. But He does not perform it in order to present us a drama, but in order to include us and His Church

and designating it as belonging to God and "dedicated" to Him. The form this designation will take is dependent on the nature of the gift. The history of religions brings to light oblation-gifts that are merely set down in some holy place and are thus hallowed by reason of the place, the "altar." Thus the Old Testament had a sacrifice of this sort in the bread of proposition. The dedication and appropriation to God is best secured, however, when the gift is entirely removed from human use—the incense burnt on the charcoal, the wine-offering poured out, the animal slaughtered, the flesh consumed by fire. On the sacrifices as found in the history of religions see W. Koch, "Opfer," *LThK*, VII, 725-27.

³⁸ That the bread and wine were also to be included in the sacrificial act was long maintained by renowned theologians: Suarez, *De missæ sacrificio disp.*, 75, I, 11 (Works ed. Berton, XXI, 653); Bellarmine, *Disp. de contro.*, III, 3, 5 (*De sacrif. missæ*, I), c. 27 (ed. Rome, 1838: III, 734); lastly M. J. Scheeben, *The Mysteries of Christianity* (trans. C. Vollert, S.J.; St. Louis, 1947), 507-511.

The corresponding ideas are found expressed in many passages in the Fathers since Irenæus: The layman who presents the bread and wine for the Eucharist is considered a (co-) offerer; see *supra*, p. 27.

³⁹ That there should be a distinction between the gift as it is alienated by men and the gift as it is determined for God's service, that the point of expropriation and appropriation should not exactly coincide, is seen even in pre-Christian sacrifices, for instance, the presentation of the smoke of sacrifice which is common in ancient hea-

thendom as well as in the Old Testament (Gen. 8:21, et al.). The eucharistic sacrifice, too, was so instituted by Christ that it should start as bread and wine and not till afterwards become the gift properly so-called.

The favorite argument, that the reference of the sacrificial action exclusively to Christ fits the wording of the Tridentinum (*eadem hostia*) better, really proves nothing; for the conception explained above in no way contradicts it, any more than the inclusion of the sacrifice of the Church contradicts the words of the Council about *idem sacerdos*. Since no problem regarding these ideas had been proposed to the Council, there was no call for a more precise statement.

Please notice, however, that in the above demonstration we are not saying—as does Jos. Kramp, S.J., *Die Opferanschauungen der römischen Liturgie* (2nd ed.; Regensburg, 1924), 109 ff.; *idem*, *The Liturgical Sacrifice of the New Law*, trans. L. F. Miller (2nd ed.; St. Louis, 1927), 34-35—that the core of the sacrificial action is the fact that bread and wine are consecrated; what we claim is that the core of the sacrifice is to be found in the fact that, by the consecration, Christ once more presents to His Father the gift of the body and blood He had already sacrificed to Him. But this in no way hinders our perceiving in the sacrifice actually instituted by Christ a further symbolism in the consecration of earthly gifts; for Christ did not institute just any kind of sacrifice, but a determined sacrifice rich in many relationships, the sacrifice of His Passion as the sacrifice of the Church. Cf. in a similar vein G. Söhnngen, *Das sacramentale Wesen des Messopfers* (Essen, 1946).

everywhere on earth and in every century in His *pascha*, His passage out of this world to His Father. His sacrifice becomes each time *the sacrifice of the Church*.⁴⁰

Our Lord offered up the sacrifice on the Cross not for its own sake but that He might therein give His life as "a ransom for many" (Matt. 20:28). In this way He concluded for us that everlasting covenant with God which was promised in the prophets (Is. 61:8; Jer. 33:20 f.; Bar. 2:35) that covenant by which God receives mankind into His favor so that He no longer remembers their misdeeds (Jer. 31:31-34; cf. 33:8), but rather wishes them every good (Jer. 32:40), in the hope that the destined heirs obtain, forever, their promised inheritance (Heb. 9:15). But because it is a covenant, a compact, obedience and fidelity are expected also on our part. It was at the very time of its institution, at the Last Supper, that Christ spoke of the covenant. He speaks of His body "which is to be given up for you" (1 Cor. 11:24; Lk. 22:19). He designates His blood as "my blood of the new Testament, which is to be shed for many" (Mark 14:24; Matt. 26:28), and points to the chalice as "the new testament in my blood" (1 Cor. 11:25; Lk. 22:20). As if to say, this institution has a special meaning within that testament, and in the commission to do this perpetually as a memorial, something more is intended than merely a theoretical commemoration in connection with the repetition of this transubstantiation. Much more is accomplished than that. In it is created an opportunity for all the faithful of all times to ratify⁴¹ in conscious manner this covenant which He had concluded in their name. At Baptism we are already taken up into this covenant and its goods are portioned out to us, without our having to do anything except receive them. In the Eucharist, Christ sets before us the Passion by means of which He inaugurated this covenant; now it is up to us to step forward with a willing "yes" to protest our adherence to the law of Christendom. His sacrifice should become our sacrifice, the Church's sacrifice, so that it might be offered up in her hands "from the rising of the sun to its going down" and the name of the Lord of hosts "be made great amongst all the peoples" (Mal. 1:10 ff.).

The Church received a sacrifice from Christ because it is in man's very nature to honor God by sacrifice. More especially is this true where all religion is not to be limited to the inwardness of the individual, that is to say in a social union like the Church, in the divine service of the community. Here the need to glorify God by outward gift, by the visible emblem of an interior subjection or an internal giving of oneself to God—this need naturally arises of its own accord. The inner thought has to be

⁴⁰ Anscar Vonier, O.S.B., *A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist* (Westminster, 1948), "Man's Share in the Eucharistic Sacrifice," 223-240.

⁴¹ There can be no question of a ratification in the fullest sense, since this "covenant" is

essentially a one-sided favor on God's part; cf. J. Behm, *Theol. Wörterbuch z. N. T.* (1935), II, 106-137; especially *διαθήκη*, 132 ff. But for its effectiveness an acceptance by each adult and a corresponding performance are constantly demanded.

the starting-point and the driving force of every sacrificial service if this service is not to be turned to mere pharisaism, for sacrifice is and must always remain only the symbol and sign of something else, an indication of what the soul intends.⁴²

But why could not a simpler gift suffice to express this intention?⁴³ Because this intention, this inner sentiment towards God, is in Christianity a species all its own, at least as an ideal to which our striving is constantly pointed. The Sermon on the Mount, the Gospels, all the books of the New Testament speak of it. It is plainly put in St. Paul's *Hoc sentite in vobis quod et in Christo Jesu* (Philippians 2:5) It means entering into the thoughts of Jesus, rising to His mind and sentiment. In the life of our Lord himself the peak and triumph of that sentiment was reached on the Cross—a Cross which was erected as the wood of shame, and which our Lord willingly embraced in order to give himself wholly to His Father and at the same time to stretch out His arms over all the world and mercifully bring it back to the grace of God. The great commandment on which the Law depends and the Prophets, to love God with one's whole heart and soul and strength, and one's neighbor as one's self, this commandment of which He gave the living model, He also exemplified in death. That is the height to which He beckons His disciples. That is the fulness, the maturity of Christ to which they must grow.

So it is understandable—and yet remains a mystery!—that our Lord should choose as the token of His followers' glorification of God the very last and greatest thing that He himself had to give God the Father—His body that was offered and His blood that was shed. But this sacrificial gift is presented in such a way that each time it actually grows out of His followers' own gift, out of the produce of their own clay and sweat, out of a tiny piece of bread and a sip of wine by which they live. And it actually grows out thus by their own doing, by the words of consecration which someone from their midst is empowered to utter. So the Church is able not only to join in some extrinsic fashion in Christ's oblation which is made present in her midst, but she actually offers it as her own gift, as a gift which, in its natural state, is expressive of her own life and leads that life back to God, along with all that God's creative hand apportions to it along the way. This gift in its supernatural state manifests and confesses what the Church has become by God's grace and what she knows she is

⁴² St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 10, 5 (CSEL, XL, I, p. 452, l. 18): *Sacrificium ergo invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est sacrum signum est*. Modern theologians are unanimous in stressing the fact that sacrifice is *in genere signi*; cf. E. Masure, *The Christian Sacrifice*, trans. Dom. I. Trethowan (New York, 1943), 66-77 and

attention to the content of what is signified. ⁴³ The idea that it is incumbent upon the Church to offer not just any gift but precisely the sacrifice of Christ still forms for Protestant theology even today the greatest obstacle in Catholic teaching concerning the Mass-sacrifice; see, e.g., the report by E. Stakemeier in *Theologie u. Seelsorge* (1944), 91-99.

called to be. Thus the Church is enabled truly to offer up her very self⁴⁴; as St. Augustine says, she learns to sacrifice herself in His sacrifice.⁴⁵ This self-oblation of the Church is the precise object which the eucharistic mystery serves. Never is the Church so closely bound to her Master, never is she so completely Christ's spouse as when, together with Him, she offers God this sacrifice.

By the term "Church" is here meant—as everything we have said goes to show—not only the Church Universal and the priest representing her at the altar, but likewise the assembly of the faithful gathered around the priest at each celebration of the Mass. That the faithful offer the sacrifice was taken for granted in the more ancient theological tradition. *Plebs tua* explicitly stands in juxtaposition to *servi tui* in the Roman canon. Now, as an understanding of the priesthood of the faithful⁴⁶ reawakens, the thought once more comes consciously to the fore. It is announced with complete clarity in the great encyclicals of Pope Pius XII.⁴⁷

And now, looking at it more closely, how is this self-oblation of the Church accomplished? The action which brings this about precisely is—again—the consecration. The same act which realizes the sacrifice of Christ also realizes the sacrifice of the Church, but with this difference, that the Church's sacrifice begins to take shape from the very start of the Mass and then receives the divine seal and acceptance when at the consecration Christ takes it in hand and, after richly ennobling it, offers it to His heavenly Father as His own. For the priest who performs the consecration in Christ's name and with Christ's power is always at the same time acting on commission from the Church. This commission he received at his ordi-

⁴⁴ Cf. Scheeben, *The Mysteries of Christianity*, 509-510.

⁴⁵ Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 10, 20 (CSEL, XL, I, p. 481): . . . *ipse offerens, ipse et oblatio. Cuius rei sacramentum quotidianum esse voluit Ecclesiae sacrificium, quæ cum ipsius capitis corpus sit, se ipsam per ipsum discit offerre.*

Cf. *ibid.*, 10, 16 (CSEL, XL, I, p. 475, l. 23).

⁴⁶ E. Niebecker, *Das allgemeine Priestertum der Gläubigen* (Paderborn, 1936); R. Grosche, "Das allgemeine Priestertum," *Liturgisches Leben*, IV (1937), 1-33; Paul F. Palmer, S.J., "The Lay Priesthood: Real or Metaphorical," *Theological Studies*, VIII (1947), 574-613, esp. 610 ff.

Niebecker equates "priest" with "a man who offers sacrifice"; 74 ff. Here we could insert many passages from Christian tradition where the offering of the Mass is predicated of the faithful. For the early Scholastic period see F. Holböck, *Der*

eucharistische und der mystische Leib Christi in ihren Beziehungen zueinander nach der Lehre der Frühscholastik (Rome, 1941), 225-229. As late as 1453 Nicholas of Cusa founded his demand that people attend Mass while still fasting on this concept, *quia . . . simul cum ipso sacerdote hostiam offerunt*; Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter*, 63. But by the time Luther came into prominence such ideas were no longer current and had then to be revived.

See also Sebastian Tromp, S.J., "Quo sensu in sacrificio missæ offerat Ecclesia, offerant fideles," *Periodica*, XXX (1941), 266; Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B., "With Christ in the Mass," *Christ's Sacrifice and Ours* (National Liturgical Week, 1947; Boston, 1948), 42-48, esp. 44 ff.

⁴⁷ "Mystici Corporis," AAS, XXXV (1943), 232 f., and with even greater emphasis in "Mediator Dei," AAS, XXXIX (1947), 554-556.

nation, for it was the Church that appointed him and ordained him as a priest of Christ. And he receives this commission for this precise situation by his office or at least by the fact that, in his celebration of the Eucharist, he fits himself into the Church's pattern and thus places himself at the head of the faithful who, as a portion of the Church Universal, have here and now gathered round him.⁴⁸ As their representative he stands at the altar. He consecrates the bread and the chalice to present Golgotha's sacrifice to almighty God as their own. And since all through the course of the Mass he acts and speaks not simply in his own name but on commission from the Church, this authorization does not cease at the moment of transubstantiation merely because Christ's commission is superimposed, for it is the Church that calls on him to accept this second commission so that she, as the Bride of Christ, might once more enter into His sacrifice.⁴⁹

This sacrifice is present on the altar under the form of gifts which are emblems of our life-support and are at the same time manifestations of unity, of the combining of many into one. The ancient Church was vitally conscious of this symbolism of the eucharist species to which even St. Paul had already alluded⁵⁰: "As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountain tops and then, being harvested, became one," as the wine has flowed out of many grapes into this chalice, so the faithful should, through this sacrament, become one in Christ.⁵¹

Another thing. This oblation was instituted with the express determination that the participants be fed with it: "Take and eat." The sacrificial meal is not something plainly included in the notion of sacrifice. There were sacrifices in the Old Testament which were entirely consumed in the fire, with nothing remaining for the offerers to eat—the sin-offerings, for instance; the offerers were not worthy to enter into so close a community with God. But the sacrifice of the New Covenant is essentially constituted as a meal, so that the offerers might gather around the sacrificial table, the table of the Lord, to eat. They are in communion with Christ who had undergone His sufferings and is now exalted; they become anew one body with Him.

This element of the symbolism of the species, which is emphasized in

⁴⁸ Or who have asked him for this celebration, e.g., by a stipend. In the extreme case of a private Mass the priest himself, with or without the server, represents the collective Church. The relationship of the priest to the Church Universal is further elucidated by G. de Broglie, "Du rôle de l'Eglise dans le sacrifice eucharistique," *Nouvelle Revue théologique*, LXX (1948), 449-460.

⁴⁹ The priest's representing Christ and his representing the Church are not parallel; they are disposed one behind the other. This destroys the contention of J. B. Um-

berg, *ZkTh*, XLVII (1923), 287, that the admission of the Church as *offerens* contradicts the words of consecration, *Hoc est corpus meum*.

⁵⁰ I Cor. 10:17.

⁵¹ *Did.* 9, 4; *Const. Apost.*, VII, 25, 3 (Funk, I, 410 f.); Cyprian, *Ep.*, 69, 5 (CSEL, III, 754); cf. *Ep.*, 63, 13 (*ibid.*, 712); Augustine, *Sermo* 227 (PL, XXXVIII, 1100); 229 (1103), et al. Regarding the continuance of this knowledge during the early Middle Ages, see F. Holböck, *Der eucharistische und der mystische Leib Christi*, 192 f.

the words of consecration—this element above all must be taken in earnest. Every sacrament serves to develop in us the image of Christ according to a specified pattern which the sacramental sign indicates.⁵² Here the pattern is plainly shown in the double formation of the Eucharist; we are to be drawn into the sacrifice of our Lord on the Cross. We are to take part in His dying, and through His dying are to merit a share in His life.⁵³ What we here find anchored fast in the deepest center of the Mass-sacrifice is nothing else than that ideal of moral conduct to which the teaching of Christ in the Gospel soars; the challenge to an imitation of Him that does not shrink at sight of the Cross: a following after Him that is ready to lose its life in order to win it⁵⁴: the challenge to follow Him even, if need be, in His agony of suffering and His path of death, which are here in this mystery so manifestly set before us.

If the Church's gift of homage to God is thus changed by the priest's words into the immolated Body and the spilled Blood of our Lord, and if the Church, firm and unafraid, then offers it to God, she thereby stamps her "yes" upon the chalice which her Master has drunk and upon the baptism which He experienced. And by that same oblation which she bears in her hands, she is dedicated and sealed for the same road that He traveled on His entrance into glory (Luke 24:26). The sacrifice of Christ is renewed sacramentally not only *in* His Church but *upon* the Church,⁵⁵ and is renewed daily because it is daily demanded of her (Luke 9:23). The Mass-sacrifice is not only a presentation of the redemptive Passion and, with it, of the whole collection of Christian doctrine on salvation. It is also an epitome of Christian life and conduct. The height on which Christ lived and died comes before our gaze each time as an ideal, admonishing and alluring, as a towering peak which we can only reach by tremendous try-

⁵² In comparison with the treatment accorded the causality in the sacraments, Scholasticism was chary in its dealing with the symbolism of the sacramental salutary effects and even (to take in a detail) of the Christ-formative efficacy of sacramental grace. This failure has been rectified in the work of G. Söhngen, *Symbol und Wirklichkeit im Kultmysterium* (first publ. 1937; 2nd ed. Bonn, 1940), esp. 43-109; see also the same author's *Der Wesensaufbau des Mysteriums* (Bonn, 1938).

⁵³ Cf. Karl Rahner, "Eucharistie und Leiden," *Zeitschrift f. Aesthetik und Mystik*, XI (1936), 224-234.

⁵⁴ Matt. 10:38 f.; 16:24 f., and parallels.

⁵⁵ It is, however, quite another question whether (with Söhngen, *Symbol und Wirklichkeit*, 152-157) we are to see exclusively in this the sacrificial character of the Mass;

see the criticism by F. Lakner, *ZkTh*, LXVI (1942), 60.

It was in the course of explaining how his notions differ from Casel's that Söhngen arrived at his thesis. He altered Casel's idea to this extent, claiming that the spiritual reality of the sacramental action is present not *in se* but only in the recipient of the sacrament. Transferring this to the sacrifice of the Mass, Söhngen opposes Casel's concept that the sacrifice of Christ was to be considered as pre-existent to the sacrifice of the Church in the *mysterium*. Söhngen's theory is this: The sacrifice of Christ on the Cross is "sacramentally present when Christ consummates His sacrifice as the sacrifice of the Church" (139).

In any and every case Söhngen has given a fecund turn to the theology of the mystery.

ing, along the ascent of Christian asceticism.⁵⁶ All this puts Communion in a new light. Communion, too, is stamped with the Cross and the death of the Lord.

At the consecration, the Church as a society affirms the oblation of Christ and makes it her very own, but the individual Christian might feel satisfied to follow from afar, more of an onlooker than an actor in the sacred drama. In Communion, however, it is the individual participant who really wants to co-celebrate the Mass—it is his word that counts. Everyone must be seized with the impulse to be swallowed up in the mystery of Christ's Passion. Thus and only thus can the partakers hope to meet Him who had already entered into His glory; thus and only thus can they be embraced by Him and hallowed by the fire of His godhead.

Just as the participation of the Church in Christ's oblation at the consecration is a sacramental proceeding, so too the completed incorporation of the individual in Communion is a sacramental proceeding. The recipients of the Eucharist become participants in the oblation *ex opere operato*.⁵⁷ But it is somewhat different with sacrifice as such. Since this is a moral activity, a free and humble homage before God, a genuine and essential consummation of the sacrifice cannot be produced in the mere reception of a divine operation, as is the case with the sacraments in which God sanctifies man. Therefore the sacrifice, in so far as it is the oblation of the Church, is not completely concluded with an *opus operatum*; the *opus operantis* must join in, and not merely as an addition to the completed work, but as a requisite belonging to the very structure at least as an integrating part.⁵⁸ True, Mass is not simply man's good work—as Luther pretended to explain Catholic teaching on the subject—but neither is it simply the result of God's activity, as, for instance, Baptism is. The Church is not drawn into Christ's Passion under compulsion, but enters into it freely, consciously, deliberately. That is the Mass.

In a higher measure and in another way than in the sacraments, therefore, there is required beside the passive moment also an active one. Were Mass only the *mysterium* of Christ's Passion or only a memorial meal, then—with the addition perhaps of a consentient anamnesis to cast a glance at the redeeming sufferings—the account of the Last Supper, with the consecrating words over bread and wine, and the reception of the Sacra-

⁵⁶ To this thought ample expression was given by Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, IV, 59 (PL, LXXVII, 428): *Sed necesse est, cum hæc [the sacrifice which represents the Passion of Christ] agimus, nosmetipsos Deo in cordis contritione mactemus, quia qui passionis dominicæ mysteria celebramus, debemus imitari quod colimus. Tunc ergo vere pro nobis hostia erit Deo, cum nos ipsos hostiam fecerimus.*

⁵⁷ Cf. J. Bütler, "Die Mysterienthese der

Laacher Schule im Zusammenhang scholastischer Theologie," *ZkTh*, LIX (1935), 555.

⁵⁸ We are not answering here the question, what minimum is demanded to bring about the sacrifice. For this question cf. J. B. Umberg, "Die wesentlichen Messopferworte," *ZkTh*, L (1926), 73-88. As we know, neither sense organs nor members (*partes integrantes*) are required in order to have a "man."

ment would suffice. Mass, however, is also and primarily an immolation to God, an expression of the self-offering of the Church. The Church does not wait for the redemptive grace that pours down on her anew; having long ago obtained the favor of her Lord, she takes the initiative, she sets out on her own to offer God her gift, a gift which, at the height of her ascent, is changed for her into the oblation of Christ.

We therefore find that it is a common phenomenon in the history of the Mass-liturgies that some action of the Church precedes the consecration, a movement toward God which gains its essential utterance in the great prayer of thanksgiving but which is also expressed in many customs that, even during the preparation of the elements, suggest the *προς-φέρειν*, the presentation, the *oblatio*, the gift, just as they continue to express the same thoughts after the transubstantiation. According to its essence, therefore, Mass-liturgy is accomplished in three steps—not very sharply defined: the submissive and laudatory approach to God, the sacramental performance of Christ's sacrifice, and the reception of the sanctified gift.

The institution of Christ thus once more implies that the Church realizes this active moment of the sacrificial proceeding not only in her official representative who stands at the altar but also in the participating congregation. The "we" in the priest's prayers and the spatial assemblage of the participants around the officiating priest already tend in this direction. It follows that an interior immolation is required of the participants, at least to the extent of readiness to obey the law of God in its seriously obligatory commandments, unless this participation is to be nothing more than an outward appearance.⁵⁹ A participation that is right and justified in its essentials should, of course, involve the desire to tread again the pathway of the Master and to make progress on it. To such an interior attitude, however, corresponds an exterior expression which exhibits a connection with the essentially significant sacrificial proceedings by means of tokens or words that have the presence of the participants as their starting point. All the liturgies have developed for this a wealth of expressive elements, but of these only a portion have stayed in living practice. The ideal condition would be if the sacred activity conducted by the priest would evolve from the ordered activity of the congregation and all its members, just as it does evolve from their will.

Since the Mass is a sacrifice of the Church, it normally presumes a larger or smaller assembly of the people. The different types of this assembly gave rise, in the course of history, to a principle of formation; it will be our task in the next few chapters to study the development of this principle more closely. In its most complete development we have the assembly

⁵⁹ The Sunday precept is concerned immediately only with the external act in the sense of a conscious attendance, the limits of which are detailed by the moralists; see J. J. Guiniven, *The Precept of Hearing*

Mass (Washington, 1942), 79-86; 103-107; cf. 108-109. However, the purpose of the precept is, of course, to secure the inner participation, a coordination of mind and heart in the action at the altar.

of all the people in the place; in early times this occurred mostly under the leadership of the bishop, while later on the priest, especially the pastor, was appointed for this. The bishop's Mass and the priest's Mass, therefore, form two of the basic types of the Mass. But the assembly can also shrink to just a few persons, and finally—as an irreducible limit—to the single person of the celebrating priest, who, indeed, can also offer up the Mass in his own name. However, we find the Church constantly trying to avoid this extreme case, to such an extent in fact that in none of the rites, either East or West, did any form of Mass develop in which at least the external outlines of community participation were left out. The forms of private Mass are always only diluted forms of public celebration.

3. From the Episcopal Collective Service to the *Missa Solemnis*

The primitive and original form of Mass celebration is that in which the bishop surrounded by his clergy offers up the sacrifice in the presence of the congregation. Nearly all the accounts of the Mass which we have from the end of the first century until well into the fourth presuppose this arrangement. This sort of thing was to be expected from the fact that Christianity was then predominantly an urban religion. Ignatius of Antioch is quite pointed in his reference to this common service: "Take care, then, to partake of one Eucharist; for one is the Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one the cup to unite us with His Blood, and one altar, just as there is one bishop assisted by the presbytery and the deacons, my fellow servants."¹ The Roman *ordines*, too, give the same picture in regard to papal services.² In fact in Rome, as also in other localities,³ there is a further development insofar as the principle of a roving assembly-place makes it possible even in a large city to retain, at least in its fundamental outlines, the system of gathering the whole community together. Since the Roman *ordines* became for centuries the norm for regulating the episcopal services in almost the whole West, this arrangement remained in vogue elsewhere.⁴

¹ Ignatius of Antioch, *Ad Philad.*, 4 (ed. Kleist; Westminster, 1946; p. 86).

Cf. *Ad Smyrn.*, 8, 1 f. (*ibid.*, 93); *Ad Ephes.*, 20, 2 (*ibid.*, 67-8).

The full assembly of the congregation, including the clergy under the leadership of the bishop, is presupposed in Justin, *Apol.*, I, 65; 67; *Didascalia*, II, 57; Hippolytus, *Trad. Ap.* (Dix, 6; 40 ff.); *Canones Hippolyti*, c. 3; *Const. Ap.*, II, 57; *ibid.*, VIII, 5 ff. (cf. esp. VIII, 11, 7 ff., 15, 11); Pseudo-Dionysius, *De eccl. hierarch.*, III, 2; Nar-sai, *Homil.*, 17 (Connolly, 4).

Some accounts in Martène, I, 3, 8, 2 (I, 329 f.).

² *Supra*, pp. 67-69.

³ *Supra*, p. 61.

⁴ Cf., e.g., Theodulf of Orleans (d. 821), *Capitulare*, I, c. 45 (PL, CV, 208).

The outlines are still maintained in the *Decretum Gratiani*, III, 1, 59 (Friedberg, I, p. 1310 f.). At the second Synod of Seville (619) the dominant position of the episcopal service was secured by forbidding the presbyters *eo [episcopo] praesente sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi con-*

Thus the ideal form for uniting the whole community of the episcopal see in one service and promoting the complete self-oblation of the community remained alive for long in the consciousness of the occidental Church. In the Orient this is still the case even today.

The position taken by the clerics, particularly the priests, in this common service is expressed in the principle of *concelebration*.⁵ This principle implies, for all the participants, a proper share in the community service, but not necessarily a co-consecration on the part of the priests present.⁶ For priests as well as for the rest of the faithful—to whom even late medieval sources quite unabashedly ascribe a *celebrare missam*, a concelebration⁷—the essential thing in this participation was to answer the chief

ficere (can. 7; Mansi, X, 559). Cf. de Puniet, *Das römische Pontifikale*, I, 235 f. A similar injunction was already to be found in Martin of Braga, *Capitula*, c. 56 (PL, LXXXIV, 582): *Forasticis presbyteris præsente episcopo vel presbytero civitatis offerre non liceat*.

⁵ P. de Puniet, "Concélébration liturgique," *DACL*, III (1914), 2470-2488; A. Fortescue, "Concelebration," *CE*, IV, 190.

⁶ The proofs are marshalled in J. M. Hanssens, "De concelebratione eucharistica," *Periodica*, XVI (1927), 143*-154*; 181*-210*; XVII (1928), 93*-127*; XXI (1932), 193*-219*.

On the basis of Hanssens's distinction between *concelebratio caeremonialis* and *concelebratio sacramentalis* (that is, with the words of consecration said in common), H. v. Meurers, "Die eucharistische Konzelebration," *Pastor Bonus*, LIII (1942), 65-77; 97-105, presents a summary view of the historical development and the legal status of the rites. According to this article, sacramental concelebration was still to be found at Rome in an addition (8th century) to *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 48 (PL, LXXVIII, 958 f.): on five great feasts of the year each of the Cardinal priests who surround the altar of the pope carries three hosts on a corporal and, together with the pope, speaks over these the entire Canon including the words of consecration. Cf. the same custom in the *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 460), where, however, the pope alone says the Canon aloud; and, as early as the 6th century, a remark, not very clear, in the *Liber pontificalis* (Duchesne, I, 139; see also Duchesne, 175, note 2). But even in Rome the custom no longer obtained after the

13th century. Prior to this it is cited still by Innocent III, *De s. alt. mysterio*, IV, 25 (PL, CCXVII, 875 f.).

Aside from this practice in the city of Rome, sacramental concelebration came into use between the 8th and the 12th centuries on the occasion of the ordination of priests and the consecration of bishops, the bishop and the newly ordained (*resp.* consecrated) participating; for a time, too, it was in use at the consecration of abbots. Since then concelebration at ordination and consecration has continued as a fast rule within the limits of the Roman rite. In the Orient (ceremonial) concelebration was customary and common from time immemorial, but it is only in the Uniate groups that the joint pronouncing of the words of consecration was added, apparently not till the start of the 18th century and then under the influence of Rome, which recognized no other type than the sacramental concelebration in use at the administration of Orders. In fact, as we gather from Benedict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missæ*, III, 16 (Schneider, 437-444), the co-consecration by all celebrating was considered a necessary requirement, and the concelebrants were permitted to take a stipend therefor (*ibid.*). It is only within the Byzantine rite that this sort of thing has become customary even outside the Uniate groups, the words of consecration being spoken on certain occasions by all together, in addition to the usual praying (softly) of the other prayers; cf. de Puniet, "Concélébration," 2479 f.

⁷ Gregory of Tours, *De gloria confessorum*, c. 65 (PL, LXXI, 875 C): [*mulier*] *celebrans quotidie missarum sollempnia et offerens oblationes pro memoria viri sui*.

celebrant, to join him in prayer at certain stated times, and to receive with him the Holy Sacrament. Still the dignity of the service demanded that suitable recognition be given each hierarchic rank.⁸ The presbyters took their place in the *presbyterium* along with the other clerics; they wore the liturgical garment proper to them—in early medieval Rome this was the *planeta*.⁹ At the papal stational Masses they also assisted in receiving the gift-offerings, in breaking the species and distributing Holy Communion. Naturally this assistance was subject to variations in degree. In the Oriental rites the incensings are distributed among the concelebrants.¹⁰ Quite early we meet the custom of dividing the various orations—outside the canon—among the participating priests or bishops.¹¹ There is mention, too,

Of a woman whose son had been waked from the dead by St. Gertrude of Nivelles (d. 659), the biographer says, *in crastinum missam celebravit in honore virginis Christi Gertrudis*; *Acta SS. Mart.*, II, 596.

Of Alcuin, who was only a deacon, his Vita says (n. 26; PL, C, 104 C): *Celebrabat omni die missarum sollempnia*.

A Paris document of 1112 relates: The faithful of a new chapel of ease went on six feast days *missarum sollempnia ibi* (in the mother-church) *celebraturi et offerendas ex more oblaturi*; quoted in Schreiber, *Untersuchungen zum Sprachgebrauch des mittelalterlichen Oblationswesens*, 30 f. Further examples in F. de Berleudi, *De oblationibus* (Venice, 1743), 256.

Patently what is here thought of is a participation along with the making of an offering.

Cf. also Hanssens, *loc. cit.*, XVI (1927), 143*.

⁸ Similar rules on how to honor a bishop present at Mass are still in force; see *Cærimoniale episc.*, I, 30; II, 9.

Amongst the earliest regulations of this sort committed to writing are those of the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 245 f.), where place is given to the bishop even more than at present: he is invited to say the *Confiteor* and to give the final benediction; he blesses the water to be mixed, and the incense; he receives the Gospel-book to kiss, is the first to be incensed and the first to receive the *pas*.

⁹ *Ordo Rom. I*, n. 4 f. (PL, LXXVIII, 639 f.). Cf. *supra*, p. 68 ff. In the pontifical service of the church of Lyons, when there is concelebration—which is not infrequent even today, although only on Maundy Thursday are the words of con-

secration spoken in common—there are, besides seven acolytes and an equal number of deacons and subdeacons, also six priests, vested in chasubles. They stand and sit next to the episcopal throne. Formerly they also received Communion from his hand. Buenner 261, 269 f., 283 f.; Archdale A. King, "The Rite of Lyons," *Orate Fratres*, XV (1940-41), 66; de Moléon, 47, 73. A description of a present-day service for Maundy Thursday at Lyons in *La Maison-Dieu*, n. 8 (1946), 171 f. De Moléon, 11, 28, relates a similar service at Vienne.

According to medieval sources, there were assistant priests, vested in chasuble, at pontifical functions in other churches, too: at Chalon there were seven, at Soissons and Sens, twelve; Marténe, 1, 3, 8, 2 (I, 331); cf. *ibid.*, XIX, XXI, XXX (I, 604, 609, 647). Twelve priests are required by Bonizo of Sutri (d. c. 1095), *De vita christiana*, II, 51 (ed. Perels; Berlin, 1930, p. 58).

¹⁰ Hanssens, "De concelebratione," *Periodica*, VII (1928), 104*.

¹¹ The *Canones Hippolyti*, c. 3 (Riedel, 202) lay down the following injunctions regarding the blessing of oil which could be conjoined to the eucharistic prayer: "If there is oil there, let him likewise pray over it; if several are present, let him distribute the various sections; it is however one power."

At the crowning of the pope, according to *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 27, 30 (PL, XLVIII, 1135 f.), three cardinals each said an oration right after the prayers at the foot of the altar; then after the *Gloria* the pope himself recited the oration of the day. Cf. *ibid.*, n. 45 (1145 C). A

of pronouncing certain texts, even the preface, together,¹² so that it was but a slight step to the joint pronouncing of the words of consecration as in the present-day rite of ordination.¹³

However, in the Western Church the genuine remnants of ancient Christian concelebration are not to be found in the ordination Mass, but rather in the Mass on Holy Thursday with its priests' Communion,¹⁴ and in the regulation for the last day of Holy Week that all private Masses are to be omitted and that the assembled clergy are to participate—informally—with the rest of the faithful in the one public celebration. Another trace of it is the *Ordo ad synodum* of the Roman Pontifical which presupposes that the bishop alone goes up to the altar and that the assembled clergy receive Communion at his hands. A similar prescript holds for the cardinals gathered for the papal election.¹⁵ For the first thousand years, such a method was taken for granted in all cases where a number of priests were assembled and where they individually had no other religious duties—an

similar program was followed at the coronation of the Emperor; *ibid.*, n. 105 (1239 f.).

In the Byzantine liturgy the various orations are today recited softly by the chief celebrant while the deacon is still announcing the corresponding ektenes, but the concluding doxological ekphrases which are said aloud are allotted to the various concelebrants. Hanssens, *Institutiones*, III, 536.

¹² At Orleans toward the end of the Middle Ages six canons sang the Maundy Thursday Mass along with the bishop, excepting only the words of consecration; de Moléon, 196. A similar practice obtained at Vienne; *ibid.*, 17. At Chartres as late as the 18th century, on this same day six archdeacons concelebrated with the bishop, singing the preface and *Pater noster* along with him, and with him turning to the people to say *Dominus vobiscum*; J. Grancolas, *Commentarius historicus in Romanum Breviarium* (Venice, 1734), 304.

Even today at the beginning of the ceremonies of the consecration of a bishop, while the consecrator addresses the examination questions to the candidate, the co-consecrators pronounce the same lines in a semi-audible tone; *Pontificale Rom., De cons. electi in episcopum*. A similar practice already in the 12th century; Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain*, I, 142.

¹³ In our present-day rite of concelebration at the ordination Mass, the most striking

thing is the fact that the newly ordained disregard the architectonics of the Mass, saying all the prayers right through with the bishop, even those otherwise said quietly. Here is an indication that this joint utterance had a different basis than the concelebration otherwise attested in the history of liturgy, for the latter patently sought only a proper arrangement and disposition of all the participants according to hierarchical rank. In the case of ordination the fundamental idea obviously was to put the order just awarded to practical proof, in the same way that the foregoing ordinations were put into practice. The respective rubric, without the prescription of kneeling, is found in the Roman Pontifical since the 13th century; Andrieu, II, 349; cf. III, 370 f. The desire for a more select form has been uttered more than once; see v. Meurers, 67; L. Beauduin, "La concélébration," *La Maison-Dieu*, n. 7 (1946), 7-26, esp. 20 f.

¹⁴ The pontifical function of Maundy Thursday preserves still another example of primeval concelebration: at the blessing of the oil twelve priests—as representative of all the city clergy—appear in *paramentis* and, as an old *Ordo* of Rouen (PL, LXXVIII, 329 A) puts it, *simul cum pontifice verbis et manibus conficiunt*, a word which Amalar had used of the co-consecration at Mass, *De eccl. off.*, I, 12 (PL, CV, 1016 C).

¹⁵ Cf. v. Meurers, 100.

arrangement which is still today normal in the Orient.¹⁶ When St. Paulinus of Nola (d. 431) on his deathbed was visited by two bishops, he begged *ut una cum sanctis episcopis oblato sacrificio animam suam Domino commendaret*.¹⁷ For a long time the custom obtained in the monasteries, especially on feast days, for the whole community, including the priests, to gather together not only for the conventual Mass but for a general Communion.¹⁸ Amongst the Carthusians this is still the rule on Christmas, Easter and Pentecost.¹⁹ St. Francis of Assisi spoke in very general terms when he expressed the wish "that the brethren in their foundations celebrate only one Mass a day, as is the custom in Holy Church. And if there are several priests at home, for the love of God let one be satisfied to assist at the celebration of the other."²⁰

For the rest this arrangement was maintained longest in the case of the sacred ministers at high Mass.²¹ What had previously been taken for granted was prescribed at least for them on certain occasions, and the arrangement was thus kept up for a long time during the later Middle Ages. In the eleventh century the rule is cited more than once that one or even two of the particles into which the Host was broken should serve for the Communion of deacon and subdeacon.²² Subsequently, Communion each time for deacon and subdeacon was stipulated only at the Mass of the bishop²³ and of the abbot,²⁴ or for high Mass on Sundays and holy days,²⁵ or for the first day of the weekly duty of the respective sacred ministers,²⁶ or finally in monasteries for the days when Communion was

¹⁶ For examples from the present-day oriental colonies in Rome see v. Meurers, 66, note 5.

Illustrations from earlier times in Martène, I, 3, 8, 2 (I, 330).

¹⁷ *Acta SS.*, Jun., V., 171.

¹⁸ The monastic *Breviarium eccl. ordinis* of the 8th century (Silva-Tarouca, 196, 1; 11), in describing the entry at the feastday Mass at which all communicated, named in the first place *presbyteri, qui missas publicas ipso die non celebrant* [ur].

For the Benedictine monasteries of the early Middle Ages see Berlière, *L'ascèse bénédictine*, 156 f.

Amongst the Cistercians there were four great feasts in the year at which the whole convent was present at the services, including the priests, and Communion was obligatory for all, as is plain from the *Liber usuum*, c. 66 (PL, CLXVI, 1437). Cf. for this v. Meurers, 104, note 78.

Also amongst the Dominicans the *Ordinarium* of 1256 seems to take for granted that on Communion days the

priests as a rule received along with the rest, since it notes that no one may stay away from Communion *nisi celebret missam ipsa die* (Guerrini, 248).

¹⁹ v. Meurers, 102 f.

²⁰ Cf. P. Robinson, *The Writings of St. Francis of Assisi* (Phila., 1906), 115. This injunction appears to have been inspired by a high regard for community life and also lest frequent celebration might diminish the reverence due to the mystery. Cf. v. Meurers, 104 f.

²¹ Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion im Mittelalter*, 45-51.

²² See *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 4, note 43.

²³ *Ordo eccl. Lateran* (Fischer, 85 f.).

²⁴ This is reported by Bernard Ayglerius (d. 1282), Abbot of Monte Cassino; E. Martène, *Commentarius in Regulam S. Benedicti* (PL, LXVI, 580 A).

²⁵ Thus at Cluny; *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.*, I, 9 (PL, CXXIX, 653). Further evidence from the 12th to the 14th centuries in Browe, 47 f.

²⁶ Thus according to the regulations in the

prescribed for all.²⁷ Only in isolated instances did the later Middle Ages continue the usage of Communion for both sacred ministers at every Mass (outside of Mass for the Dead).²⁸ The Council of Trent contented itself with making a warm recommendation to this effect.²⁹

The direct descendant of the bishops' collective service is the pontifical service, especially in its most elaborate form, the papal Mass,³⁰ although it is true that in these cases the participation of the people has become a matter of fact rather than of principle. Even the solemn high Mass of a simple priest, which one might well have expected would be explained as an elaborated growth of the presbyter Mass,³¹ proves rather to be a late simplification of the pontifical service. For that reason the difference between a pontifical Mass and the sacerdotal high Mass in the Roman liturgy is today comparatively slight.³² This fact is closely connected with the circumstances under which the Roman liturgy was taken over by the Frankish Church, for at that time the only directions in the *ordines* for the external solemnization of the service were the rubrics for a pontifical rite. In consequence, not only were these used in cathedrals, but they had to serve as the basis elsewhere, too. The first Roman *ordo* itself offered a handy pretext for this very thing, for one Roman addition³³ not only suggested that the bishops *qui civitatibus praesident* should perform everything like the pope, and that the bishop who replaced the pope at the Roman stationary service had to make just a few changes,³⁴ but it remarked that this latter direction held good also for a presbyter *quando in statione facit missam* (aside from

Augustinian monastery at Dotinghem; Browe, 49.

²⁷ Browe, 48 f.

Amongst the Augustinians at Seckau, Communion was enjoined upon the levites for Sundays and feasts even as late as 1240, but in the reformed statutes of 1267 it was prescribed only once a month; L. Leonhard, "Stand der Disziplin . . . im Stifte Seckau," *Studien u. Mitt. aus dem Ben.- und Cist.-Orden*, XIII (1892), 6, 9.

²⁸ Thus Odo Rigaldus in 1256 in the reform-statutes for St. Stephen in Caen (ed. Bonnin, 262). Amongst the Castilian Cistercians the practice still held in 1437 when it was repealed by Eugene IV as *plerumque damnosum*; Browe, 48 f.

²⁹ Sess. XXIII, De reform., c. 13: *scianteque [diaconi et subdiaconi] maxime decere, si saltem diebus dominicis et sollempnibus, quum altari ministraverint, sacram communionem perceperint*. Cf. *Concilium Tridentinum*, ed. Goerres., IX, 482, l. 17; 527, l. 34; 533, l. 2; 559, l. 4; 627, l. 8.

This recommendation was taken over into the *Ceremoniale episc.*, II, 31, 5. A like

norm appears now and then in some of the 16th century reform statutes, those of St. Charles Borromeo, for instance; Browe, 50 f. The communion of deacon and subdeacon as a practice still alive in the Vatican basilica is attested by J. Catalani, *Ceremoniale episcoporum*, I (Paris, 1860; first publ. 1747), 195.

³⁰ On this last item see J. Brinktrine, *Die feierliche Papstmesse und die Zeremonien bei Selig- und Heiligsprechungen* (Freiburg, 1925); A. Hudal, *Missa papalis* (Rome, 1925).

³¹ Thus, e.g., Brinktrine, *Die heilige Messe*, 43 f., note.

³² Even plainer is the distinction in the Byzantine liturgy, where in an episcopal rite, especially in the fore-Mass, there is an extensive allotment of the functions amongst the concelebrants and repeated blessing with Trikirion and Dikirion. Something like this is true also in the West-Syrian rite. Hanssens, *Institutiones*, III, 535-543.

³³ *Ordo Rom.* I, n. 22 (PL, LXXVIII, 948 f.).

³⁴ He was not allowed to occupy the cathedra;

the rule that he might not intone the *Gloria* except on Easter).³⁵ It did not require any bold exegesis to turn this slight suggestion into a definite direction for every case when a priest had to conduct a solemn service in larger surroundings like those to be found (in the centuries to follow) not only in monasteries but also in numerous other capitular churches.

In any case this was the principle that was presently followed. Ample proof is to be found in the arrangement for Mass as outlined in an eighth century *Breviarium ecclesiastici ordinis* adapted to the circumstances of a Frankish Scots monastery; compare this with the prescriptions in the *Capitulare ecclesiastici ordinis*, which goes back to the Roman arch-cantor John and describes a papal stationary Mass.³⁶ Aside from the papal court—which is not prominent in the *Capitulare* either—and the rite of *sustentatio* which is proper for the pope,³⁷ nearly everything of ritual splendor has been transferred to the monastic *sacerdos*: he is surrounded by priests (*sacerdotes*), deacons, subdeacons, and clerics; the seven candles³⁸ and the censer are carried before him; he steps up to the altar amid the same greetings as the pope; like the pope he employs the *Pax vobis*; during the whole fore-Mass he remains at his place *retro altare* and washes his hands before the offertory.³⁹

The same sort of solemn Mass is encountered in Frankish sources of the ninth and tenth centuries. Most of the time it is distinguished as a bishop's Mass, but sometimes the presbyter appears explicitly as the celebrant.⁴⁰ Then, too, the new Mass arrangement which is noticed about the year 1000 in the documents of the Séz group⁴¹ is drawn up first of all for the bishop's Mass, but is soon allotted to the priest also.⁴²

The outlines of the present-day form of the *missa solemnis* become distinct and clear after the tenth or eleventh century. Whereas before—and

dra; the oration he said at the right side of the altar; at the fraction he remained at the altar and helped along and then put the *fermentum* of the pope in his chalice.

³⁵ Cf. also the *Ordo* of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 464).

³⁶ In parallel columns in the edition of Silva-Tarouca, 196-200.

³⁷ *Supra*, p. 68 ff.

³⁸ But there is an addition: (*aut septem*) *aut duo*. Silva-Tarouca, 196, l. 14.

³⁹ This washing of hands was at the time no peculiarity of the papal or episcopal rite.

The *Gloria*, too, is intoned by the *sacerdos*, although Christmas is substituted for Easter (cf. *infra*, p. 356, note 43). Still the *Breviarium* contains certain divergencies from the papal rite, as the result of the encroachment of Gallic traditions, like the *Dominus vobiscum* before the Gospel, the carrying of the offertory-gifts from the

sacristy, the plea for prayer on the part of the celebrant (*Orate*).

⁴⁰ This is the case in the description of Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1248 ff.), but details about the ritual are missing. Amalar's explanations of the Mass regularly refer to the bishop, but the *Expositio* "*Missa pro Multis*" (ed. Hanssens: *Eph. liturg.*, 1930, 31, line 27), in its first mention of the celebrant, does say *episcopus aut presbyter*. In Rabanus Maurus, *De inst. cleric.*, I, 33 (PL, CVII, 322-326) the priest as well as the bishop is included in the designation *sacerdos*; cf. *ibid.*, I, 3-5 (301 C).

⁴¹ *Supra*, pp. 74-75.

⁴² This is plain in the Mass-ordo of St. Vincent (Fiala, 187, 196 ff.), in Cod. Chigi and in Gregorienmünster: Martène, I, 4, XII; XVI (I, 568 ff., 595 f., 599): *sacerdos, presbyter*. In the Missal of Liège the

sometimes also later—there is mention of a number of deacons and subdeacons,⁴⁵ now there appear only one deacon and one subdeacon to accompany the priest as he proceeds to the altar and to perform their duties there. Amongst the first indisputable testimonies of this arrangement is the writing of John of Avranches which dates about 1065. It still includes for the priest certain details from the episcopal rite which today are no longer retained,⁴⁶ but it definitely states that the bishop's *cathedra* is to be more prominent.⁴⁷ The conventual Mass at Cluny at the same time also displays the same type of Mass with deacon and subdeacon.⁴⁸

In general the rite of high Mass has not changed much since the eleventh century, if we except the peculiar usages of certain regions and certain monasteries. In the twelfth century there appear, in addition to the other reverences, numerous kissings when handing over or receiving things—kisses which are still prescribed.⁴⁷ About this time likewise occurs the rule that the celebrant (and his assistants with him) were to read softly the texts sung by others.⁴⁸ The careful description of the priestly high Mass which is presented in the 1256 *Ordinarium* of the Dominicans⁴⁹ reveals in all essentials the present-day arrangement, and also the same differences

celebrant is *episcopus aut presbyter*; *ibid.*, XV (I, 582).

The rubrics regulating the ritual are quite scanty in the common basic text.

⁴⁵ The Synod of Limoges (1031) still enjoins (Mansi, XIX, 545 B): Abbots and other priests are not to have more than three deacons on feast-days, while bishops are allowed to have five or seven.

The documents of the Séez group still mention a plurality of deacons in different ways.

The assertions in the Sacramentary of Ratoldus (d. 986; PL, LXXVIII, 239-245) are discrepant. Isolated stands Remigius of Auxerre (d. 908), who in his *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1247 f., 1250, 1271) speaks only of deacon and subdeacon.

⁴⁶ John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 32 ff.): When the priest reaches the altar after the *Confiteor*, he kisses deacon and subdeacon. The deacon thereupon kisses the altar at both the narrow sides, hands the priest the Gospel-book to be kissed; then the priest kisses the altar. Several taper-bearers are among the assisting group, on feast-days seven. When the subdeacon begins the Epistle, the priest sits down, but *iuxta altare*. The subdeacon hands bread and wine to the deacon after the Gospel; the water is brought by a *cantor*. The incensing follows. Then the

subdeacon takes the paten, but turns it over to an acolyte. At the Communion deacon and subdeacon receive a portion of the large host.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, (PL, CXLVII, 33 A): *Sessio episcopi . . . ceteris celsior debet fieri*. See the remarks on this matter by H. Ménard, (PL, LXXVIII, 331 f.

⁴⁸ *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 716 ff.).

Cf. also the Mass arrangement of Cod. Chigi, Martène, I, 4, XII (I, 569 f.), in which the description of the entry bears a striking resemblance to that of John of Avranches and at the same time plainly marks a transition to the type we are accustomed to: *Deinde cum clerici inceperint Gloria post Introitum, procedat, antecedente eum diacono et ante eum subdiacono cum libro evangelii et ante subdiaconum acolytho cum thymiamate, ante quem duo alii acolythi præcedant cum candelabris et luminaribus, et sic ordinate exeant secretario*. One variation from John of Avranches is to be noticed; instead of the two taper-bearers John has only one *cerofera-rius* who follows the censer-bearer.

⁴⁷ *Supra*, p. 107 f.

⁴⁸ *Supra*, p. 106.

⁴⁹ Guerrini, 233-246.

Cf. also the off-shoots of this *Ordinarium* cited on p. 100.

from the arrangement of the pontifical service as it was finally fixed in the *Ceremoniale episcoporum* of 1600. The solemn vesting program is dropped, two to four candles are found sufficient, and they stand on the altar.⁵⁰ The priest no longer employs the phrase *Pax vobis* but only *Dominus vobiscum*, he says the oration, and likewise the *Gloria* and the *Credo*, at the altar, and washes his hands only after the incensing. The most impressive distinction, which for years had marked the pontifical service in northern countries, was the solemn pontifical blessing after the canon, which endured all through the Middle Ages and which the priest never dared to assume.⁵¹ Likewise the *presbyter assistens*, substitute for the older college of priests,⁵² who was still clearly in the foreground in the twelfth century,⁵³ has now by universal law been reserved to the pontifical rite.⁵⁴

Many peculiarities of the medieval high Mass and pontifical Mass which were of a more technical sort have since disappeared,⁵⁵ or have survived

⁵⁰ At quite an early period the number of candles began to be adjusted according to the rank of the feast; cf. Eisenhofer, I, 286 f.

⁵¹ For details see *infra*, Vol. II, Chap. 3, 3. The pontifical blessing is not mentioned in the *Ordinarium O.P.* but it is specially cited in the derivative *Liber ordinarius* of Liège as a main distinction. Volk, 97.

⁵² *Supra*, p. 201. But even today it is customary in the churches of the archdiocese of Vienna to signalize specially solemn occasions by having two other clerics, dressed in tunics, at the altar, although they perform no functions; such a service is humorously styled a "five-team high Mass."

⁵³ *Ordo. eccl. Lateran* (Fischer, 80-87).

A transitional form is seen in the arrangement of the 10th century *Ordo Rom. VI*, n. 1 ff. (PL, LXXVIII, 989 ff.); here there are two priests who take over, in part, the *sustentatio*, as the assisting deacons do otherwise, but later one of them serves at the book (n. 4).

Even later some French cathedrals had, besides the seven deacons and seven subdeacons, not one but six or more priests; cf. *supra*, note 9.

⁵⁴ *Cod. Iur. Can.*, c. 812. The presence of an assistant priest is an honor reserved to bishops and other prelates who have the use of pontificals. Some religious orders claim the privilege for their higher superiors on the ground of long-standing usage. For the simple priest the presence of an assistant priest is now permitted only by indulgent. True, there are two nebulous references to an assistant priest in the Missal

rubrics (*Rit. serv.*, VII, 11; VIII, 8), but by universal law the only exception is the case of a newly-ordained priest; at his first Mass such an assistant in cope is "tolerated" (*Decr. auth. SRC*, n. 3564), not so much as an honor, but as an aid.

⁵⁵ Thus it was the deacon's duty, stressed more than once, to fold back the celebrant's ample chasuble, especially when he turned around to the people: *deorsum eam in anteriori parte trahendo*; *Ordo eccl. Lateran* (Fischer, 83; cf. 81 f.). Cf. *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256 (Guerrini, 236, 239 f., 244); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 93, 1.17); *Ordo Rom. XIV*, n. 47 (PL, LXXVIII, 1151), et al. There is evidence for the practice among the Premonstratensians since the 12th century (Waefelghem, 47, 67, 96); a vestige of it is still to be found in the repeated kissing of the chasuble (*ibid.*, in the notes; also other examples). Cf. also *Ordinarium Cartusiense* (Chartreuse, 1932), c. 29, 13; 32, 13.

During the Canon the deacon was to have a fan (*flabellum*) handy, *tempore muscaram*, to safeguard priest and offerings; *Ordinarium O.P.* (Guerrini, 240); *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 93 f.). In *Udalrici Consuetudines Cluniacenses*, II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 719) this task is entrusted to two acolytes. In the Orient, where the liturgical fan (*rhipidion* or *hexapterigon*) is still much in use, but now primarily with symbolic meaning, the same original purpose is attested in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, VIII, 12, 3 (Quasten, *Mon.*, 212, with note). Further details in Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät*, 642-660.

only in monastic rites.⁶⁶

The greatest change in solemn high Mass since the Middle Ages is in regard to its frequency. For centuries the high Mass was the prevailing form of public worship in those churches which held the leadership in liturgical life—and these were, besides the cathedrals, the monastic churches and the capitular churches, that is, the churches of collegiate chapters which were organized on a monastic pattern.⁶⁷ In all these churches the daily conventual Mass sung after Terce, with deacon and subdeacon, was part of the fixed order of the day.⁶⁸ From this time on,⁶⁹ it formed the climax of the liturgical office.⁷⁰ Indeed, at Cluny and in its orbit already since the eleventh century, a second conventual Mass had been said each day, a *missa matutinalis* in addition to the *missa maior*. And at this second Mass there were a deacon and subdeacon. But it was distinguished from the other by a slight diminishing of solemnity⁷¹; the altar was incensed at the offertory but not at the beginning of Mass, the interposed chants were shortened, and the *Credo* was regularly dropped. On days that had no spe-

The *Liber ordinarius* of Liège places upon the sacristan the job of providing the *flabellum* for the private Masses of the brethren during the insect season, and during the intense cold providing for a pan of coals (*carbones in patello*; Volk, 49, 1.23). The latter provision is also included in the *Ordinarium Cartusiense*, c. 29, 7.

⁶⁶ Such is the practice of having the two acolytes stand on either side of the deacon and subdeacon whenever these are standing behind the celebrant, so that the group is arranged in *modum crucis*; *Ordinarium O.P.* (Guerrini, 235). The custom is still in force in the present Dominican rite; it is frequently attested in the Middle Ages; cf. Arens, 19.

The custom of deacon and subdeacon turning with the celebrant to greet the people is witnessed among others by *Cod. Chigi: Martène*, I, 4, XII (I, 570 D), and in the *Ordo eccl. Lateran.* (Fischer, 83, 1. 30); it is still practiced in Benedictine monasteries.

⁶⁷ Cf. *supra*, p. 103 f.

⁶⁸ P. Sawicki, *De Missa conventuali in Capitulis et apud Religiosos* (Cracow, 1938). The expression *missa in conventu* or *missa conventualis* since the 12th century. Besides these, other designations were used, like *missa canonica*, *missa capitularis*; Sawicki, 7, note 6.

Carolingian authors called it also *missa*

legitima, *missa generalis*; Bona, *Rerum liturg.*, I, 13, 1 (175 f.)

⁶⁹ In the earlier monasteries, wherein the canonical hours developed to the form they latterly possess, daily Mass was still, as we know, strange. The mention of Mass in St. Benedict, *Regula*, c. 35 and 38, presupposes that the monks assembled for it only on Sundays and feasts. The same is seen in the *Regula Magistri*, c. 45 (PL, LXXXVIII, 1007 f.) and in Fructuosus of Braga (d. c. 665), *Regula*, II, c. 13 (PL, LXXXVII, 1120 f.). Reg. St. Columban (d. 615) his *Vita* tells us that he read Mass only on Sundays; I, 26; III, 16 (PL, LXXXVIII, 740 and 765).

⁷⁰ Only the Carthusians present an exception. In their first stage (they were founded in 1084) the conventual Mass took place only on Sundays and feasts; Bona, I, 18, 3 (256); P. Goussanville in the notes to Peter of Blois, *Ep.*, 86 (PL, CCVII, 266). Besides, both amongst the Carthusians and in part amongst the Cistercians, there was no subdeacon; see *infra*, p. 209.

⁷¹ There was, in addition, a scaling of the solemnity in the rites of the High Mass on Sundays: at the introit the semi-verse was repeated even before the *Gloria Patri*; the *Gloria in excelsis* was inserted; there was but one collect; gradual and Alleluia were chanted by two soloists; all received the kiss of peace. *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.*, I, 8 (PL, CXLIX, 653).

cial feast the formulary of the Mass for the Dead was chosen,⁷² since this second Mass was for the benefit of the souls of deceased benefactors for whom Cluny had developed an extended solicitude.

A similar arrangement became customary amongst the Premonstratensians,⁷³ and was soon adopted elsewhere.⁷⁴ In France at the time of Honorius III there appeared a tendency to be satisfied with the daily service for the dead, especially since it had some advantage as regards time, and so the Mass which was due *ratione diei vel festi* was omitted. This was the occasion of a decree issued by this pope in 1217, in which the fulfillment of one obligation as well as the other was required.⁷⁵ From this decree many canonists drew the conclusion that all collegiate chapters and even monasteries were bound to the double conventual Mass, so that the frequency of solemn Mass was, where possible, still further increased.⁷⁶ In an effort to stem the swell of Masses for the Dead, and to promote as much as possible a correspondence between Office and Mass, the Missal of Pius V took this legislation as the basis for its regulations for cathedrals and collegiate churches regarding the double Mass, of which in the cases given one was to be *de feria*, the other *de festo*,⁷⁷ and also for the rules regarding the substitution of Votive Masses and Masses for the Dead.⁷⁸ In general the double conventual Mass has in modern times been restricted to days of a double liturgical character (in the sense just indicated). And more often it has

⁷² *Op. cit.*, I, 6; 9 (PL, CXLIX, 651; 653); II, 30 (718).

⁷³ Waefelghem, 29-32. Only in the more urgent harvesting time were they content with just one conventual Mass (29). Amongst the reductions of solemnity that signaled the early Mass for the Dead was the attendance of only one acolyte; *ibid.*, 98-101.

⁷⁴ John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 32 B).

Amongst the Cistercians, too, there was a Mass *pro defunctis* (to correspond to the Office for the Dead) every day, even on Sundays and feasts, with just a few exceptions; it was said at a special altar, apparently without the whole community being present; *Liber usuum*, c. 51 (PL, CLXVI, 1420); cf. R. Trilhe, "Citeaux," *DACL*, III, 1795.

⁷⁵ *Decretales Gregor.*, III, 41, 11 (Friedberg, II, 642 f.).

⁷⁶ Sawicki, 34 ff.

Sawicki shows that in reality the ecclesiastical obligation to a conventual Mass for religious with choir did not exist till Pius X; this was the last stage in the development of the principle that Mass was

part of the obligation of choir (64 f.; cf. 68 ff.). But the Church has been reluctant all along to impose a new obligation regarding a conventual Mass for the Dead (45 f.) Even in the Middle Ages the praxis remained quite diversified. At Klosterneuberg there was always a Low Mass for the Dead, but it was said at a special altar only during the singing of High Mass; besides there was always an early Mass after Prime (mostly *de Beata*); Schabes, 59 f.; 64.

On the contrary, at the Benedictine monastery of St. James in Liège there was as a rule only one conventual Mass; it was only from time to time that a *missa matutinalis* was said, and this was sometimes dedicated to the dead; Volk, 53 and the index under *missa matutinalis*.

⁷⁷ This basic principle already in Bernold, *Micrologus*, c. 58 (PL, CLI, 1019 B), and in Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, IV, 117 (PL, CLXXII, 736).

⁷⁸ Roman Missal, *Rubr. gen.*, III ff. Later the canonists interpreted the law to mean that the second Mass was to be applied to the dead but the formula was not specified; this solution received the sanction of law under Benedict XIV. Sawicki, 52-55; 58.

been reduced in solemnity so that, outside of Sundays and Feast-days, it is no longer a *missa solemnis* but a *missa cantata*⁶⁹—this latter probably the form of the monastic Sunday Mass in the beginning.

The real high Mass has again become rarer, the result of various concurring forces. In the cities the collegiate chapters, whose first occupation was solemn divine service, have long since been dissolved. In cathedrals and to some extent also in the surviving monastic establishments, other activities have loomed larger. The independent life of clerical communities, a cloistered and Godward life as it flourished in the later Middle Ages, is rarely possible since the secularization of the past few hundred years. Its outward expression in the daily high Mass has therefore disappeared with the disappearance of that life.

There is another point to notice. This Mass was no longer the collective act of worship of a congregation like the old Roman stational Mass from which it derived. As a rule it took place at a choir altar, situated in a chapter choir or sanctuary that had gradually gotten farther away from the nave and had become almost an independent clerical church, and so even from this viewpoint the Mass was truncated and withered-looking. But more than this, in monastic churches the people had been absolutely excluded since the early Middle Ages. *Missæ publicæ* were generally not allowed, so that the monastery would not unnecessarily mix into the hurly-burly of the world, and the people, on the other hand, would not be drawn away from their parish churches.⁷⁰ The very architecture of the older monastic churches is proof of this—as a rule an immense choir and a very small nave.⁷¹

In modern times, the interests of the care of souls once more became a focal point in worship and therefore the congregation once more came to the fore. In fact the new orders in the sixteenth century showed a decided opposition to solemn services of the late medieval type, since the liturgical duties left hardly any time for other pastoral tasks which were then growing so urgent.⁷² The materialistic and prosaic intellectuality which had

⁶⁹ Sawicki, 86.

Amongst the Capuchins the conventual Mass is generally a *missa lecta*; *ibid.*, 71; see note 72 below. As far as church law is concerned, nothing more is demanded even of other orders with choral obligation; Sawicki, 86.

⁷⁰ Public Mass in monasteries was forbidden more than once under St. Gregory the Great; see *Ep.*, II, 41; VI, 46; etc.; Roman Synod of 601 (PL, LXXVII, 1312). The first Lateran Council (1123) also forbade monks *missas publicas cantare*; can. 17 (Mansi, XXI, 285); cf. Bona, I, 13, 3 (178 ff.).

On the other hand, the 8th century

Breviarium eccl. ord., in its disposition of services distinguishes monasteries *ubi populus* [read -o] *vel feminis licitum est introire* from those *ubi non ingrediuntur feminæ* (Silva-Tarouca, 198, 1. 10). At the *Sanctus* it directs the clergy *cum omni populo* to bow and sing (*ibid.*, 198 f.).

⁷¹ As high as four-fifths of the space was occupied by the monastic community; G. Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* (3rd ed.; Berlin, 1923), I, 72 f.

⁷² The several groups of Discalced Augustinians that made an appearance in the 16th century have one regulation in their Constitutions that is peculiar but yet common to all the groups: they are never to sing

become more and more widespread since the eighteenth century, and the increasing independence of the masses had dampened that joy in princely splendor with which the high Mass encompasses the celebrant as the successor of a pope who had become something of a secular ruler and had been surrounded with the pomp of secular courts.⁷³ The high Mass has been retained only for great feast days when, enriched with musical values that spring from a cultural level very close to us, it continues to function as the expression of highest festive joy and as the self-assertion of a Church happy in its possession.⁷⁴

4. From the Presbyter Mass to the *Missa Cantata*

Besides the episcopal collective service, even Christian antiquity found another type of Mass necessary, since in the territory of each individual bishop there were many churches with their own clergy.¹ This was the Mass of the presbyter,² which we must look upon as a second original basic type

high Mass. M. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen* (2nd ed.; Paderborn, 1907), II, 188.

The Society of Jesus, too, not only had no choral Office but also no high Mass, since for the latter the contemporary arrangements usually presupposed the presence of the community to take care of the singing. *Constitutiones S. J.* (finished in essentials by 1550), VI 3, 4; see *Institutum S. J.* (Florence, 1893), II, 99 f.: *non utentur Nostri choro ad horas canonicas vel missas et alia officia decantanda*. In the years that followed some exceptions were allowed in the matter of singing Mass; *ibid.*, II, 527, 533, 539.

The Capuchins retained the choral Office but at the same time refused to have a (sung) conventual Mass, substituting a Low Mass; in addition private Mass was permitted the brethren (in this early stage of the reform) but only on feast-days. *Ceremoniale Romano-Seraphicum ad usum O.F.M.Cap.* (Rome, 1944), 327 ff.

⁷³ This seems to be true not only in Germany but in other countries, too.

⁷⁴ The Communion of the whole congregation had in most instances already disappeared.

¹ According to Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.*, VI, 43, there were at Rome even in the time of Pope Cornelius (d. 253) 46 presbyters (be-

sides 7 deacons and 7 subdeacons, as well as 42 acolytes and 52 other minor clerics), and according to Optatus, *Contra Parmen.*, II, 4 (CSEL, XXVI, 39) even during the period of the Diocletian persecution there were more than 40 basilicas. Among these there were in the 5th/6th centuries the 25 titular churches where regular congregational services were conducted; see Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, I, 164 f. Since the 5th century there appear on synodal records the signatures of Roman presbyters with mention of their titular churches. Cf. Mabillon, *In ordinem Rom.*, c. 3 (PL, LXXVIII, 858 f.); Batiffol, *Leçons*, 34. Even the figures furnished by Eusebius, *loc. cit.*, regarding the number of poor in the Roman Christian community who received support—1500—shows that a division of services (for worship) was already a self-evident necessity.

Cf. for details V. Monachino, *La cura pastorale a Milano Cartagine e Roma nel secolo IV* (Rome, 1947), 279-406.

² There is, however, but little express evidence that in the early era the presbyters actually conducted the eucharistic services: Cyprian, *Ep.*, 5, 2; cf. 15, 1 (CSEL, III, 479; 514); Athanasius, *Apol. c. Arianos*, c. 85 (PG, XXV, 400 C).

Cf. however, Ignatius, *Ad Smyrn.*, 8, 1 (ed. Kleist, 93): "Let that celebration of

for the celebration of Mass, a type which survives in the *missa cantata*, the simple sung Mass. Although this second basic type must even then have been much more frequent than the grand stationary service, there are practically no accounts of it extant. Perhaps precisely because of its frequent recurrence and because of its greater simplicity, there was no special call to put its description in writing. We can, however, reconstruct it in general outline. We grasp its essential form when we realize that at such a service, besides the congregation, only the presbyter and a second cleric were present as a rule.

The second cleric was generally a deacon. Chrysostom speaks on one occasion of wealthy Christians who possess entire villages but who do not build any churches; he demands that they erect churches and provide for a *priest* and a *deacon* so that divine service might be conducted and Sunday Mass might be celebrated.³ In the Orient the deacon as a general rule stands next to the priest even today. This was also the case to some extent in the West well into the Middle Ages. Cyprian presupposes that the presbyters who sought out and visited the imprisoned Christians in order to celebrate the Eucharist with them, were each time accompanied by a deacon.⁴ In the correspondence of St. Gregory the Great mention is often made of the need to ordain presbyters and deacons for orphaned churches which had no bishop.⁵

However, in the Roman liturgy a cleric of a lesser rank took the place of the deacon at a very early period.⁶ This was all the easier since the deacon's proper functions were but little in demand even at a bishop's Mass, for his duty as prayer-leader for the people was never much developed and the various invitations to prayer and to the kiss of peace were proclaimed by the celebrant himself. In the city of Rome there was an additional reason, for the number of deacons was limited, as it was in other towns too, to the biblical number of seven (Acts 6:3). Thus it appears

the Eucharist be considered valid which is held under the bishop or anyone to whom he has committed it."

³ Chrysostom, *In Acta ap. hom.*, 18, 4 f. (PG, LX, 147 f.).

Amongst the Syrians the indispensability of the deacon is declared by Ischojabh I (d. 596), *Canones ad Jacobum*, c. 3 (Hanssens, II, 465).

⁴ Cyprian, *Ep.*, 5, 2 (CSEL, III, 479); cf. *Ep.*, 34, 1 (*ibid.*, 568). See also the question which Ambrose, *De off.*, I, 41 (PL, XVI, 84) puts in the mouth of St. Lawrence speaking to Pope St. Sixtus II; irrespective of its intrinsic historicity, it is indicative of the relationship of deacon to priest or bishop: *Quo, sacerdos sancte, sine dia-*

cono properas? The bishop, too, might celebrate with a smaller group; cf. *infra*, p. 214.

⁵ Gregory the Great, *Ep.*, I, 15; 78; II, 43; IV, 41, etc.

Even Remigius of Auxerre, *Expositio* (PL, CI, 1247 D) makes the axiom of St. Isidore (*De eccl. off.* II, 8, 3: PL, LXXXIII, 789) his own: *presbyter sine diacono nomen habet, officium non habet.*

⁶ Such a cleric could indeed be present along with a deacon. Thus the inscriptions found at Grottaferrata witness to the presence in that country congregation of a presbyter, a deacon, a lector (who was also an exorcist) and an exorcist; see J. P. Kirsch, *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XXX (1922), 99; Brinktrine, *Die hl. Messe*, 43, note 1.

that at the titular churches in olden times a lector⁷ usually served at the altar, and later usually an acolyte.⁸ He went with the priest to the altar. He took over at least one of the readings. The priest probably, even in earlier times, retained the Gospel for himself, no doubt in order to indicate its higher dignity.⁹ The assistant helped at the offertory procession of the faithful and at the arranging of the gift-offerings, at the breaking of the bread and at the distribution of Communion. The larger outlines of the liturgical function remained the same. The text of the sacramentary was used in its entirety. But, because a special choir was demanded only for pontifical services, the chants of the *schola* dropped out, that is, besides the introit (which, from the situation itself, was unnecessary), also the offertory and communion.¹⁰ Thus the more ancient arrangement survived, somewhat in general like the arrangement nowadays on Holy Saturday. If it was necessary because of a lack of other assistance, the cleric sang the psalmody between the lessons, to which the congregation responded; that is to say, he took over the duties of the *psalmista*.¹¹ The responses to the altar chants of the priest were, of course, the right of the congregation, and likewise the chants of the Ordinary—of which, till the sixth century, only the *Sanctus* existed.

Some such Mass celebration must have fitted most naturally into the circumstances of the early medieval monasteries. As long as the individual monks were not as a rule ordained, it was the type that was taken for granted. But even the conservative branches of the Benedictine order in

⁷ Grave inscriptions of lectors in the 4th and 5th centuries with mention of the titular church to which they were attached (among them the churches of Eusebius, Fasciola, Pudentiana, Velabrum) in E. Diehl, *Lateinische altchristliche Inschriften*, II (Kleine Texte, 26-28; Bonn, 1913), 8 f. In the country the services of the lector continued longer; see Synod of Vaison (529), can. 1 (Mansi, VIII, 726). Cf. W. Croce, "Die niederen Weihen und ihre hierarchische Wertung," *ZkTh* (1948), 269 f., 282.

⁸ In contradistinction to the deacons, subdeacons, notaries and defenders, and (on the other hand) like the lectors, the acolytes were assigned to a certain titular church; in fact in the time of St. Gregory they became real "assistant clergy"; B. Fischer, "Der niedere Klerus bei Gregor dem Grossen," *ZkTh* (1938), 64. Cf. Diehl, p. 10 f.: Acolytes of Vestina, Clemens, Capua.

⁹ In the Ordo of St. Amand (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 477) it is said that at

the first Mass which the newly-ordained priest celebrates in his titular church (with the privilege of having his seat next to the altar and of intoning the *Gloria*) the Gospel is read by the *paranimfus presbyter*.
¹⁰ Thus also Mabillon, *In ordinem Rom.*, c. 4 (PL, LXXVIII, 866); Eisenhofer, II, 9.

For Masses for the Dead no chants were provided even in the 9th century; see *infra*, p. 219, note 48.

That they could be missing in other instances too is indicated by the 11th century order for the sick in the Pontifical of Narbonne: Martène, I, 7, XIII (I, 892); it does contain the fore-Mass and the Communion section, but without the chants.

¹¹ There is at least a recollection of this in John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 32 C): of the two acolytes who are presumed for the High Mass it says: *unus qui cantet Graduale et deferat candelabrum, alter qui Alleluia et ferat thuribulum*. Similarly in Rouen as late as 1651 (PL, CXLVII, 73 D).

the eleventh century had a conventual Mass in which the basic type of the presbyter Mass can be recognized. The liturgy of the Carthusians, for example, does not even today have a subdeacon as a special functionary; only the deacon assists the priest. For the singing of the Epistle a monk especially appointed steps out of the choir.¹² A similar usage occurred, and occurs even nowadays, amongst the Cistercians, at least for the ferial rite of the conventual Mass¹³ and perhaps elsewhere too.¹⁴

This same manner of celebrating Mass was the only one possible in country churches and in churches on large estates. But that Mass was actually performed in this way, and especially that a cleric served at it—of these things the traces in the older sources are not very clear; there are traces, however. The ninth century *Admonitio synodalis*¹⁵ orders: *Omnis presbyter clericum habeat vel scolarem, qui epistolam vel lectionem legat et ei ad missam respondeat, et cum quo psalmos cantet.*¹⁶ Plainly what is meant here in the first place is the parochial service, a Mass celebrated with chant. The word *respondeat* seems to suppose that even in parish churches the people no longer themselves gave the answers in a loud voice. Besides, of course, no such responses were needed as yet at the prayers at the foot of the altar, although they were probably at the *Orate fratres*.¹⁷ There is express mention of divine service in *parochiis ruralibus* in a Mainz synod of 1310 which censures the abuse of priests celebrating *sine ministri suffragio* because of lack of assistants, *propter defectum clericorum*. Against this custom, the synod legislates that even in rural places the priest should not celebrate without the cooperation of some responsible persons who

¹² A. Degand, "Chartreux (Liturgie des)", *DACL*, III, 1047.

¹³ See the chapter "Die Konventmesse cum unico ministro" in Schneider (*Cist. Chr.* [1927]), 298-303; cf. *Liber usuum*, c. 53 (PL, CLXVI, 1423 C): the subdeacon after the Epistle *eat in chorum cantare cum aliis, si necesse fuerit*. Cf. Schneider (*Cist. Chr.* [1926]), 316. Something similar is also found in the *Ordinarium O.P.* of 1256, where both *ministri* are expected to help the choir *maxime in parvis conventibus* (Guerrini, 237). This was also the rule amongst the Benedictines of the Bursfeld Union; Schneider, *loc. cit.*

In the Cistercian rite on feast-days a special *subminister* (in addition to deacon and subdeacon) served at the altar for certain duties, coming up to the altar as occasion demanded; R. Trilhe, "Cîteaux," *DACL*, III, 1792.

¹⁴ Cf. John of Avranches, *De off. eccl.* (PL, CXLVII, 33 f.), where there is a similar direction: *subdiaconus vero, excepto tempore ministracionis suae, in choro maneat.*

In this instance, however, the ministrations of the subdeacon are more in demand.

¹⁵ Also called *Homilia Leonis*, with reference to Leo IV (d. 855). On its diffusion see P. Browe, *ZkTh*, LVI (1932), 389, note 60; cf. H. Leclercq, *DACL*, VI, 576-579.

¹⁶ PL, CXXXII, 456 B; cf. 96, 1376 C.

A similarly worded injunction is ascribed to the Council of Nantes (9th century): Mansi, XVIII, 173 f.

¹⁷ The requirement of the *Admonitio* indicates at the same time how during the Middle Ages recruits were trained for the clerical state. Express mention is made of this at the Council of Vaison (529), can. 1 (Mansi, VIII, 726 f.) which requires the parish priest to keep and instruct *iuiores lectores*. See also Anton De Waal, "Liturgical Chant in Early Christian Rome," *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, LXVI (1922), 465 ff., esp. 468-471. For a later period cf. R. Stachnik, *Die Bildung des Klerus im Frankenreiche* (Paderborn, 1926), esp. 56 f.

could read and sing.¹⁸ Here, in case of necessity, the assistance of a capable layman is declared sufficient, but even the present-day missal considers it quite normal that, at a Mass celebration without sacred ministers, *aliquis lector superpelliceo indutus* should read the Epistle.¹⁹

So the *missa cantata*, which in most dioceses today is the predominant form of parish service, is seen to be the unbroken continuation of the presbyter Mass of Christian antiquity.

It, too, has been subjected to the trend of borrowing as much as possible from the episcopal service. For one thing, since the sacramentaries intended for the episcopal service were generally also standard for the titular churches, the opening rite of *Kyrie* and oration before the readings must have become customary in the presbyter Mass even in Christian antiquity. Soon, too, at a very early period the antiphonal chants were included,²⁰ but this can only mean that the texts were spoken by the priest, since any musical performance—if the priest himself did not undertake it²¹—was in most instances impossible²² and even today is still in most instances impossible.²³ And also during these centuries of the Middle Ages the presbyter Mass must have shared in the whole development of the Mass-liturgy: the inclusion of the *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Agnus Dei*, the silent prayers, the incensing, and finally the *pax*-usages. It could really not be otherwise, because Church law demanded that all churches conform, in the

¹⁸ Mansi, XXV, 312.

A similar decree at the Synod of Cologne held that same year, can. 17 (Mansi, XXV, 23): use may be made only of *litterati qui in defectu respondentis ad altare cum camisiis lineis assistant*.

¹⁹ *Rit. serv.*, VI, 8.

Several synods at the end of the 16th century that still made more or less stringent demands for the use of a cleric as server even at private Mass are cited by R. Saponaro, "Estne munus in missa privata ministrandi, clericorum proprium?" *Periodica*, XXVIII (1939), esp. 380 f.

²⁰ *Supra*, p. 105.

²¹ In many places the practice must have developed of the priest himself singing these pieces at the altar. P. Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 194, note 1, speaks of "numerous manuscripts" which contained, beside the sacramentary text with the priestly orations, also these chants with their melodies noted. As a matter of fact, examples of this sort from the 11th to the 13th century have been catalogued, e.g., by Ebner, 134, 268, 270, 278; Köck, 3. References to extra-Italian sources in Ebner, 361 f. An example where only the Wedding Mass has the neums, *ibid.*, 48.

²² Toward the end of the Middle Ages a method of simplifying matters had gained ground, namely the introduction of votive Masses even on Sundays, their melodies growing familiar by constant recurrence. The Synod of Mainz, 1549 (c. 61; Hartzheim, VI, 579) did not want to cross those *qui peculiaris singularum dominicarum officia propter cantorum, paucitatem observare non valentes, officia, de Trinitate et de Spiritu Sancto, aut, quod decentissimum erat, de Domini resurrectione diebus dominicis servaverint*. Cf. Franz, 151.

For the same reason, many churches today, both in the country and in the city, resort to week-day Requiem Masses, day in and day out, since the tunes are simple and there is further no worry about *Gloria* or *Credo*.

²³ Since recent decrees of the Congregation of Rites expressly demand that all the prescribed texts be sung at a *missa cantata*, recourse has been had of late to substitutes in place of the lengthy planesong melodies, either a Psalmic formula or some sort of recitation. Cf. F.A. Brunner, *Cecilia*, LXXV (1947-8), 106 and LXXVI (1948-9), 72.

institutiones missarum, to the pattern of the cathedral or the metropolitan church.²⁴

Even the more solemn ceremonies of these latter were copied by the smaller churches; especially in the later Middle Ages the services in the larger parishes were very similar to those in the chapter churches. The common choir prayer of the clergy was combined with the repeated celebration of public Mass.²⁵ Of these a daily *summum officium* was distinguished, a Mass like the *missa maior* of the chapters, marking the climax of the morning service and capable of many varying degrees, reaching a high-point in a solemn Mass with deacon and subdeacon and an introductory procession of the clergy carrying relics of the saints.²⁶ Taking over polyphonic music in city and country churches was the last step in this development.

5. From Domestic Eucharist to Private Mass

Even though in the early days of the Church it was a fundamental principle that the Eucharist was to be celebrated only for the sake of the faithful and not as a personal devotion of one endowed with the powers

²⁴ *Supra*, p. 98.

²⁵ The parochial clergy were also expected to conduct the canonical hours publicly; this was insisted upon, e.g., by the Synod of Trier (1238), can. 30 (Hartzheim, III, 560): *In parochialibus ecclesiis pulsantur [et cantentur] horæ canonicæ*. (The bracketed words are uncertain.)

A prescript issued at Rouen in 1245 enacted *quod quilibet sacerdos in parochia sua seu capellanus in capella sua dicat matutinas de nocte et omnes horas horis competentibus, vid. Primam mane, post Tertiam missam, et post Sextam et Nonam, et pulset horis debitis ad quamlibet horam*. A. Roskovány, *Coelibatus et Breviarium* (Budapest, 1861), V, 62.

The parish priest who was alone could not sing the hours himself at the proper time, but he had to see to it that his "scholars" did; *Decretales Gregor. III*, 41, 1 (Friedberg, II, 635).

A gesture in the same direction was already to be found in an early capitulary (801): The parish priests are to train their *scholarii* to be able to perform in their stead the hours of Terce, Sext, None and Vespers when necessary (MGH, Ch. I, 238). Likewise in a letter of Alcuin to

Arno in 799 (MGH, Ep. Carol. 9 Aevi, II, 278) and in Regino, *De synod. causis*, I, 208 (PL, CXXXII, 229). Further traces, some of them older, in H. Leclercq, "Gallicane (Liturgie): XIV. Paroisses rurales," DACL, VI, 561 f.; cf. among others the Synod of Tarragona (516), can. 7 (Mansi, VIII, 542 D). Even in the 18th century Matins, Lauds and Vespers were often considered part of the Sunday parochial services; see E. Hegel, "Liturgie und Seelsorge in der Zeit der Aufklärung," *Theologie u. Glaube* (1943), 105.

²⁶ Greving, *Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch*, 78 ff.; Goetz, *Das Pfarrbuch des Stephan May*, 27 (where other references are given).

By *summum officium* (Greving, 79; Goetz, 27) is meant only the main service of the day. Cf. also *summa missa in Liber ordinarius* of Essen (Arens, 1 ff., 136). Even today, as I am given to understand, the chief Sunday service is still called *summa* in Lithuania. If the word "High Mass" (German: *Hochamt*) is taken as more or less the equivalent, this would explain why in ordinary parlance the word is used to refer not to a *solemn* Mass but to an ordinary *sung* Mass, a *missa cantata* without deacon or subdeacon.

of priesthood, still it was not seldom the case in this era when "they broke bread in this house or that" (Acts 2:20), that only a small domestic group gathered around the holy table. This domestic celebration of the Eucharist in the primitive Church was the forerunner of its later celebration in more or less private circles, and finally also of the private Mass. Aside from the texts of the *Didache* which have always been taken in this sense,¹ other unmistakable evidences of this usage are to be traced, all of them also of the second century. In the various apocryphal histories of the Apostles we find, along with many vulgar and heretical additions, indubitable testimonies regarding the ecclesiastical customs in this matter, an array of examples where the legends picture the Apostles as "breaking bread" before a small group, of "giving thanks" over bread and wine in the presence of only a few participants.² Tertullian includes in his account of the era of persecution the celebration of the *dominica sollemnia* at which only three persons were present.³ In Cyprian, too, there is mention not only of a morning Mass in the presence of the congregation, but also of an evening Eucharist for a small circle.⁴ Basil speaks of priests who, because of a fault, are permitted to perform their priestly office only in private homes.⁵ Gregory of Nazianzen cites the eucharistic celebration in his sister's home.⁶ However, in the Orient in the fourth century, the Synod of Laodicea issued a general prohibition against such celebrations of the Eucharist.⁷ In other

¹ *Supra*, p. 13, Note 28.

² The passages in question in Quasten, *Mon.*, 339-345.

³ Tertullian, *De fuga*, c. 14 (PL, II, 142 A). Further reports about Mass in the era of persecution, when the Christians celebrated the mysteries *qualiter poterant et ubi poterant*, as Victor of Vita put it, *Historia persec. Afric.*, I, 18 (CSEL, VII, 9), are gathered in Martène, I, 3, 5 (I, 299 ff.).

⁴ Cyprian, *Ep.*, 63, 16 (CSEL, III, 714): *cum cœnamus ad convivium nostrum plebem convocare non possumus, ut sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni præsente celebremus*. For an interpretation of the passage see Zimmermann, *Die Abendmesse*, 58-62; E. Dekkers, "L'Eglise ancienne a-t-elle connu la Messe de soir?" (Miscellanea Mohlberg, I, 231-257), 246-249. To this celebration of Mass with a small group must be referred the remark of St. Cyprian, *Ep.*, 57, 3 (CSEL, III, 652), about the daily Mass: *sacerdotes, qui sacrificia Dei cotidie celebramus*.

Of his testimony regarding the celebration of Mass in the prisoners' cells mention was already made, *supra*, 208. Cf. Augustine, *Breviculum coll.*, III, 17, 23

(PL, XLIII, 644). Here also we must insert the Mass of Lucian of Antioch (d. 312) who, while lying in prison, spoke the wonted prayers with the *σύμβολα τῆς ἱερουργίας* on his breast; see Philostorgius, *Vita*, ed. Bidez, c. 14 (GCS, Philostorgius, 196; cf. *ibid.*, 25).

⁵ Basil, *Ep.*, 199 (PG, XXXII, 716 f.).

⁶ Gregory of Nazianzen, *Or.*, 8 (al. 11), 18 (PG, XXXV, 809). On the other hand what Gregory relates regarding his ailing father was hardly a real eucharistic celebration; *Or.*, 18, 29 (PG, XXXV, 1020 f.; cf. *ibid.*, 983-986).

⁷ Can. 58 (Mansi, II, 574): "Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις προσφορὰς γίνεσθαι πρὸς ἐπισκόπων ἢ πρεσβυτέρων. A similar proscription was issued by the synod of Seleucia-Ktesiphon (410), can. 13 (O. Braun, *Das Buch der Synhados* [Stuttgart, 1900], 21): The sacrifice is not to be performed in houses.

Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 8, connects this prohibition with the cessation of the persecutions first in Rome and then in Persian territory.

Nestorius, too, while patriarch of Constantinople (428-431) had reprimanded one of his priests for celebrating Mass in

places it is simply required that for this the bishop's permission be asked; this was the case in the Byzantine area,⁸ where in the ninth/tenth centuries every family in easy circumstances had its house chapel, which was used especially for memorial Masses for the Dead.⁹

At an earlier date in North Africa the second Synod of Carthage (about 390) was content to demand an episcopal permission.¹⁰ This fits in with what Augustine has to tell about one of his priests who was once called to the country estate of a former Roman officer, Hesperius. Here the slaves and cattle were suffering from demoniacal molestations, but the priest offered up the sacrifice of Christ's Body, and the molestations ceased.¹¹

In Rome, too, the house Mass was not unusual. Here in many places since the beginning of the third century there were domestic oratories dedicated to the memory of certain martyrs.¹² It might have been in one such oratory that St. Ambrose, at the invitation of a prominent Roman lady, once offered up the sacrifice.¹³ It is told of Melania the Younger that she had Mass said daily by her chaplain Gerontius, at her cloister-like home on the precipice of the Mount of Olives, "as was the custom of the Church of Rome."¹⁴ Paulinus of Nola, as we saw above, offered up the holy sacrifice with the visiting bishops in his own sick-room.¹⁵ Gregory the Great admonishes the Bishop of Syracuse to allow Mass to be celebrated in the house of a certain Venantius.¹⁶

In Frankish territory and later on generally throughout the northern lands, where the manorial estates of the nobles were scattered wide over the country, the house chapels, with their Masses celebrated by the house chaplain or manor priest (*Burgpfaffe*), became permanent institutions. But it was not easy to legislate against the abuses, which could hardly be

a home, but received the reply from his clergy that it was here a common practice (Hardouin, I, 1322).

⁸ Trullanum (692), can. 31 (Mansi, XI, 956).

⁹ This is testified in an enactment of Emperor Leo the Philosopher (886-911) who simply declares domestic Masses are allowed (PG, CVII, 432). Cf. Hardouin, II, 16-19.

¹⁰ Can. 9 (Mansi, III, 695).

¹¹ Augustine, *De civ. Dei*, 22, 8 (CSEL, 40, II, p. 602). As the context makes plain, there was as yet no church in the place.

¹² J. P. Kirsch, "I sanctuari domestici di martiri," *Rendiconti della Accademia Romana di Archeologia* (1924), II, 27-43; cf. JL, V (1925), 246.

H. Grisar, *Geschichte Roms und der Päpste* (Freiburg, 1901), 168-170.

¹³ Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii*, c. 10 (PL, XIV, 20): *cum trans Tiberim apud clarissimam quamdam invitatus sacrificium offerret.*

¹⁴ In R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer. Ein Charakterbild zur Kirchen- und Sittengeschichte des 5. Jh.* (Leipzig, 1895), 36. From this we must distinguish the Eucharistic service which Melania caused to be celebrated for her whole convent community every Friday and Sunday and on feasts; *Vita* of St. Melania, c. 48 (M. Card. Rampolla, *Santa Melania giuniore* [Rome, 1905] 27, 68).

¹⁵ *Supra*, p. 198 f.

¹⁶ Gregory the Great, *Ep.* VI, 43 f. (PL, LXXVII, 831 f.).

avoided under the circumstances.¹⁷ At first, stress was laid on the obligation of attending the bishop's church or the parish church on all higher feasts,¹⁸ but later on this was reduced to just the feast of Easter.¹⁹ The Carolingian reform sought to reaffirm the canon of Laodicea forbidding all divine service in the home, but eventually had to tolerate a practice less strict.²⁰ A capitulary of Hatto of Basel (807-827) permitted Mass to be said in the homes of the sick.²¹ But finally, after much hesitation and change of policy in medieval legislation, the Council of Trent forbade Mass in private dwellings.²²

From these Masses said in private homes, on an estate or at a graveside where at least a group of people, however small, attends the service, we must carefully distinguish the *private* Mass strictly so called. This we understand as a Mass celebrated for its own sake, with no thought of anyone participating, a Mass where only the prescribed server is in attendance, or even where no one is present, as was once the case in the so-called *Missa solitaria*. These are the Masses—contrasted to the conventual Mass and the parochial Mass—which are most generally referred to in medieval documents as *missæ privatæ* or *speciales* or *peculiares*.²³

¹⁷ Archbp. Agobard of Lyons (d. 840), *De privil. et iure sacerdot.*, c. 11 (PL, CIV, 138) complained that there was hardly a moneyed man who did not have a palace chaplain whom he then employed sometimes as a table-waiter, sometimes as a stablegroom.

¹⁸ Synod of Agde (506), can. 21 (Mansi, VIII, 328).

¹⁹ IV Synod of Orleans (541), can. 3 (Mansi, IX, 113 f.).

Further indications of the gradual but continued decrease in the demand are outlined in Browe, *Die Pflichtkommunion im Mittelalter*, 48.

The Missal of Bobbio (Muratori, II, 916) contains a special formulary: *missa in domo cuiuslibet.*

²⁰ Evidence supplied in Browe, *Die Pflichtkommunion*, 47 f. The reform Synod of Pavia (850) desired only that the priests in question be approved by the bishop, and even lauded regular domestic worship; can. 18 (Mansi, XIV, 936 f.).

²¹ N. 14; MGH, Ch. I, 364.

In England this permission was still retained in law collections around the year 1000, e.g., in that of King Edgar (967), can. 30 (Hardouin, VI, 662 B), but otherwise it was soon restricted to bishops and

abbots. Still even as late as the 16th century there are individual instances of a general permission for Mass in the sick-room; P. Browe, "Die Sterbekommunion im Altertum und Mittelalter," *ZkTh* (1930), 26-30. Cf. *ibid.*, 27, for references to liturgical books (like the older Gelasian, III, 69) which contain a special Mass *super infirmum in domo*. There is such a formulary in the Sacramentary of Moissac, 11th century; Martène, I, 7, XI (I, 879 f.); this contains texts also for the proper chants and for the readings, as well as a special *Hanc igitur: H. i. oblationem, Domine, famuli tui ill. in hac domo consistentis.*

²² Sess. XXII, *Decretum de observ. et evit. in celebr. missæ.*

The result of further evolution in the law is to be found today in canons 1188-1196 of the official *Cod. Iur. Canon.*; service is much restricted in private chapels, but is accorded in semi-public oratories and public chapels.

²³ G. Schreiber, "Mittelalterliche Segnungen und Abgaben," *Zeitschrift d. Savigny-Stiftung, kan. Abt.* (1943), 243.

Regarding the various concepts of *missa privata* to be discovered later in the controversies with the Reformers, cf. Bene-

Without doubt there is no intrinsic contradiction in such a performance of the Christian sacrifice. Apart from any consideration of parallels outside revealed religion, the very first sacrifice cited in Holy Writ is one which two individuals, Abel and Cain, offered up, each by himself. Further, in the levitical cult the possibility was not excluded that a sacrifice requested by someone absent, the priestly officiant alone should be present.²⁴ Both cases are conceivable also in the New Covenant, all the more when the consciousness grew that in the Eucharist all the sacrifices of former times find their fulfillment and consummation,²⁵ even those which the individual was wont to offer up or to have offered up. In other words, the sacrifice of the New Testament was not only a Eucharist of the redeemed community, but an oblation which one could present as a prayer or as an expiation in certain difficulties.²⁶ In this sense the Council of Trent defined the propitiatory character of the Mass sacrifice.²⁷ Since a public celebration at which the congregation assembled was at first provided only on Sundays and the infrequent feast-days, it was quite easy to assume that a bishop or priest might, on one of the other days, offer up the sacrifice in his own name, urged on by personal gratitude and petition. He could then say Mass at his own home in much the same way as he would say it elsewhere when asked to do so.

Evidences of such Masses survive from at least the sixth century. Gregory the Great says that Cassius, Bishop of Narni, was accustomed to offer God the holy sacrifice every day.²⁸ John the Almoner (d. 620) reprimands the people who were less zealous, saying that he could just as well have offered Mass at home for himself as in the public Church.²⁹

Personal devotion must likewise have induced the individual priest-monks to say private Masses in their monasteries. Although St. Benedict himself showed no inclination to countenance having a number of priests in his convents,³⁰ St. Gregory the Great already appears to favor the ordi-

dict XIV, *De s. sacrificio missæ*, III, 22, 7 (Schneider, 257 f.).

But Eisenhofer's notion, II, 10, that the essence of private Mass consists in the absence of levites and singers and in the fact that the prayers are not spoken in a singing tone, is to be discounted, for these are merely secondary features which result from its private character. Cf. W. H. Freestone, *The Sacrament Reserved* (London, 1917), 24-31.

²⁴ Here we must cite the sacrifice which Judas Maccabæus had offered in Jerusalem for the slain, 2 Macc., 12:43.

²⁵ Cf. the appeal to Mal. 1:11 in the *Didache*, 14, 3.

²⁶ Cf. the growing prominence of the designations *oblatio*, *sacrificium*, etc.; *supra*, p.

170. The link between certain Votive Masses and various sacrifices of the Old Law was already exploited by Amalar, *De eccl. off.* III, 19 (PL, CV, 1127). Cf. Franz, *Die Messe*, 117 f.

²⁷ Sess. XXII, c. 2; can. 3 (Schröder, 146, 149).

²⁸ Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, IV, 56 (PL, LXXVII, 421).

In Ev. II, hom. 37, 9 (PL, LXXVI, 1281 A) Gregory remarks that shortly before his death Cassius had celebrated Mass in his house-chapel (*in episcopii oratorio*); the previous references must therefore have likewise concerned this oratory.

²⁹ Leontius, *Vita*, c. 41 (PL, LXXIII, 375 f.).

³⁰ St. Benedict, *Regula*, c. 60.

nation of monks, and the Roman Synod of 610 under Boniface IV, which approved the ordaining of monks, seems to have marked the turning-point.³¹ From that time on, the number of priests in monasteries begins to grow.³² Even if this did not itself give the first impetus to the desire for personal celebration, the latter did soon follow more or less frequently.³³ An indication of this is the increase in the number of altars in the monasteries; at first they are erected, one apiece in all the oratories of the monastery,³⁴ later on they are all brought together in the main church as side-altars.³⁵ In eighth-century accounts of the lives of various holy monks mention is made time after time of their celebrating Mass almost daily,³⁶ and in the ninth century this is already accepted as a permanent rule.³⁷

The personal devotion of the celebrant was not, however, whether in the monasteries or elsewhere, the only source of this increase in private Mass, nor was it even the strongest source. Stronger by far was the desire of the faithful for Votive Masses; that is to say, for Masses which took care of their earnest concerns (*vota*), not the least important of which was regard for the dead.³⁸ The domestic celebration of the Eucharist had also in great measure served such interests. And as these Masses which were devoted to special interests were detached from the domestic congregation and were transferred to the oratories connected with the church or monastery, the occasions when the priest stood at the altar alone were multiplied. Thus from this angle too, impetus was given the private Mass.

A great importance attached even in ancient times to the Mass for the Dead. As early as 170 there is evidence from the apocryphal Acts of St. John that in Asia Minor a eucharistic memorial for the dead was conducted on the third day after burial³⁹; this took place at the grave. The anniversary

³¹ Mansi, X, 504 f. Also in *Decretum Gratiani*, II, 16, q. 1, c. 25 (Friedberg, I, 767).

³² A larger number of priest-monks must be presupposed for the missions in England and Germany; statistical data in Berlière, *L'ascèse bénédictine*, 40.

³³ In the legendary life of the Irish St. Brendan (d. circa 576) it is recounted that he and his companions had often read Mass on week-days; C. Plummer, *Vita Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, (Oxford, 1901), I, 133.

³⁴ Bede, *Hist. gent. Angl.*, IV, 14 (PL, XCV, 195), relates that after an epidemic had subsided, Mass was said in thanksgiving in all the oratories of the monastery. Further references in Bona, I, 14, 1 (191).

³⁵ Benedict of Aniane gave four altars to the church of the Saviour which he had built in 782. The monastery church of Centula, which was finished in 798, has

eleven altars. In the plans drawn up in 820 for the reconstruction of the monastery church at St. Gall seventeen altars were projected. Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, I, 372, 389.

³⁶ Berlière, *L'ascèse bénédictine*, 40, with references to Boniface, Ceolfrid and Winnebal.

³⁷ Abbot Angilbert of Centula (d. 814) laid down the injunction that, besides the two conventual Masses, there should be said daily at the various altars at least 30 other Masses; Hariulfus, *Chron. Cent.*, II, 7 (PL, CLXXIV, 1250).

³⁸ The expression *missa votiva* is already found in the Bobbio Missal (Muratori, II, 911-914) but it seems to be taken in a much narrower sense than here.

³⁹ Acta Johannis, c. 85 f. (*Acta ap. apocr.*, ed. Lipsius-Bonnet, II, 1, p. 193). Cf. Dölger, *Ichthys*, II, 555-569.

commemoration is no more recent.⁴⁰ In the fourth century the commemoration on the seventh day and on the thirtieth day became known; elsewhere it is the ninth day and the fortieth day that are observed. All of these fixed days for the memorial of the dead, along with the ritual solemnization of the day of burial,⁴¹ derive from pre-Christian tradition,⁴² with the celebration of the Eucharist taking the place of ancient sacrifice for the dead and sometimes perhaps of the *refrigerium* too.⁴³

It was precisely this *refrigerium* or memorial meal, eaten at the graveside of a deceased person, probably without reference to any particular day, and attested in the third/fourth century even for the burial sites of the Apostles Peter and Paul, that could be replaced by Mass when the Church began to take an adverse stand because of abuses that crept in—Mass in the sense of Votive Masses at the graves of Apostles and martyrs,⁴⁴ and intercessory Masses for the Dead at the graves of relations.

About the turn of the sixth century it was not unusual for a priest to read Mass for a dead person on a series of days one after the other, with no one participating. This can be deduced from a story of St. Gregory the Great about the priest John, who wanted to give his attendant at the public baths two offering breads, whereupon the latter made himself known as a soul doing penance and asked the priest rather to offer up the sacrifice for him, which the priest John therefore did daily for a whole week.⁴⁵ Towards the end of the seventh century there developed various prayer confraternities pledged to offer suffrages from church to church and monastery to monastery, and especially a number of Masses for the Dead. At the Synod of Attigny (762) the attending bishops and abbots bound themselves to say, among other things, a hundred Masses for each of the group who would die.⁴⁶ A cooperative agreement entered into in 800 between St. Gall and Reichenau stipulated, *inter alia*, that for each deceased monk every

⁴⁰ The congregation at Smyrna makes mention in 155-156 of its purpose to hold an annual memorial service for Polycarp; *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 18, 3.

Tertullian, *De corona mil.*, c. 3 (CSEL, LXX, 158): *oblaciones pro defunctis, pro nataliciis annua die facimus*. Cf. *De monogamia*, c. 10.

Without any time arrangement also *Didascalia*, VI, 22, 2 (Funk, I, 376).

⁴¹ Cyprian, *Ep.*, 1, 2 (CSEL, III, 466 f.).

⁴² E. Freistedt, *Altchristliche Totengedächtnistage und ihre Beziehung zum Jenseitsglauben und Totenkultus der Antike* (LQF, XXIV; Münster, [1928]).

⁴³ A series of studies regarding *refrigerium* (memorial meal for the dead) and related concepts is enumerated and expounded in JL, VIII (1928), 347-353. Cf. also Botte, *Le canon* 68 f. and J. Quasten,

"Vetus superstitio," *Harvard Theol. Review*, XXXIII (1940), 253-266. Other data regarding funerary banquets in C. Zammit, "I triclini funebri nelle catacombe di Malta," *Rivista di Archeologia Christiana*, XVII (1940), 293-297.

⁴⁴ In this sense J. P. Kirsch, "Die memoria apostolorum an der Appischen Strasse zu Rom und die liturgische Feier des 29. Juni," JL, III (1923), 33-50, esp. 49 f.

⁴⁵ Gregory the Great, *Dial.*, IV, 55 (PL, LXXVII, 417). Also *ibid.* (PL, LXXVII 421), the case of the Masses for the deceased monk Justus on 30 consecutive days. In this latter instance there could possibly have been some sort of distribution of the Masses amongst the brethren, but this was not to be thought of in the other case.

⁴⁶ A. Ebner, *Die klösterlichen Gebetsbrüderungen* (Regensburg, 1890), 52.

priest was to say three Masses on three successive days after the report of the death was received, and also another Mass on the thirtieth day; at the beginning of each month, after the Office for the dead of the convent, each priest was again to read a Mass; and finally every year on November 14 a general commemoration of the dead was to be held, again with three Masses by each priest.⁴⁷ From this time on, private Masses for the Dead is an established arrangement, especially in monasteries.⁴⁸

Votive Masses for other purposes and in favor of individual persons or groups were also initiated in Christian antiquity. About 370 a Roman writer tells of repeated eucharistic celebrations for *peregrini et incolæ*.⁴⁹ Augustine pities the ladies and maidens who had fallen into the hands of barbarians because they do not have the eucharistic sacrifice and, in consequence, they themselves can neither take part in the public celebration nor have Mass said for them.⁵⁰ The *Leonianum* contains a great number of formularies which obviously have in view the private petitions either of the priest himself or of other offerers: among others are those marked *post*

⁴⁷ MGH, *Libri confraternitatum*, ed. Piper, 140. Also in Gerbert, *Vetus liturgia Alemannica*, I, 368 f. Regarding the fraternity at Reichenau see the studies by K. Beyerle in the memorial "Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau" (Munich, 1925), 291-304; 1107-1217.

⁴⁸ Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, IV, 42 (PL, CV, 1239 D) speaks of places where Mass for the Dead takes place daily. But only later did such a daily Mass for the Dead become partially public; see *supra*, p. 205.

As far as ritual was concerned, the Mass for the Dead was at that time not as differentiated from other Masses as is the case nowadays, even aside from the color of the vestments; see Amalar, *De eccl. off.*, III, 44 (PL, CV, 1161): *Missa pro mortuis in hoc differt a consueta missa, quod sine Gloria et Alleluia et pacis osculo celebratur*. In pre-Frankish times it was distinguished above all by the insertion of the Memento of the Dead—otherwise absent—and a suitable *Hanc igitur*. Still there were special orations for the dead even in the *Leonianum* (Muratori, I, 451-454) and in the older *Gelasianum*, III, 92-105 (*ibid.*, 752-763).

There is an indication of the smallness of the attendance at these more ancient Masses for the Dead—just the circle of mourners—in the fact that in the six oldest Mass-antiphonaries (8th-9th centuries)

published by Hesbert, the chants are wanting. These chants, beginning with *Requiem aeternam*, appear first in the antiphony published by the St. Maur monks (PL, LXXVIII, 722-724). Proper lessons are found, for the Epistle in the *Comes* of Alcuin (ed. Wilmart; *Eph. Liturg.*, 1937, 163 f.), for the Gospel in the index of pericopes for the palace chapel of Charlemagne (Beissel, *Entstehung der Perikopen*, 141), and also in the Gospel-capitulary for the city of Rome, 645 (Klauser, p. 45 f.).

An index to the increasing number of Masses for the Dead in the later Middle Ages is the burgeoning stock of special formularies created for this type of Mass; there is an enumeration of such in B. Opfermann, "Notizen zur Missa defunctorum in der zweiten Hälfte des Mittelalters," *Liturg. Zeitschrift*, IV (1931-2), 167-172.

⁴⁹ Ambrosiaster, *Comment. in Tim.*, 3, 12 f. (PL, XVII, 471): *Omni enim hebdomada offerendum est, etiam si non cotidie peregrinis, incolis tamen vel bis in hebdomada*. According to Batiffol, *Leçons*, p. XXI, who discusses this somewhat obscure text, the reference is obviously to private Mass.

⁵⁰ Augustine, *Ep.*, 111, 8 (CSEL, XXXIV, 655): *nec istæ possunt vel ferre oblationem ad altare Dei vel invenire ibi sacerdotem per quem offerant Deo*.

*infirmis*⁵¹ and several against the menace of evil tongues.⁵² The Votive Masses in the older *Gelasianum* are fully developed; they form the main contents of the third of the three books of which the sacramentary is composed.⁵³ They have reference to private concerns like a journey, unjust threats, sickness, various afflictions, wedding, childlessness, birthday, anniversary of ordination, growth in charity, and we might add the Masses for the Dead; and likewise public concerns like mortality, plague, drought, good weather, war and peace, the welfare of the king, and such. The low state of medicine and hygiene and in general the small knowledge of natural remedies, as well as the widespread uncertainty of legal rights in the early medieval states, to some extent explain the large number of external petitions in these Votive Masses and the strong appeal they had for the people.

Of Gallic Mass books, the Missal of Bobbio is especially rich in Votive Masses, here fitted out with readings.⁵⁴

The high tide for Votive Masses is the Carolingian period. Alcuin himself had not only prepared from older sources an important assortment of Votive Masses for his supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary,⁵⁵ but he had compiled a special collection which has come down to us as a *liber sacramentorum*.⁵⁶ Here for the first time we find Masses expressly assigned to certain days of the week, three formularies for each day. Of these, the first is concerned with a particular theme from the Christian economy of salvation appropriated to each day of the week⁵⁷; this section more or less approaches the Proper Masses of the Church year. The second group regards, as a rule, the greater ascetical needs; the formula for Thursday, to instance one case, is headed *pro tentatione cogitationum*. The third group

⁵¹ Muratori, I, 335 f., 339.

⁵² Muratori, I, 350 f., 442; cf. *supra*, p. 62.

Also the older Gelasianum, III, 67 (*ibid.*, I, 734; Wilson, 279 f.) contains a Mass *contra obloquentes*. Regarding the Votive Masses in the Leonianum, cf. Franz, 119 ff. ⁵³ III, 24-106 (Wilson, 245-314).

Some of the MSS. of the later Gelasianum also contain a collection of Votive Masses that accord to a great extent with those mentioned; see the survey in de Puniet, *Le sacramentaire Romain de Gellone*, 272*-307*; 314*-333*, and his commentary, *ibid.*, 95 ff. (= *Eph. liturg.*, LI [1937], 128-135; 278-305; LII [1938], 9-27; resp. LI [1937], 270 ff.). Also G. Manz, *Ein St. Galler Sacramentarfragment* (LQF, XXXI; Münster [1939]), 10-39.

⁵⁴ See the analysis in Franz, 126 f.

⁵⁵ Muratori, II, 187 ff.; cf. Franz, 132 f.

⁵⁶ PL, CI, 445-466.

Cf. Franz, 136-139, wherein the Alcuinian origin is still questioned. But see G. Ellard, "Alcuin and some favored Votive Masses," *Theol. Studies*, I (1940), 37-61.

⁵⁷ Sunday: *De Trinitate*; (Monday: *Pro peccatis*); Tuesday: *Ad postulandum angelica suffragia*; Wednesday: *De s. Sapientia*; Thursday: *De Caritate*; Friday: *De s. Cruce*; Saturday, *De s. Maria*.

Regarding later adjustments and additions for the week-days see Franz, 139-145; Eisenhofer, II, 15-17.

A group of six Masses which are patently intended for the several days of the week were a part of the original Sacramentary of St. Gregory the Great; see Mohlberg-Baumstark, 69-71; cf. C. Mohlberg, "Il messale glagolitico di Kiev," *Atti della pont. Accademia romana di archaeologia. Memorie* II (Rome, 1928), 222 f., 311-315.

called the *Missa s. Augustini*, is written in a tone of penitence and plea for pardon.⁵⁸ A considerable part of them was composed by Alcuin himself.⁵⁹ From this time on, the Mass books contain a superabundance of Votive Masses. In the Sacramentary of Fulda there are more than a hundred.⁶⁰

In many cases the very topic theme or subject of the prayers shows that the celebrant alone was busy with the sacrifice. Typical in this regard is the formula of a *missa quam sacerdos pro semetipso debet canere*⁶¹; Masses of this sort appear already in the Missal of Bobbio⁶² around 700 and after that with ever-increasing regularity in the Mass books of the Gallo-Carolingian area,⁶³ sometimes in several variant forms.⁶⁴ These formularies concentrate exclusively on the celebrant's own salvation and therefore all prayers—orations, preface and *Hanc igitur*—are written in the singular.⁶⁵ But Masses for the concerns of others also begin to be contrived in such a fashion that the presence of the faithful would be at most incidental. This must have been the case when, in some monasteries, a *missa quotidiana pro rege* became usual⁶⁶ or when synods of the tenth and eleventh centuries bound priests, on short notice, to ten or thirty Masses for king and kingdom.⁶⁷

The ninth century is the time in which the celebration of Mass takes on an increase. Many celebrate two or three times a day,⁶⁸ and the report is circulated—as an encouragement and comfort—that Pope Leo III occa-

⁵⁸ Cf. the seven *missæ generales* in the Sacramentary of St. Thierry (10th century); Martène, I, 4, X (I, 552-562).

⁵⁹ On the basis of his analysis of the sources, Ellard, *op. cit.*, 53, designates the following as "Masses that show no borrowings" because for them Alcuin appears to have been indebted to no extant sources: *De gratia S. Spiritus*, *Pro tentatione cogitationum*, *De Sapientia*, *Missa cotidiana sanctorum*, *Pro inimicis*, *Pro salute, S. Maria in Sabato*. The majority of the others are taken, in whole or in part, from Mozarabic Mass books.

⁶⁰ Richter-Schönfelder, 202-329.

⁶¹ Thus in an appendix (written before 850) to the Cod. 348 of St. Gall: Mohlberg, *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, 249-252 (cf. *ibid.*, pp. LIV f., XCIX).

In the older Gelasianum, too, a formulary of this sort was inserted about 830 after III, 37 (Wilson, 254); see A. Wilmar, *Revue Bénéd.*, L (1938), 324-328.

⁶² Muratori, II, 905-907.

⁶³ Text of the St. Gall Mass mentioned, with further sources and variants in Manz, *Ein St. Galler Sacramentarfragment*, 32-37; cf. 58.

For further ties with the general his-

tory of liturgy, see Baumstark, *Vom geschichtlichen Werden*, 116.

⁶⁴ The Sacramentary of Fulda (Richter-Schönfelder, 248-257) contains not one but eleven formularies of a Mass for the celebrating priest (*missa sacerdotis propria*).

⁶⁵ The formulas in the present Missale Romanum, *Pro seipso sacerdote*—No. 20 among the *Orationes diversæ* in the appendix—derive from a formulary of this type. It must be remarked that the singular is not altogether unheard of even in Masses of more ancient origin and public in character. Thus the formularies *In natali episcoporum* in the Leonianum (Muratori, I, 425 ff.) contain several phrases in the singular, but they are carefully adapted to the temper of a community celebration; e.g., *Hanc igitur oblationem quam tibi offero ego tuus famulus et sacerdos pro eo quod me . . . tribuisti sacerdotalem subire famulatum . . . Qua[m] oblatione[m] totius mecum gratulantis Ecclesie tu Deus . . .*

⁶⁶ Alcuinian appendix: Muratori, II, 188. Cf. Biehl, *Das liturgische Gebet für Kaiser und Reich*, 78, 150.

⁶⁷ Biehl, 78.

⁶⁸ Cf. *supra*, p. 218.

sionally offered the sacrifice seven and nine times in a day.⁶⁹ Daily celebration by each individual priest seems to have become at this time if not (by far) the general rule, at least the prevailing one. On Sundays and feasts it is said for the congregation, just as even today the *applicatio pro populo* is demanded of the pastor on these days. On weekdays it seems to have been, by and large, a Votive Mass for his own intention or that of others, even though the formulary chosen is one specified for the day,⁷⁰ as later on this was actually demanded.⁷¹ This meant a momentous augment in the frequency of celebration. The appropriation of the sacrifice to the diverse concerns of the faithful had really aroused the desire of the faithful and so led to a multiplication of the celebration. This is made manifest in the fact that everywhere that a number of priests were together—not only in monasteries, that is, but also in cathedral churches and in the larger centers—altars started to increase in number. In the whole of Christian antiquity every church had possessed but one altar. In North Africa this continued so till the fall of Christianity in the seventh century,⁷² and in the Orient, at least in churches of the Byzantine rite, it is still the rule.⁷³ At Rome about the sixth century, oratories in honor of the Apostles and

⁶⁹ Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 21 (PL, CXIV, 943); Honorius Augustod., *Gemma an.*, I, 114 (PL, CLXXII, 582).

⁷⁰ At least for the circumstances of the city of Rome in the first millenary it can be said that public Mass, with the use of the corresponding formularies, was customary only on the days outlined in the *Proprium de tempore* and also, as a rule, on the days indicated in the *Proprium sanctorum* but then only at the respective shrines. All other days were therefore free for Votive Masses. That votive formularies and freely-chosen saints' formularies were preponderantly used for private Masses also in the northern lands can be gathered from the fact that at first the lessons and later even the chant texts were added to the formularies; see *supra*, p. 105. This preponderance continued all through the Middle Ages; cf. Franz, 149-154. And it was still the case in the sixteenth century. St. Ignatius, for instance, marked down what Mass he chose on 64 days in the year 1544; of these 41 were votive formularies, and only 23 were the Masses for the day; Jedin, *Liturg. Leben*, 1939, 64, quoting the saints' spiritual diary: *Constitutiones S.J.*, (Rome, 1934), I, 86-130. Even for Sundays a special Votive Mass, usually that of the Trinity, was prescribed in the weekly

series of formularies—and was often used; cf. *supra*, p. 211, note 22; Franz, 149-151. Not till the Missal of Pius V was the Sunday left open. The only controversy raged for a time around Masses for the Dead—whether it was right to say them on Sundays, as many did; ranged in opposition were, among others, the Arch-chanter John (Silva-Tarouca, 205); Theodulf of Orleans, *Capitulare*, I, c. 45, (PL, CV, 208); the *Consuetudines* of Farfa (Albers, I, 202).

⁷¹ Synod of Würzburg (1298), can. 3 (Hartzheim, IV, 25 f.).

The Synod of Seligenstadt (1002), can. 10 (*ibid.*, III, 56) had merely warned against a superstitious preference for certain Votive Masses (Trinity, Michael), suggesting that the Mass *de eodem die* be used instead, and he added: *vel pro salute vivorum vel pro defunctis*. Cf. Franz, 150 f.

⁷² Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, I, 373.

⁷³ Braun, I, 383-385. This single altar is appointed for public service. For the non-public celebration of the liturgy on week days there are often extra oratories or chapels (*παρεκκλησιαί*), more or less loosely connected with the main church. See Bona, I, 14, 3 (196); Salaville, *Eastern Liturgies*, 114.

martyrs, along with the altars pertaining to them—hitherto scattered all over the city—were erected inside the churches. But we come across this increase of altars on a larger scale in Gaul, where Bishop Palladius of Saintes about 590 had thirteen altars constructed in one church.⁷⁴ Similar instances are not uncommon after that.

From the ninth century on, side altars are part of the structure of every larger church.⁷⁵ A contributing factor was the worship of saints and their relics; it was thought that this could be done best in connection with a special altar. Another factor was the desire on the part of both faithful and priest for Votive Masses for which the path was now free and which could take place inside one's own church. Finally a third element entered in, this one a limitation; it was the practice to celebrate but once each day at any one altar and more especially it was forbidden that a priest should use an altar which had been used by the bishop previously on the same day.⁷⁶

About the era of the Ottos, however, the dark side of this all too frequent celebration began to be remarked. Episcopal and synodal decrees gradually permitted only a triple celebration on any one day. Others even forbade bination outside the case of necessity,⁷⁷ as did Alexander II in 1065⁷⁸ and Innocent III even more positively in 1206⁷⁹; since then it has continued as the general norm. As a consequence the number of altars in churches newly built since then, shrinks back to more reasonable proportion.⁸⁰

But in the thirteenth century a new increase in private Masses sets in, this time not through the plural celebration of the same priest but rather as the result of the growth of the clergy in larger cities,⁸¹ an element that contributed in no small way to the ecclesiastical crisis of the sixteenth

⁷⁴ Gregory the Great, *Ep.*, VI, 49 (PL, LXXVII, 834).

⁷⁵ Braun, I, 368-373.

Cf. *supra*, note 35.

⁷⁶ Braun, I, 373-377.

In this regulation the operative factor was apparently an aversion to any multiplication that ill befitted the greatness of the mystery, and particularly the basic axiom that in any one church the Sunday celebration of the Eucharist should take place but once only. This principle was then transferred to every altar (which originally had its own special chapel).

⁷⁷ K. Holböck, *Die Bination. Rechtsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Rome, 1941). Eisenhofer, II, 23.

⁷⁸ *Decretum Gratiani*, III, 1, 53 (Friedberg, I, 1308).

⁷⁹ *Decretales Greg.* III, 41, 3 (Friedberg, II, 636); Cf. Holböck, 30.

⁸⁰ Braun, I, 377 f.

⁸¹ *Supra*, p. 130. Admonitions to celebrate daily also begin to make their appearance, intended to assure at the same time the worthy disposition of the priest. The writing ascribed to St. Bonaventure, *De præparatione ad missam*—which does not however appear in MSS prior to 1375 (Franz, 462)—has this to say about the priest who without reason fails to celebrate (the words are frequently quoted even today): *quantum in ipso est, privat Trinitatem laude et gloria, angelos lætitia, peccatores venia . . .* (c. 5; *Opp.*, ed. Peltier, XII [Paris, 1868], 281). In this connection we might also mention Matthew of Cracow (d. 1410), *Dialogus inter Rationem et Conscientiam*, and the work of the younger Henry of Hessen (d. 1427), *Exhortatio de celebratione missæ*. Cf. Franz, 515-517.

century. This increase was naturally accompanied by a new increase in the number of altars. Churches with thirty-five to forty-five altars were no rarity. The church of St. Mary at Danzig and the cathedral at Magdeburg each had forty-eight of them around 1500.⁸²

Meanwhile church architecture had been successfully endeavoring to fit the side-altars into the building properly, worthily. In France the Romanesque period had already created the circle of chapels surrounding the choir of the church, and in the Gothic period this was taken up also in other countries. In other cases Gothic produced a number of altar niches in the aisle of the nave by making use of the buttresses as part of the inner structure; this solution corresponds to the double row of chapels opening onto either side of the nave, which Baroque architecture employed.⁸³ But that was hardly enough to supply the demand for side-altars which in the late Middle Ages served as church symbols of the guilds and the richer patrician families. In the age of the ecclesiastical reform, when limitations were again set on private Masses and a greater part of the formularies developed for this purpose were reduced to shrunken existence amongst the *orationes diversæ*, St. Charles Borromeo ordered the removal of all altars which had been built near the organ loft or next to the pulpit, in front of the columns and pillars,⁸⁴ and many other churches in the course of time followed his example.

In this swaying back and forth one can trace the problem that the private Mass gives rise to. In its favor is the acknowledgment that the holy sacrifice is an offering of impetration and propitiation, and in this sense has a special value for the anxieties and desires of individuals; as the well-known formula puts it, it is offered for the living and the dead.⁸⁵ On the other hand, however, society also has its high worth. The ideal of a single Eucharistia embracing all, once uttered by Ignatius the Martyr, should not be needlessly disowned or enfeebled. We saw how in the monasteries of the early Middle Ages and, in part, even much later the stipulation of worship in common and, on Communion day, of common Communion even for

⁸² Braun, I, 378-382.

⁸³ Braun, I, 378, 380.

⁸⁴ Braun, I, 383.

⁸⁵ The formula occurs in Isidore, *De eccl. off.*, I, 15 (PL, LXXXIII, 752): the third one of the Mass prayers he distinguishes (in the antique Spanish sacramentaries, *Post nomina*) is said *pro offerentibus sive pro defunctis fidelibus*. The same formulation *pro offerentibus et defunctis*, reappears—this time in reference to the Mass—in the introductory words, “Missa pro multis” which is the title usually given to an *expositio* dependent upon Amalar, ed. *Hanssens* (*Eph. liturg.* [1930]), 31.

In the 9th century *Ioca* [that is, a game

of cross-questions] *episcopi ad sacerdotes* (printed in Franz, 343) the first question, *Pro quid es presbyter ordinatus?* is answered . . . *hostiam offerre Deo omnipotentii pro salute vivorum ac requie defunctorum*. Cf. also the second question and answer.

In the Romano-German Pontifical written c. 950 the bishop hands the newly-ordained priest a chalice and paten with the words, *Accipite potestatem offerre sacrificium Deo missamque celebrare tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis in nomine Domini* (Hittorp, 95). These words, which occur here for the first time, are still part of the ordination rite, as we all know.

the priests—we saw how this stipulation was safeguarded. For a long time private Mass was not generally required, but only tolerated within certain limits.⁸⁶

Thus a distinct form for the private Mass was evolved only slowly and gradually. In the first period, comprising the eighth and ninth centuries, there was a tendency to force the private character of the celebration even to extremes. At this time the so-called *missa solitaria*, without any server, was formed. The exclusive singular in the prayers of several Mass formulas bears this out.⁸⁷ If the ground-plan of the Roman Mass and particularly of the canon had not been regarded by tradition as beyond the reach of change, we would, in the ninth century, surely have experienced in the Roman liturgy what actually almost happened to the Gallic liturgy (which has no fixed canon)⁸⁸; that is, the entire wording would have been rewritten in the “I” manner.

Luckily this result did not really occur. On the contrary, in the ninth century there is some new legislation aimed directly at stopping priests from celebrating alone.⁸⁹ For how can a priest say *Dominus vobiscum* or *Sursum corda* when no one else is there?⁹⁰ Others refer to *Oremus* or *Orate*

⁸⁶ The restrictions were quite various. At Cluny in the 11th century the priests were allowed to celebrate daily, even without special permission, either before Prime or in the interval before and after Terce and also after None. By way of exception it was also permitted after the Gospel of the conventual Mass. *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 724 f.). Similarly also *Bernardi Ordo Clun.* I, 71 (Herrgott, 263).

Among the Cistercians private Masses were allowed during the time devoted to reading and also after the offertory of the conventual Mass. Trilhe, “Cîteaux,” *DACL*, III, 1795; Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.* [1927]), 338-342.

Amongst the Sylvestrines the priests were permitted to leave the conventual Mass *incepta Epistola*, unless they were needed for the singing. P. Weissenberger, “Die ältesten Statuta monastica der Sylvestriner” (*Röm. Quartalschrift* [1939]), 73.

Elsewhere they were more conservative. Amongst the Carthusians it was still an extraordinary privilege even in the 12th century for anyone to say Mass daily; Peter de Blois (d. c. 1204), *Ep.* 86 (PL, CCVII, 264). On the basis of medieval sources it is related of Klosterneuburg that “whoever wanted to celebrate private Mass

could do so in summer before Terce, in winter after Sext or after the Gospel of the conventual Mass. But to do so the priest had to get permission from the dean.” Schabes, 65.

The Synod of Ravenna (1317), rubr. 12 (Mansi, XXV, 611 f.) disapproved of private Masses during a High Mass (*cum missa celebratur in nota*), and desired the presence of all clerics in choir. Similarly the Synod of Trier (1549), can. 9 (Hartzeim, VI, 600) and the Synod of Reims (1583), c. XI, 14 (Hardouin, X, 1284).

⁸⁷ *Supra*, p. 221 f.

⁸⁸ See, e.g., the Missal of Bobbio (Muratori, II, 905 f.); *Missale mixtum* (PL, LXXXV, 987 ff.). Still in the latter instance the responses of an assistant are stipulated for the prayers of the Ordinary, and in the other instance they are presupposed.

⁸⁹ Theodulf of Orleans (d. 821), *Capitulaire*, I, c. 7 (PL, CV, 194): *Sacerdos missam solus nequaquam celebret . . . Esse enim debent qui ei circumstent, quos ille salutet, a quibus et respondeatur*.

Similarly in the canonical collection of Archbishop Rötger of Trier (927), ed. by M. Blasen, c. 10 (*Pastor bonus*, 1941), 67 f.

⁹⁰ Synod of Mainz (813), can. 43 (Mansi, XIV, 74).

pro me or to the mention of *circumstantes*—all of which would be meaningless if no one but the priest were present.⁹¹ More than once the demand is made that, besides the priest, at least *two* persons must be present since he does say: *Dominus vobiscum*.⁹² More precisely, mention is made of *ministri*,⁹³ of *cooperatores*⁹⁴ who should be on hand. But the emphasis is not on the function of serving. Walafrid Strabo calls it a *legitima missa* if, besides the priest, there are present *respondens, offerens atque communicans*.⁹⁵ The minimum required in the case is therefore not so much that someone cooperates at the altar in the capacity of a serving deacon, but rather that someone is present as a co-celebrant,⁹⁶ so that the social, plural character which is so distinctly revealed in the liturgy we actually have, and which in some way or other issues from the very essence of the New Testament sacrifice, might be safeguarded. This is the direction taken in all the attempts to vindicate the position assumed; that the *Dominus vobiscum* might be able to be understood as a greeting of all Christendom, with whom the priest knows himself to be conjoined, and so on.⁹⁷

⁹¹ The passages are assembled by J. M. Hanssens, "Fungitur minister missæ privatæ diaconi et subdiaconi vicibus?" *Eph. liturg.*, XLVIII (1934), 406-412, esp. 410f.

⁹² Thus a decree accredited to Pope Soter in the *Decretum Gratiani*, III, 1, 61 (Friedberg, I, 1311): *nullus presbyterorum missarum sollempnia celebrare præsumat, nisi duobus præsentibus respondentibus ipse tertius habeatur*. The prescription is first found in Burchard of Worms, *Decretum*, III, 74 (PL, CXL, 689) and from then on is repeated by the canonists; see the passages in Hanssens, 411, note 2. The gist of the injunction is reproduced by Bernold of Constance, *Micrologus*, c. 2 (PL, CLI, 979), by the Synod of Regensburg, 1512 (Hartzheim, VI, 94) and again by the Tridentine commission for the *abusus missæ* (*supra*, p. 133 f.).

A penitential written under Bishop Thorlak of Iceland (d. 1193) mentions amongst the prerequisites for the celebration of Mass the presence of two *virii ieiuni*; H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren* (Düsseldorf, 1898), 712 f.

⁹³ Synod of Paris (829), c. 48 (Mansi, XIV, 567): the practice of many priests of celebrating Mass *sine ministris* had slipped in *partim incuria, partim avaritia*.

⁹⁴ Thus an otherwise unknown Council of Nantes cited by Regino, *De synod. causis*, I, 191 (PL, CXXXII, 225). After a sharp

condemnation of an abuse found especially in monastic establishments, it demands: *Prævideant autem prælati ut presbyteri in cœnobii cooperatores habeant in celebratione missarum*.

⁹⁵ Walafrid Strabo, *De exord. et increm.*, c. 22 (PL, CXIV, 951).

This ideal is still clung to tenaciously in William of Hirsau (d. 1091), *Const.* I, 86 (PL, CL, 1017): if the brother serving at Mass does not want to communicate, someone else can then *ibi offerre* (and afterwards communicate).

Even in later times there is mention amongst the Cistercians of the Communion of the participants at a private Mass, for the General Chapter of 1134 grants permission for the Mass servers and others besides to receive on Communion days; J. M. Canivez, *Statuta cap. gen. O. Cist.* (Louvain, 1933-4), I, 23; 33 (cited by Browe, *Die häufige Kommunion*, 47). Outside of the general Communion days it was customary to receive at private Masses; see Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.* [1928]), 8-10.

⁹⁶ Cf. Hanssens, *Eph. liturg.*, XLVIII (1934), 407 ff.

⁹⁷ Odo of Cambrai (d. 1113), *Expositio*, x. 2 (PL, CLX, 1057); Stephen of Baugé (d. 1136), *De sacramento alt.*, c. 13 (PL, CLXXII, 1289).

In the Summa of St. Thomas, III, 83, 5, ad 12, the decree of Pseudo-Soter is also explained in this way; cf. Hanssens, 412.

Since the thirteenth century, however, there are extant other statutes in which *one cleric*⁹⁸ is demanded also for private Mass: *nullus sacerdos celebrare missam præsumat sine clerico respondente*,⁹⁹ a demand which was no longer made in the Missal of Pius V¹⁰⁰ but which was repeated in many diocesan decrees in the sixteenth century.¹⁰¹ The Liège statutes of 1286 regulate this cleric's clothing: *qui clericus habeat tunicam lineam vel superpelliceum vel cappam rotundam et calceatus incedat*.¹⁰²

The requirement of having a cleric present could only be considered an ideal, especially after the sacerdotal recruits were derived chiefly from the Tridentine seminaries, and it was an ideal that even earlier could not be everywhere realized even for public Mass.¹⁰³ The monasteries could most easily make some corresponding provision. At Cluny in the eleventh century a lay-brother (*conversus*) was summoned to serve any priest-monk who wanted to celebrate.¹⁰⁴ But there is mention also of the *puer*, which probably refers to the young oblates.¹⁰⁵ If a cleric was at hand, he was allowed to exercise the duties of his order, that is, read the Epistle¹⁰⁶ if he

⁹⁸ Almost the same thing was already sought by the Synod of York (1195), can. 1 (Hardouin, VI, 1930) when it demanded a *minister litteratus*.

⁹⁹ Synod of Trier (1227), can. 8 (Mansi, XXIV, 200).

Further evidences cited in R. Saponaro, "Estne munus in missa privata ministrandi clericorum proprium?" *Periodica*, XXVIII (1939), 369-384.

¹⁰⁰ *Ritus serv.*, II, 1; *De defectibus*, X, 1.

¹⁰¹ Saponaro, 379-381. The synod of Aix (1585) even demanded written permission from the bishop for any necessary exception; *ibid.*, 381.

¹⁰² V, 13 (Mansi, XXIV, 896).

The Missal of Pius V originally had no such prescription in the pertinent rubrics (*Ritus serv.*, II, 1); but in the revision under Clement VIII (1604) to the words *ministro cum missali . . . præcedente* were added *superpelliceum induto*.

¹⁰³ Cf. *supra*, p. 210 f.

¹⁰⁴ *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 724).

Also in the *Consuetudines* of Farfa, which represent Cluniac usage in 1040, the *conversus* appears as Mass server (Albers, I, 161 f.).

In a monastic missal from Norcia two 14th century references to ministrants have been inserted: *Isti serviunt ad missam quilibet in septimana sua*; a *C* precedes the name each time; Ebner, 201, note 2.

¹⁰⁵ *Consuetudines* of Farfa (Albers, I, 163; see the following footnote).

In the late medieval Mass-*ordo* of the monastery of Bec, the priest turns after the Communion and with the greeting from Apoc. 7:12 he addresses himself *ad ministrum puerum*; Martène, I, 4, XXXVI (I, 675 A).

¹⁰⁶ In some isolated instances there was a certain vacillation. But even here the prototype of the public presbyter Mass remained the standard (*supra*, p. 208).

In the canonical collection of Bishop Rütger of Trier (927), ed Blasen, c. 10 (*Pastor bonus* [1941], 67 f.) with reference to the prohibition to celebrate alone, the point is stressed that no layman may read the Epistle, but only the subdeacon; is this restriction to the subdeacon a later addition? In the *Consuetudines* of Farfa (Albers, I, 163) it is taken for granted that the reading is done by a "boy" who certainly was no deacon: *Puer qui legit Epistolam, ipse portat et calicem si valet et bene scit facere*. Cf. *Liber usum O. Cist.*, c. 54 (PL, CLXVI, 1429 A).

In the *Ordinarium O. P.* of 1256 (Guerini, 249), with reference to the *servitor* at private Mass, who could not have received any major orders, we read simply: *meliusque est ut Epistolam relinquit sacerdoti dicendam*. The practice of the server's saying it must therefore have existed still in the 13th century.

was in orders, and prepare the chalice and purify it after Communion.¹⁰⁷ Amongst the Cistercians the priest was supposed to have two Mass-servers, a cleric to serve him and answer the prayers, and a laic to present the water and light the candles.¹⁰⁸

Whereas in most monastic constitutions there is only passing reference to serving, in the Dominican *Ordinarium* of 1256 the *servitor* at a private Mass is given greater attention.¹⁰⁹ The pertinent rubrics are still found—naturally somewhat developed—compiled in a special chapter of the Dominican Missal.¹¹⁰

In the *Ordinarium* of 1256 these rules for the server belonged to a special chapter which also contains more detailed directions for the priest at private Mass.¹¹¹ Of these a noteworthy one is the rule that the sequence, otherwise so frequent, should be dropped at private Mass. Other regulations for the priest, insofar as they did not regard the special Dominican usages, were already extant, scattered in older statutes. Thus it was almost a general custom that the priest vested at his respective side-altar.¹¹² Nor was the warning that he was to speak only in a medium loud voice anything new. To it corresponds, in the prescriptions of Cluny, the obviously necessary direction that the priest should read the song portions *in dire-*

¹⁰⁷ Thus still in the *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 100), in agreement with the *Ordinarium O.P.* (Guerrini, 249).

Cf. also *Liber usuum O. Cist.*, c. 54 (PL, CLXVI, 1428 f.).

¹⁰⁸ *Liber usuum*, c. 59 (PL, CLXVI, 1433 C). Thus also the very late *Rituale Cisterciense* (Paris, 1689), 91. Cf. Schneider (*Cist.-Chr.* [1927]), 374 f.

¹⁰⁹ Guerrini, 249 f. Among other things the Mass server had to spread the altar cloths and refold them at the end of Mass, had to transfer the book and the candle at the proper time, and help with the preparation of the chalice. For the rest he was to keep his eyes open and always be ready to wait on the priest or answer his prayers; therefore *parum autem vel nihil stet prostratus in tota missa*. This last was a reference to the bowed posture then customary at the orations and during the Canon. In this regard the *Consuetudines* of Farfa (Albers, I, 162) had enjoined: *Conversus ad primam collectas* [probably to read: *ad primam Collectam*] *et secreta[s] sit adclinis, ad canonem genua flectat vel stans oret*.

The *Liber ordinarius* of Liège (Volk, 100 ff.) expands the suggestions of the *Ordinarium O.P.* in several points: at the start it prescribes a hand-washing for the

server; it has him receive the *pax* from the priest and pass it on (even though the heading is: *De privatis missis*). At the conventual Mass a signal of the bell is mentioned: *Alter acolythus ante tempus elevationis paucis ictibus campanulam pulset* (*ibid.*, 94, 1. 29). The rubric about passing on the *pax* is also found in the Mass-Ordinary of John Burchard (1502); Legg, *Tracts*, 162. On the other hand there is no mention of a bell signal to be given by the ministrant either in Burchard or, apparently, in any other medieval ceremonial for private Mass.

Franz, 710 f., refers to two 15th century manuscript guides to serving.

¹¹⁰ *Missale iuxta ritum O.P.* (1889), 24: *De servitoribus missarum privatarum*.

¹¹¹ Guerrini, 249-251: *De missis privatis*. To be exact, this chapter does not derive from the Ordinary itself but rather from the *Missale minorum altarium* which is linked with it, just as the directions for the High Mass belong to the *Missale conventuale*; Guerrini, p. VII. The same chapter, from a MS of the 14-15th centuries in Köck, 93 f.

¹¹² *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.*, II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 724): On the way to the altar

ctum but that he certainly should not sing them.¹¹³ Thus out of the private Mass grew the read Mass—the *low* Mass.

That the Mass is only read and not sung has at last become in the Roman liturgy the most prominent particular, in fact, the only actual difference to distinguish the rite of the private Mass from that of the public Mass, if we except the vernacular prayers which have recently been added to the conclusion. Wherever in the oriental rites, as a consequence of union, the private Mass has become usual, the differences are essentially greater.¹¹⁴

With us the private Mass has, in the last analysis, almost completely doffed its private character, gaining public recognition and in fact becoming simply *the* Mass. Not only do rubricists nowadays consider it the basis of any presentment of the external actions of the Mass, but even the Roman Missal itself, departing from a custom in vogue till late in the Middle Ages,¹¹⁵ presents the rite of the *missa lecta* as the basic form, describing the special ceremonies of the solemn high Mass as a sort of appendix and devoting only a short notice to the peculiarities of the simple sung Mass.¹¹⁶

This strange phenomenon is on a par with the fact that at the beginning of the modern period the older solemn forms suddenly begin to lose some of the stateliness and the simplified forms partly replace them.¹¹⁷ Besides a low interest in liturgy which this seems to show, another factor behind this is the unfamiliarity of the faithful in regard to the Latin, the strangeness of which was felt with growing keenness and the loud use of which, in prayers and readings, except insofar as it added to the splendor of the proceedings, was less and less appreciated. Thus it became increasingly easy to discontinue the singing at the altar. The read Mass became the ground form. And if it was found undesirable to follow the Mass in quiet devotion or if, at a larger gathering, it was thought agreeable to

the priest holds in his right hand the chalice, on which are the paten and the host (which had been placed thereon with a little ladle), in his left the cruets filled with wine and water, the server carries the chasuble and Mass book. Similarly *Bernardi Ordo Clun.* I, 72 (Herrgott, 263).

Amongst the Cistercians the custom of putting on the vestments in the sacristy even for private Masses was first introduced in 1609 "for greater reverence." Trilhe, "Citeaux," DACL, III, 1793 f.

¹¹³ *Udalrici Consuet. Clun.* II, 30 (PL, CXLIX, 724 C); also William of Hirsau, *Const.*, I, 86 (PL, CL, 1016 D).

Something similar is recounted at the present time with regard to some Russian priests who, after their return to the unity of the Catholic Church, took up the practice of private Mass, but felt constrained to

sing the portions chanted in their rite at least softly.

¹¹⁴ They consist chiefly in certain shortcuts, different according to the different rites. The Ukrainians leave out the incensations; the Little and the Great Entry are merely indicated, the latter by the priest's turning around at the altar with chalice in hand; etc. The Italo-Greeks shorten the introductory section and the litanies. The Melchites again have other abbreviations. Pl. de Meester, "Grecques (Liturgies)," DACL, VI, 1641-1643.

Donald Attwater, *The Christian Churches of the East* (Milwaukee, 1948), 30-31, points out that in few of the rites is the "low" Mass systematized.

¹¹⁵ *Supra*, p. 103 f.

¹¹⁶ *Ritus serv.*, VI, 8.

¹¹⁷ *Supra*, p. 206.

A change will be made to the Ordinary Form of the Holy Mass in early 2014.



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